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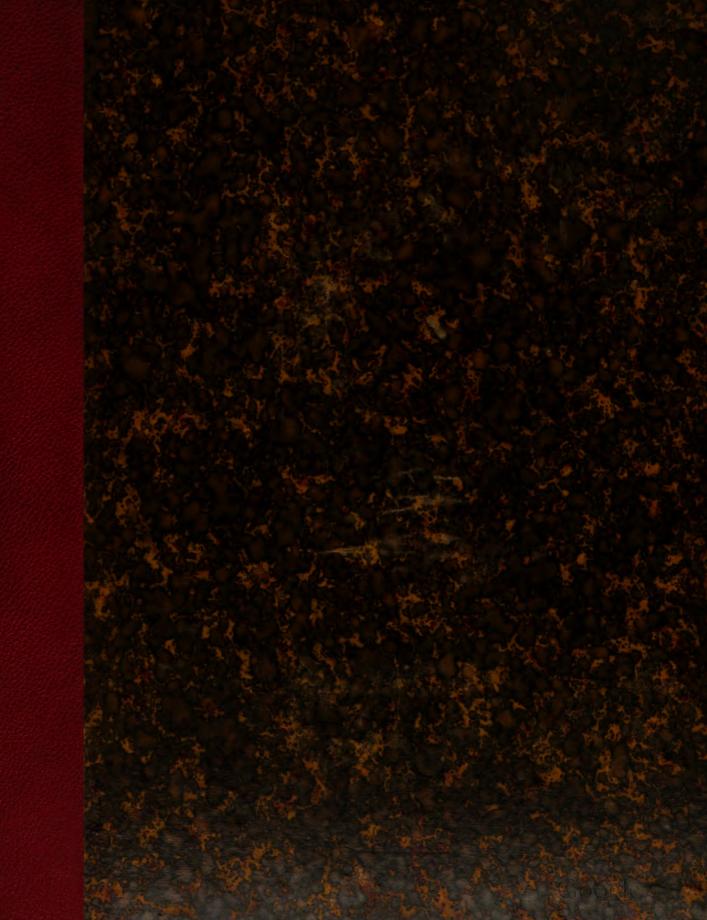
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7371.2

1890, Am. 21 - 1891, Jul. 3.

Vol. II. No. 27. Thursday, November 20, 1890. Price, 5 Cents.

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Thursday, November 20, 1890.

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POLITICS: EVENTS; COMMENTS; LITERATURE.



The conditions under which this paper is published render it impossible to give the weekly record of facts the character of news. This is especially the case with the foreign items for which we shall not hereafter rely on the American newspapers. Nor does it seem feasible to complicate the classification by separating items accordingly as they are or are not "news." Suffice it to say that the facts are, in the main, collected from daily papers; that their importance does not generally depend upon dates; that our record of them cannot have greater authority than the sources have, but is evidently more trustworthy than any single newspaper.

LEGISLATIVE.

A Hartford (Ct.) crockery merchant lately received the invoice of a lot of white ware imported from England. The cost of the goods in England was \$249.95. They were packed in eight crates, and the duties on the crates and packing amounted to \$17.87. The duties on the goods were \$97.60. The crates could not be sold for over 50 cents each, or \$4 in all.

Speaking of the effect of the Tarifflaw on foreign commerce and the ocean-carrying trade, the agent of the North German Lloyd line said that their business was now 50 per cent less than at the same period last year. The volume of the reduction was in cotton and woollen goods. The agent of a Havre line said that the dearer class of goods, as lace, jewelry, champagne, was unaffected, but that the cheaper grades of all kinds showed a marked decrease in the invoices and cargoes. Statements of similar purport were made by agents of the Hamburg-American and of the White Star lines.

It is reported that no fewer than forty tobacco factories have now been closed in Cuba in consequence of the American Tariff law. They are all of the smaller class of concerns.

Owing to the small shipment of produce from Prince Edward Island since the operation of the McKinley Bill, the Boston, Halifax and Prince Edward Island Steamship Line Company have withdrawn the steamer "Worcester" from the route.

Among the bills rejected by the Vermont Legislature are: The bill reducing the legal rate of interest to five per cent; the bill making the first-Monday in September, known as "Labor Day," a legal holiday: the bill reducing the membership of the Supreme Court to six, instead of seven; the bill prohibiting railroad companies from charging more than three cents per mile for fare one way, and two and one half cents per mile both ways; and the bill requiring hotel keepers to put up a "Don't-Blow-Out-the-Gas" sign in sleeping-rooms. The bill providing that the Speaker and President of the Senate should not receive over \$250 for the session's work, and the other members not over \$125, was reported adversely by the committee.

The bill prohibiting sleeping-car porters from lowering an upper berth except for a bona fide passenger, against the wishes of the occupant of the lower berth, passed the Vermont House.

The New York Legislature passed an act last session which provides that "every candidate voted for at any public election shall file" with specified officers "an itemized statement showing in detail all the moneys contributed or expended by him, directly or indirectly, by himself or through any other persons, in aid of his election. Such statement shall give the names of the various persons who received such moneys, the specific nature of each item, and the purpose for which it was expended or contributed." In some of the statements filed by the New York candidates nothing is said about the specific nature of the item or the purpose for which it was contributed and expended.

"Any person entitled to vote at a general election, held within this State, shall, on the day of such election, be entitled to absent himself from any service or employment in which he is then engaged or employed, for the period of two hours, between the time of opening and the time of closing the polls; and such voter shall not, because of so absenting himself, be liable to any penalty, nor shall any deduction be made on account of such absence from his usual salary or wages; provided, however, that application shall be made for such leave of absence prior to the day of election. The employer may specify the hours during which such employee may absent himself as aforesaid. Any person or corporation who shall refuse to an employee the privilege hereby conferred, or who shall subject an employee to a penalty or reduction of wages because of the exercise of such privilege, or who shall directly or indirectly violate the provisions of this act, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor."

The Albany "Law Journal" declares this provision unconstitutional, as the Federal Constitution provides that no State shall pass any law impairing the obligation of contracts. Where one person has agreed to serve another for a given period at a fixed compensation no Legislature can reduce the period of service while compelling payment of the full compensation. It is suggested, however, that the provision is not unconstitutional so far as it applies to contracts made after the new ballot law went into effect, as the Courts might hold that the rate of wages must be deemed to have been fixed in view of the provision. If the statute is regarded as entering into the contract and qualifying its terms, it cannot be said to impair the obligation of the contract.

A bill will be introduced in the Quebec Legislature providing for compulsory voting. The preamble declares that "of late years a class of voters has arisen who speculate upon their votes, and refrain from voting until a few votes comprise the balance of power, in which case they dispose of their votes to the highest bidder." To remedy this evil, the bill provides that every person whose name is upon the list must vote at the poll where he is registered at every election for member of the Assembly. The voter who fails to perform what the bill calls "the sacred duty" will be debarred from voting until he has paid a fine of \$25.

Several large firms of Springfield, Mass., have signed a protest against the exactions of the Tariff Bill, claiming that the bill signed by the President is not the bill which was passed by Congress. Congress placed a duty of fifty per cent on handkerchiefs, while the bill signed by the President places the duty at sixty per cent.

The Tariff Bill presented by the Denmark minister of finance places coal. salt, coke, and rice on the free list, and reduces the duty on sugar. The shipping duties are abolished, while the duty on industrial machinery is raised.

A bill has been introduced in the Oklahoma Legislature making it criminal libel for a newspaper to insinuate anything against a man's character, whether it is true or not.

The Minister of Justice has addressed a circular to all the judges in Canada, notifying his intention to introduce in Parliament next session a bill codifying the criminal law of the Dominion, and asking their views as to the expediency of abolishing the functions of grand juries.

JUDICIAL.

A farmer of Yell County, Ark., mortgaged his farm to the Boston Mortgage and Security Company for a loan of \$1,000. The sum of \$200 was taken out of the principal for interest, and the farmer was paid \$800. The Arkansas Supreme Court holds that the interest charged was usurious, which fact forfeits the principal. This is the first decision rendered under the act of the last Arkansas Legis'ature fixing the rate of interest at ten per cent.

The Michigan Supreme Court has decided that restaurant keepers may not discriminate against colored men by requiring them to sit at designated tables in order to be waited on.

The New Jersey Supreme Court has sustained the ordinance of the city of Trenton requiring horse cars to have conductors as well as drivers.

The Illinois Supreme Court has decided that the city ordinances requiring persons selling "books, groceries, or other articles" to have licenses as peddlers invalid.

INDUSTRIAL.

Pittsburg, Penn., employers have organized a "Protective League," in order to deal with the labor unions more successfully. It was claimed at the first meeting of the organization that at present the contractors are at the mercy of organized labor.

The London County Council has refused to take any measures in the direction of establishing a Labor Exchange in London, which scheme was urged by the Socialists, on behalf of the men and women out of employment.

The work on the London-Paris telephone line is being pushed so rapidly that it will probably be opened for use as early as January.

At a mass meeting of Berlin (Germany) clerks resolutions were adopted in favor of co-operation with the Socialist party.

The London Government board has refused to start public works for the relief of the unemployed, fearing that laborers from all over the kingdom would thereby be attracted to the metropolis.

A Saloon Keepers' Union has been organized in New York City. No member of the Federation of Labor may patronize a saloon-keeper not belonging to the Union.

A committee has been appointed by the New York Central Labor Union to consider the advisability of providing for a permanent strike fund

The St. Paul Plumbers' Union demands a law to prevent incompetent men from engaging in their business.

The number of women engaged during the last year in the Belgian coal fields was 10,854; 3,476 were girls under sixteen; 3,327 women and 1,026 girls worked below ground.

A Free Labor and Property Defence Associaation has been organized at Queensland, Australia. The objects of the Association are: To secure to its members personal freedom and the right of contract, to protect by legal means the persons and property of the members, and to establish funds to secure to members assistance in sickness, etc.

The painters have petitioned the Quebec Legislature for an act giving the first mortgage to workmen on their work for the amount of their wages.

The Montreal Central Council of Trades and Labor has petitioned the Quebec Legislature for a law prohibiting boys under sixteen and girls under eighteen working in tobacco factories; also for a law establishing compulsory and gratuitous education, and for an act to determine the responsibility of employers in case of accidents to their employees.

The National Shoe Manufacturers' Association has adopted, at its recent convention, the following resolutions:—

Whereas, the capacity to manufacture boots and shoes in the United States is greater than the demand for consumption, and the facilities for production are increasing faster than this demand for the products, therefore

Resolved, that the continued prosperity of our business depends, to a considerable extent, on widening the market;

Resolved, that complete and immediate commercial reciprocity with all countries in the Western Hemisphere would be of especial advantage to our trade.

At the Police Court, Cork, thirty men, constituting the seamen and firemen on board the steamship "Lee" and the steamship "Shannon," were prosecuted by the City of Cork Steam Packet Company for wilful breach of contract in having refused to work their vessel contrary to the terms of their agreements. It transpired in evidence that the defendants abandoned their posts because of the company's refusal to deny employment to a number of their laborers who do not happen to be members of the Dock Laborers' Union. It was intimated to the defendants that if they followed the example of the crew of the steamship "Finbar," who were prosecuted some days ago for their refusal to carry boycotted cattle, and signed an agreement not to offend in this respect in the future, proceedings against them would be withdrawn. This, however, the crew of both vessels refused to do, and they were each sent to gaol for one month. Mr. ('ecil Roche, in announcing the decision of the magistrates, regretted that those really responsible for the position of the defendants were not before them, for, of course, they were but acting under the advice of their managers and wire-pullers, and were really the victims of a horrible tyranny brought to bear upon them.

A "Co-operative Housekeeping" Society has been organized by the leading women of Decatur, Ill., with a view to solve the problem of keeping house on moderate incomes. The Chicago Herald describes this organization as follows:—

There are in this culinary society fifty-two active members. Each member is a mistress of a household, and she may represent a family of three or five, or even more persons. The active membership, therefore, is no criterion of the actual extensiveness of the club. A good deal of money is handled each month and a good many people fed, and so far this has been done without any friction and with a large saving.

This society was started a number of months ago. A spacious dining-room, accessible to the fifty-

two families, was rented and fitted up in a comfortable and tasteful manner. Each lady contributed to the original furniture dishes enough to take care of the persons in her own family. Some satisfactory arrangements were made in regard to the cooking and heating apparatus. Then a caterer, cook, and waiting-girls were employed, and the project was ready for a practical trial. It has more than realized the hopes of the promoters.

The housekeepers belonging to this club have virtually shut up their kitchens, discharged their cooks, cut off the waste of victuals, fuel, light, etc. There is a great curtailment in the aggregate cost of domestic service and a large saving in the consumption of fuel. The provisions are bought by the wholesale, and there is a considerable margin of profit there. Meals are served during certain hours, so that there may be ample time to feed every one without confusion.

Each of the fifty-two members has charge of the establishment one week in every year, so that the duties imposed upon her are very insignificant. Then there is a pleasant rivalry among the ladies as to who shall show the smallest expense account, and this friendly contest produces agreeable effects, so far as the pocket-book is concerned. So far, and the plan has been so thoroughly tried that it is no longer an experiment, the average cost per capita of each adult is \$2.80 a week. Small children are included in this estimate. Those from ten years up are counted as grown persons.

IN GENERAL.

Gen. Booth's scheme for the relief of the English poor involves three institutions, of which the first is a school of preparation for the second, and the second for the third. These three institutions are: 1, the city colony; 2, the farm colony; and 3, the over-sea colony.

The city colony will be merely an extensive outgrowth of the work which the Salvation Army have been doing for some time in London by means of their food and shelter depots. At these depots any person may for eight cents procure a night's lodging, together with supper and breakfast. The city colonies will differ only in this respect, that workshops will be established in connection with the depots, and instead of paying the fee just mentioned an applicant for food and lodging will be expected to pay in work. He will be employed in making firewood, mats, or sacks, or will be made a member of the "household salvage brigade," the duty of which is to go from house to house and collect old clothes, bottles, broken victuals, and other refuse. The materials thus accumulated are sent to the farm colonies. Pains will be taken to secure the immediate reabsorption of a fraction of the inmates of the city colonies into the ranks of the permanently employed. This is to be done by labor registers, which will be opened in connection with the freelabor movement. There will remain, however, a large number of the destitute who are neither by

training nor by habit fitted for speedy re-entrance into the body of self-supporting workmen. These persons, after a certain period of probation, are sent to colonies of the second type.

For the purposes of an initial farm colony and industrial village, Gen. Booth proposes to buy or lease from five hundred to one thousand acres at no great distance from London. The colonists will be taught to erect their own farm buildings, cottages, and glass houses for fruit and flower growing, to make their own bricks and their own furniture. It is expected that in fruit farming female labor will find a congenial and ultimately profitable employment. Experts from France and Belgium are to be called in to instruct the colonists in the production of poultry and eggs, and in rabbit rearing. The chief occupation of the adjoining industrial village will be the transforming of the refuse collected from London households into products of commercial value. Thus, the bread unsuitable for human food will be given to horses, and what is unfit for horses to rabbits and pigs. Bones will be reduced to manure, or made up into buttons. Grease will supply a soap factory; the waste paper will go to paper mills; the waste tin will make toys. The occupants, however, of this second class of colonies, like those of the first, will not be paid in money. They will receive in return for their labor, food, lodging, and clothing, but, as soon as they have become steady and useful workmen, employment will be found for them at home through registration offices, or they will be shipped to one of the over-sea colonies, which represent the culmination of the scheme. Of these the prototype is to be founded in South Africa. Pioneers are to be sent ahead to lay out the site and prepare the first crops, but each of the colonists on his arrival will be made the owner of a house and farm, subject only to the obligation of repaying his passage and outfit. Thus the man who entered the food and shelter depot as an outcast will emerge an independent member of society.

In Switzerland, no official assessment is made of property. Blanks are distributed to every house, to be filled in by its occupants. The system of taxation there prevalent is known as the "progressive" tax scale.

A, who owns \$4,000 of property, pays taxes only on half of it; B, who owns \$25,000 worth, pays taxes on eight tenths of it; while C, with his \$100,000 worth of property, pays taxes on the whole. The result is that C pays not the proportional twenty-five times the amount of A's taxes, but fifty times as much. Leaving every man to assess himself has the disadvantage that the rich, with stocks and bonds, sometimes do not make return of them. When a rich Swiss dies, however, the government control of his estate quickly makes amends for all his past misdeeds in the way of assessments, and every penny of taxes held back is now deducted, together with compound interest and fines.

Within the last ninety days, 50,000 acres of land have been taken up in the vicinity of Idaho Falls, Idaho, under the Desert Land Act. Special Agent Tyner, of the Land Department, suspected that the land was being taken up for speculative purposes, and investigated, says a Helena, Mont., despatch to the Chicago Tribune. He found that the entries were being made by Eastern parties, who had been induced to file claims by a Denver syndicate. It is alleged that parties of Eastern people were taken to Idaho Falls on special excursions, and then taken by wagons across the Snake River to some high point, where the view is unobstructed for twenty miles. The parties would then go to the landoffice and make affidavit that they had visited each tract upon which entry was made. The law requires that each person visit the tract entered upon and make oath that the land is not taken up for speculative purposes. The special agent thinks he can have all such entries cancelled.

The Paris correspondent of the London Times writes: —

The Protectionist movement, which was started some years back by French agriculturists, has since developed in a remarkable degree. With the aid of their perfect organization into syndicates and federations, the Protectionists had little difficulty in 1889 in electing to the Chamber a majority favorable to their ideas. This Chamber voted increased duties, and an elaborate scheme of double tariffs, and has finished by pledging itself not to sign any commercial treaty whatsoever.

The Free Traders were at first overwhelmed by this Protectionist movement, but little by little they have gathered courage for the struggle.

Recently the Free Traders formed an association called "The Union for the Promotion of Free Trade in Raw Material, and the Defence of Exportation."

The Grazhdanin, a St. Petersburg daily, calls attention to the fact that, although corporal punishment was abolished by the government long ago, the village aldermen and autocrats of small towns inflict chastisement with the rod on their constituents on the slightest provocation. It produces an authentic order issued by such an alderman in the Government of Tulla requiring all the peasants of his village to pay their taxes on a certain day, "in default of which they would receive fifty lashes" each. Throughout Finland, however, the same custom is practised. Citizens of the lower classes failing to please their officials are tied up and lashed.

The Russian Tariff Committee has recommended a general increase of Tariff duties.

The New York Voice, the prohibition organ, states that fifteen thousand copies of its issue of Oct. 16 were detained by the Omaha (Neb.) postmaster until the eve of the election, under the pretext that they were probably specimen copies. Prohibition was a prominent issue in the State election, and the postmaster is charged with having abused his power for partisan ends.

The El Paso, Texas, postmaster confiscated an edition of the local *Tribune*, on account of a card to the effect that Mr. Dauphin, of New Orleans, could be reached through the express companies dealing with him. The paper criticised this action in an editorial the next day, and the postmaster threw that day's edition also out of the mails. A suit for damages will be brought by the publishers.

The New York Ballot Reform law makes it unlawful for any candidate to provide or furnish entertainment, at his expense, to his electors previous to or during the election. Many of the candidates who have filed statements of expenses, apparently ignorant of this provision, frankly mention expenditures for drinks and cigars to their workers and voters.

In the case of the Biddeford (Me.) aldermen, charged with knowingly retaining on the voting lists persons illegally naturalized, the jury returned a verdict of not guilty.

From the statement of a New York Republican Congressman who was a candidate for reelection, it appears that he expended a sum nearly equal to his whole two-years' salary for the term of the Fifty-second Congress.

Tranquillity is restored in Honduras. The revolt of the troops of the capital, under Gen. Sauchez, has been suppressed by President Borgan. The government will adopt a pacific policy in the treatment of the insurgents.

The Irish leaders have been convicted in the Clonmel Court of the charge of conspiracy to induce Irish tenants not to pay rent, and sentenced to six months' imprisonment.

The Hungarian Minister of Agriculture contemplates utilizing the large sandy plains of the country for the planting of vineyards. It is proposed to plant about 40,000 acres with vines imported from America, as these have hitherto defied the phylloxera.

TO-DAY, NOV. 27, 1890.

A record of the facts and considerations which show that Individual Liberty is good for the people of the United States, and that, therefore, Legislative Regulation is injurious for them.

J. MORRISON-FULLER, WALTER C. ROSE, Editors.

And why is it that still

Man with his lot thus fights? —

'T is that he makes this will

The measure of his rights,

And believes nature outraged if his will's gaiusaid. — Arnold.

The second session of the Fifty-Second. first Congress is the centre of much curiosity. What business they have to meet for again I am sure I do not know. It may be constitutional, but it is surely undemocratic for this Congress to do anything more. The fact that its successor has already been elected is one objection, but not in itself sufficient to act as a bar to any further legislation. The essential objection, and the conclusive objection, is that the Fiftyfirst Congress has already done all it was elected to do. It has done much more, very much more than it was elected to do. Many laws have been passed of which there was not the slightest mention in the campaign which resulted in the present Congress, laws which the voters might not have indorsed at the polls had the question been submitted to them. But the fact that so much has already been done which Congress was not instructed to do can hardly justify an addition to the list of excesses The realization of democracy requires that only those laws should be enacted which the majority of those able to enforce their will have voted for. Science may be outraged and morality utterly disregarded; but if the condition is fulfilled of having the legislation backed by a majority, democracy is satisfied: its ideal is realized. A very imperfect ideal indeed is that to which democracy looks. But the only other choice left us is a more or less modified oligarchy, and experience seems to show that this is worse than democracy. The only legislation - besides the ordinary appropriation billswhich the present Congress was instructed to embody and enact are the tariff schedules and the pensions bills. Everything else has been pure assumption. Leaving out of account the geographical accident that the real majority of voters are not represented in this Congress, it was justifiable, so far as democracy goes, for the Republicans to pass the tariff and the pension bills. But they have not been instructed to go to Washington now and pass other bills. Democracy is violated when a representative assembly exceeds its instructions, irrespective of the merits of the laws passed by it.

The erratic and irrational con-Sensationalduct of governments is well illusiem of Emperor. trated in the case of Dr. Koch's discovery. Why should this particular discovery be selected for governmental coddling? No one will be able to make this discrimination appear rational. Of course, the occasion for the Prussian government's officious patronage is simply because this discovery appeals to the imagination just now. Hardly any one but who has had a relative die of consumption, - and death is the most absorbing consideration in life. Now a physician thinks he has discovered a cure, and immediately the government springs forward to take part in the attention attracted by the subject. There is no reason in it at all. The probability is that where the government treads, individuals keep away. So the importance of government is magnified, and individual initiative is repressed. One would be tempted to believe that the habit of obtruding the government into inappropriate spheres is specially adapted to aristocratic institutions. For the endeavor of the political aristocracy must always be to make the people believe that it is necessary and useful to them. But Democracy shows little, if any better in the contrast; for Democracy so far implies politicians, and their endeavor is just the same as that of an aristocracy. They must make the people think they are needed.

Mr. Booth, of Salvation Army fame, has elaborated a plan for improving the condition of the paupers of London of which he entertains great expectations. The details of his plan are described on page 20. It will be seen that, as with so many other schemes, the objective point is ultimate emigration. A sort of asylum will be established in London from which the inmates will be sent to a farm, and from there to some colony. Governments have often used this means of

relieving the industrial pressure, but never, I believe, with much success. Part of the plan by which the present Tory government aspires to relieve the Irish pressure includes aids to emigration and also to migration to different Irish counties. fact that governments have failed to accomplish much in this way does not furnish a very strong presumption against Mr. Booth's plan. The probability is that governmental experiments are so much clear loss, that they do not even show how not to do things. A stronger presumption is that furnished by the conditions Mr. Booth will have to contend against. At present the tendency of migration of laborers in England, as everywhere else, is away from the country and into the city. How this can be checked, or how the evils accompanying it can be m tigated by charitable efforts, is far from clear. But there is this to be said of Mr. Booth's plan, that it will be voluntarily undertaken and voluntarily pursued, and that the distress of individuals will be relieved, whether the condition of a class is improved or not. If the execution does not become mechanical, and if firmness and discretion combine in furthering the end, much good may be done. But even if harm is done, - which seems improbable, - how much nobler and at the same time more intelligent the plan is than the compulsory charity of the government! A workhouse, which paupers shun as they would pestilence, an in-door relief - so many on Monday, so many on Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, etc., an out-door relief — so many on Monday, etc., total, so many hundred for the week, so many thousand for the year! There is the government. The first thing an individual discovers in connection with charity is that no good can be done except by helping people to help themselves. being part of Mr. Booth's plan, the outlook is favorable. But the government never does discover this necessity.

Carlyle once remarked, in ef
Statistics and fect, that statistics were worthless trash — and that a man had better possess himself of eyes than of spectacles. The two dicta taken together — and I think they were delivered in the same connection, I do not now recall where — have a meaning, and the meaning is a true one. Carlyle's contempt for figures — for facts expressed quan-

titatively - was his misfortune, a misfortune partly innate in him, and partly belonging to his generation. For we are apt to overlook the generation to which Carlyle owed his training. But at the time he was writing there was already distinctly discernible a danger - and the danger exists yet - of overestimating the value of statistics. The equally real danger of underestimating their value Carlyle did not see very clearly. That the tendencies to the two extremes coexist and contend with each other for our attention is perfectly evident. And just as there is still one large group of persons, mostly belonging to the so-called literary class, who have not risen superior to Carlyle's limitation, so there is another equally narrow-minded class to whom Carlyle's exhortation is still the only appropriate one - for heaven's sake, get eyes! — eyes!

In other words, if a man thinks, because he has before him a column of figures expressing more or less accurately the quantitative factors of a few social phenomena, that therefore the true relationship between these factors and phenomena will fly up and strike him in the face, his investigations will be to little purpose. You may borrow spectacles to read words printed in black on a page; but what spectacles will enable one to read the white spaces between? Yet it is in the blank spaces between that lies, hidden to most to us, revealed to the few, the causal relations of the phenomena whose numerical factors are recorded in the columns.

What Carlyle himself probably had in mind in connection with his metaphor of statistics and eyes is even more suggestive. The columns of statistical figures are so many spectacles which may extend our vision beyond the narrow range of personal observation; but the extention will be absolutely futile unless our eyes have revealed to us the qualities of things that lie within the personal range. Of what earthly use will it be to one to learn that there are seventeen hundred thousand men in New York City, if his eyes have never beheld a man, if he has not seen men daily and hourly: yes, seen men, as they are, and touched them, and been touched by them? He must read between the lines before the information becomes of any use to him; he must attach the true quality to each of every one of those seventeen hundred thousand units. Then he will be able to discover for himself that out of the whole number only seventeen are men, and that the rest are about equally divided between brutes and barbarians.

These reflections are suggested by the motion which met with a favorable reception in the Federal Senate to establish a Tariff Commission. The proposed commission was to consist of five members, and its duty should be:—

"To examine into and ascertain the average price of commodities imported into the United States, both at wholesale and retail in the United States, and both in the United States and in the foreign places of production, sale, or shipment, for the period of twelve months preceding and twelve months following any change in the rate of customs duties imposed upon such commodities, and this inquiry shall be carried back for a period of twentyfive years, and more, if deemed advisable by such commission, and shall extend to all facts relating to demand and supply, domestic and foreign, which tend to influence prices of such commodities, foreign and domestic, and to aid in determining the true effect of the import duty or of the change therein in the several cases, upon domestic and foreign prices, and upon productions of the same or of other commodities, upon revenue, upon immigration, upon profits of capital, rates of wages, and the general welfare."

Having got a column of figures, the supposition seems to be that the relation between them will fly up and strike the Senators in the face. A more fruitless undertaking could not be easily conceived. A vastly greater number of men than five has been spending not a few months or years but lifetimes, and that for several generations, in collecting the figures necessary to the solution of the tariff problem. And these figures have been inspected over and over again by "disinterested" persons to discover the true relations between them. The result of the inspection has been, with almost invariable uniformity, to disclose the fact that tariffs are an injury to the people imposing them, although they may act for the advantage of a small number in the community. No larger accumulation of facts will prove this any more clearly than it is already proved. The simple truth is that, in order that any inference may be discerned by the inspection of statistics, eyes, brains - must be applied to the task. And this being the state of the case, what hope is there that the most exhaustive statistic in the world will be of use to Congressmen? The men to discover causes are not elected by ballot: they are elected by nature. And con-

sidering how rare they are, the membership of Congress might be multiplied by a hundred, the chances would still be a thousand to one against the election of the man with eyes. The habit of indulging in "official" investigations is one of the very worst that can be cultivated. So far as the main issue is concerned, — tariff or no tariff, — the present Congress was not elected to investigate, but to see that their constituents' will was recorded. And so far as the details are concerned - the things to be repressed and the things to be encouraged, and the rates adopted to accomplish the repression or the encouragement these Congressmen were elected, and their successors will be elected, to "investigate" every schedule and item for themselves: not to delegate that duty to some ridiculous commission, undreamt of at the poll.

CHARITY.

Indiscriminate charity is an injury in many ways: the material benefits get diverted to the use of unworthy persons.

The mere act of rendering the conditions of life of unworthy persons more favorable, and thus preserving their lives a longer time for them than they would have done themselves, is a relatively slight offence. If the damage stopped here the affront to nature might be easily condoned. But the injury is much deeper. About the last capacity to suffer from abuse, the one which may remain unimpaired when all others have been irreparably injured, is the reproductive capacity. And so it happens that persons unworthy even to live themselves, but preserved from the natural effects of their unworthiness by others, are enabled to perpetuate their kind, and thereby increase the amount of suffering in the world from generation to generation. A great deal of this sympathy that goes out to suffering is worse than wasted. Is it all suffering that deserves sympathy and relief? Certainly not. Much of the suffering of men is due to a course of action persisted in, although the result is anticipated by them. Such suffering does not deserve sympathy, and should not receive relief from any one, and that forms a very large fraction of all suffering. Pain is the natural consequence of wrong conduct; any other consequence is most unnatural. Luckily no efforts can prevent the effect from attaching itself to the cause. But why increase the necessary amount of suffering? This is what is actually accomplished by indiscriminate charity. Instead of permitting the sinner to expiate his crimes as much as possible himself, he is enabled to pass on some of the suffering that belongs only to him to children who would not have been born but for the injurious interference of ignorant sympathy. There can be no doubt that the fact that parents should transmit suffering to their children is unavoidable; but in reasing the expiations of the second and third generations may be avoided.

The less people waste in injurious charity the more they will have to use for discriminating charity. I suppose aid extended to worthy persons must still be called charity, for the sake of clearness, but the benefits so conferred are pretty apt to return after many days. It is evident, however, that aid given with the expectation of a return cannot be called charity. It is much better not to rely upon the chance of working out the probability of reward in each particular case, but to confine one's self to conditions which Now the worthiness or the are present. unworthiness of a person is a present fact, but the reward one may derive from giving aid to the one is a future contingency. It is much safer here, as in all other cases, to consider present facts in preference to future possibilities. A correct judgment is more apt to be based on circumstances that are present. Besides, nature seems to have fitted us for dealing with the problem in this way by attaching a pleasurable feeling to the act of relieving undeserved suffering. But we are not fitted for calculating very remote chances. So from every point of view the proper guide is one's feelings and one's judgment of present circumstances.

This being the established means walled up within us for giving charity without doing harm, all charitable associations and combinations seem of extremely doubtful value. We must steadily bear in mind the fact that discrimination of the worthy from the unworthy is a necessary condition of success, and in order that we may not be confounded waiting for the evidence of success, we have been endowed with the faculty of feeling pleased right away at the relief or prevention of undeserved suffering. But the conditions of success are not observed when one delegates once a year to certain presidents, superintendents, and managers the duty of discrimination and confides in their faculties of feeling pleased the rest of the year by the relief or prevention of suffering. Of course discrimination may be exercised in selecting the superintendents of charitable institutions; and so far so good. The trouble is that the judgment so exercised is not that required by the case. People lose sight of the fact that the thing absolutely essential to successful charity is the selection of the worthy, when they seek to condense their charitable actions for the year into the one brief act of selecting some institution to dispense their donation. They lose sight of the fundamental fact, which personal contact with the recipients would effectually prevent their losing sight of. Then it is absurd to think that charity can be its own reward, when the only act involved is sitting down in cold blood and writing a check once a year. This is simply a means of escaping personal contact with the suffering to be relieved. It is wrong even when it is not cowardly. The mainspring of charity is gradually weakened, the very fountain of sympathy will be dried up. For if sympathy cannot prove its own reward there is little hope of its prevailing and controlling our conduct. For, although it is probably true that judicious charity comes back after awhile to the giver, - but certainly to his descendents, directly or indirectly, - these remote effects cannot be relied on to foster the feeling of sympathy. And without the right feeling all ends are hopeless. Now every one knows that these charitable institutions afford to many — nay, to the majority — of the patrons simply a means of annually quieting their consciences. But what their consciences most likely need is not so much quieting as quickening. Their feelings do not get quickened, nor do their judgments get enlightened, by subscribing to hospitals, asylums, or other institutions.

As to the effect on people's judgment of delegating the task of selecting the persons worthy of aid, we can probably see that effect now. For much the greater part of a century there have been in existence associations for dispensing charity, and recently these have been very numerous. The churches must not be forgotten, Many of them collect from the congregation money to be expended in charity either by the pastor or by some committee or other. And now people have plainly begun to forget the sine qua non of sucessful charity, - namely, discrimination between the worthy and the unworthy. might have been foreseen has now happened, and charity is now almost universally spoken of and thought of as though no such discrimination were necessary. The fact that suffering is the natural and proper consequence of wrong conduct is lost sight of, and it is rashly assumed that need is the only measure of desert. What meaning professed Christians propose to substitute for the one formerly attached to their parable of the talents is rather obscure. It is evident that while the feeling of sympathy has become stronger in the last generation or two, in spite of mistaken substitutes for philanthropy, and because of much wider social causes unconnected with alms giving, the sense of the necessity for discrimination has become weaker. And this is no doubt partly due to the attempted delegation to others of duties which, if they are discharged at all, must be discharged by each one for himself. A division of labor in this matter seems to be negatived by the conditions. It seems that charity cannot be done by proxy. Dr. Mackenzie, speaking only of hospitals,

and without adopting this general conclusion, gives evidence from his experience which suggests the same view. He says London hospitals:—

"Large firms subscribe with the avowed object of having medical assistance on the cheapest terms for those in their employment, and rich people in the same way seek to rid themselves of trouble and expense in case of illness among their servants. . . . The practical outcome of it is that the outpatient department is flooded with persons who are not proper objects of charity. . . ." Certainly, hospitals appear the most defensible of charitable institutions, because co-operation makes the available service so much more efficient. But here, as elsewhere, charity en gros proves impracticable. It should not be made easy for people to do up their charity by an annual subscription. If a hospital is established, what does it matter whether the patients pay for themselves or are paid for by others? The proper persons to establish hospitals are physicians and surgeons; and if the clinic is the desideratum, then such a hospital would charge the minimum for its services. Then charitable persons could send persons there whom they wished to aid, and pay for each one separately.

If this practice prevailed in place of the annual subscription, fewer patients would be sent there who should be paying for themselves. And the subscribers would have their attention constantly directed to the necessity for distinguishing between the worthy and the unworthy.

If voluntary co-operation for charitable purposes is of such questionable feasibility, what shall be said of involuntary charity? Both in Europe and in America, the governments have been perverted into institutions for dispensing involuntary charity.

People are taxed, — houses sold over their heads for taxes, — when part of those very taxes are spent on hospitals for paupers and on schools for other people's children! The very pretence of discrimination is thrown to the winds, and it is rashly assumed

that need is the proper measure of desert. The case is bad enough when no discrimination is exercised as between the recipients of charity; how much worse the action of the Government, which involves not only indiscriminate distribution of benefits, but also indiscriminate collection. Not only does the charity fall alike on the unworthy and the worthy: it is collected alike from the able and from the unable! In order that people who can read may have cheap novels, magazines, and newspapers, people who cannot read are laid under contribution. In order that some pauper suffering from the natural consequence of loathsome vice may be cared for, the poor widow is taxed out of medical attendance for her children, — the sooner to be forced to join the pauper at the hospital for whose supposed benefit she has just been robbed. And so the children die, and the widow . . . ? It is evident that something is fundamentally wrong with our notions of charity, as well as with our notions of taxation; but taxation, - charity, - that is the apotheosis of wrong. Suppose that most of the taxes taken to support hospitals, dispensaries, reading-rooms, schools, libraries, poor-houses is taken from those who can afford the loss. What consolation is this supposed to be to the others from whom the rest is taken who cannot afford the loss? And as to the first, who can afford the loss, what will the effect be on them? In the endeavor to serve charity, the very roots of charity in them are being extirpated, - in the place of spontaneous sympathy, - compulsion.

While, therefore, co-operation for charitable purposes, involving, as it does, a division of labor unfavorable to the development of sympathy, and unfavorable to the exercise of selection between the worthy and the unworthy, is still on trial, compulsory co-operation for charity is unqualifiedly and irrevocably condemned. The conditions involved are clear; the facts are ascertained; the conclusion is sure. Who are the worthy? That is a question I would not ask you to answer for me; I will

not try to answer it for you. Therefore, let us not try to answer it for each other at the poll.

EDUCATION AND LIBERTY.

When Socrates gave his celebrated demonstration that no one who knows the right will do the wrong, he attracted a great deal of attention, and his words have been turned to with delight through all the succeeding The doctrine seems to have culminated in the latter part of the ninetecuth century, and in the most civilized part of the world. Of course we are aware as well as the Greeks were that Socrates was mistaken; that men do in general have a much clearer notion of what is right than would appear from their actions. But we frequently choose to talk and act as if we did not know this, and so give a fresh instance of the unsoundness of Socrates's maxim. A leading journal of free-thinking quotes the following among its gems of thought: "Ignorance is the principal cause of crime"; "Ignorance and servitude are calculated to make men wicked and unhappy." "Every expansion of intelligence has proved of advantage to society." The first quotation continues, "The untrained person is not likely to have his morals developed any more than his intelligence." To proceed, however, from this undoubted truth, as many do, to the inference that training the intelligence will develop morality is a wholly unwarranted proceeding.

This is the slip which is commonly made, nevertheless, and it is the basis of our publicschool system. For wl.at is the supreme purpose of State education? To make good citizens, of course. And which is the more important qualification for a good citizen, a keen intelligence or a disposition to act rightly? We wish to train our young citizens in such a way that they will keep out of jail, and we give them a training which is calculated to enable them to keep out of the poorhouse, and not well calculated even for One reason for this substitution that. is plain: it is exceedingly hard, when two courses, the one easy and the other difficult, present themselves, not to be persauded that the easy one is the more profitable, and, on the whole, to be followed. It is so easy, comparatively, to teach arithmetic and grammar and so hard to teach virtue. No one ever

thought of questioning whether geometry could be taught, but it has been a very serious question whether virtue is teachable. We are content to leave the question unanswered: to teach geometry and repeat, parrot-like, a few virtuous precepts.

It is not intended here to underestimate the importance of intelligence. Intelligence has, perhaps, a closer relation to life than morality; because a high degree of life is possible (in animals which are not gregarious) without what is commonly understood by morality, but not without intelligence. But for social life both are absolutely essential. In so far as public schools raise the intelligence of a nation, they are a good thing; but to suppose that this is tantamount to developing morality is a mistake which no nation can afford to make. This mistake is made in the most infatuate degree by those in this country, who see no hope for the preservation of our "free institutions" except in public education. Political morality has been declining throughout the whole history of the country, while the system of public education has been as constantly extending, and yet political morality and public education are supposed to go hand in hand.

That education and liberty are indissolubly connected may be seen with the utmost clearness from the case of Germany. There is the most thoroughly educated people in the world. " Nowhere else is 'education' so elaborate and all-embracing." Every child born there must go through the inevitable drill, the result of which is that the Germans are much more pliable, docile, disciplinable, than the English, much less capable of dealing with their own wants and conditions, willing to be dealt with as herds of animals, and, as frequently remarked, the greatness of Germany is due rather to the rulers than to the people. They are described as "the most superintended, the most interfered with, the most destitute of civil freedom and political rights" of all the peoples of Western Europe, but at the same time "the most educated, that is, in what is conventionally called education, - the drilling of the mind, not its development."

A people which trusts to its rulers for its greatness is not likely to remain great long, for no nation ever secured wise and good rulers for long. This question, however, is not of much interest to us in this country; if

we depended upon our rulers for our greatness, where should we stand in the rank of nations? What does concern us deeply is whether our public schools fit children to become free citizens, or whether they are becoming more like the educational mills of the Germans. Most of the adults in the United States were educated in the public schools and many of them have children who are now getting an education in those schools. Nearly every one is competent to consider the question, if he will not let himself be dazzled by the mechanically-correct, parrotlike answers to set questions, dear to the heart of the normal-school graduate.

WHY REFORMERS FAIL.

It is impossible to read history without being impressed with the evils suffered by the nations, which we are irresistibly impelled to regard as needless evils. Suffering arising from the inability of men to cope with the inorganic conditions in which they have been placed, and even that arising from war between different peoples, seems to us natural and inevitable; but the suffering that results from the inability of men to arrange themselves in a well-organized society - from the oppression of one class by another - impresses us as wholly needless. Suffering arising from this cause it is the ambition of reformers to diminish or do away with altogether. That this should be the evil chosen for attack is not surprising, for surely if any evil is avoidable it must be that caused by the voluntary actions of men.

The experience of reformers proves that to abolish evil caused by misconduct is by no means easy; otherwise the world would be a far happier place; for certainly enough efforts have been made; nearly every one nowadays has his theory of what is needed, and tries more or less earnestly to bring about the realization of his ideal. A certain number of pessimists believe, or affect to believe, that the condition of the world is utterly wretched, and that it will never be any better; but even they are willing to make faint efforts to improve a

portion of it. The chief thing remarkable about them is that they are persons whose personal circumstances are much more pleasant than the average.

The bad success of reformers may be due to the difficult nature of what they attempt, or to their not seeking for the right things, or partly to one and partly to the other. It is impossible that all the attempts at social amelioration have been in the right direction, since some are the opposites of others; but one might maintain that all have been in one or other of the countless wrong directions. Fashions change in reforms, as in other things. During the last generation students of social questions were deeply impressed with the evils of trying forcibly to restrain men in their activities, and promised all kinds of advantages from individual freedom, freedom of trade, freedom of contract, and the like. Now the evils which men bring upon themselves in those matters with respect to which they are free are perceived, and changes are urged which will prevent men from bringing these evils upon themselves. argued that the natural inequality of men renders really free contract among them impossible, since the superior will find ways to compel the inferior to make terms favorable to the former.

There can be no denial that the superior in force of intellect or in physical force have profited largely at the expense of the inferior in the past, and that they are profiting now. As in former times, human victims were selected upon whom the foundation stones of public works were laid, crushing them, so now the lower strata of society to some extent support the upper and are pressed by the weight. There is something very repugnant to the feelings of most men in this, contemplated apart from personal considerations, and the chief effort of the most popular reformers is to find some way of preventing it. If only men could in some way be made equal by asserting that they ought to be equal, or by some other means, the problem would be

solved to the satisfaction of this class. As it is, the chief hope seems to be in the numbers of the inferior. A thousand of this class, being combined, are stronger than one of the other, and can make tolerable terms with him, when, one by one, they would be helpless in his hands.

It is not surprising that men deeply impressed with the fact of exploitation of the inferior by the superior, and with the evils resulting, should, in the remedies they devise, be a little careless of going too far and benefiting the former at the expense of the latter. The sympathies are not nearly so much appealed to by the thought of a man's failing to get what he deserves, if he gets enough to satisfy all his reasonable wants, as if he deserves only enough for a bare subsistence. It might be thought, too, that what has been said implies the imposibility of preventing the superior from getting as much as they deserve, or more. But the experience of many labor unions shows that it is possible to prevent a skilful workman from getting the benefit of his superiority. Spain, for upwards of three hundred years, put to death large numbers of her best men, with results from which she will probably never recover; and if a nation can put to death its best men, it can evidently rob them. In the actual case at present there are some respects in which the superior exploit the community, and others, as public schools and compulsory charity, in which the community exploits them, with the balance in favor of the superior.

POLITICS IN THE MAGAZINES.

In the Fortnightly Review for November, Mr. Moreton Frewen makes a defence of the National Policy of the United States, meaning, of course, protection and our silver legislation. He thinks that "but for the protection of infant industries in America those industries would never have survived their birth"; that this country would have been a nation of farmers, swapping "hogs and hominy' with England for factory products. The fact that farmers do not combine and defeat our tariff policy, if, as is asserted by free traders, its chief burden falls

upon them, shows "that an enlightened public opinion is impossible in a purely agricultural community."

To our policy of protection, Mr. Frewen thinks, must be attributed national unity. "How would it have been," he asks, "if the United States had adopted the British policy of leaving each part of the empire independent as regards tariff legislation, and New York were permitting free imports, as England does, but Illinois levying duties on her imports from New York, as Canada does on imports from England? What advantage would the market of New York be to the farmer of Ohio, if that market were "also the dumping-ground on equal terms for the bullocks of Ontario?" If England had adopted the American policy, and had "opened her market freely, but to colonial produce only, it is safe to say that millions of emigrants who have swelled the muster roll of the United States would still have been citizens of the British Empire, and England's trade with her own colonies would have been enormously larger."

Enough has already been given to show that Mr. Frewen writes from a political rather than from an economical standpoint. The most important effect he anticipates from the McKinley Bill is the possible absorption of Canada by the United States. From the British free-trader's point of view, this would be a matter of indifference, since Canada already has a protective tariff against English goods, but for an American protectionist it has great import, since it would assure the supremacy of the Republican party and the policy of protection. This, we take it, would be more than an offset for making the market of New York "the dumping-ground for the bullocks of Ontario."

It is only fair to state that the article was written before the recent elections, and that the writer would probably have modified the tone of it if he could have foreseen the way in which the action of Congress would be judged by the people.

The Popular Science Monthly for December opens with an article entitled "Early Steps in Iron-Making," by Wm. F. Durffee, Engineer. This is the first of a series of articles which are to appear in this magazine under the general heading of "The Development of American Industries since Columbus." Each of the great manufacturing industries in America is to be treated of in subsequent numbers, and if the first is to be accepted as a criterion for judging its successors, it is probably safe to predict an interesting and valuable series.

In the Editor's Table is found an article on Human Selection, that seems to deserve more

than a passing notice. It is really but a commentary upon Mr. Wallace's ideas of the same subject, which appeared in the November number, and which were reviewed in To-Day (No. 25). The editor of Popular Science certainly speaks much to the point when he suggests that "our troubles, such as they are, largely arise from over-legislation, leading to a hurtful decline in the sense of individual responsibility, and from altogether too weak methods of dealing with crime and pauperism. . . . If we could stop our miserable political (socalled) wranglings long enough to take a common-sense view of the situation, and become really interested in plans for its amelioration, the difficulties would not be found at all insuperable. Fit for civil rights, or unfit for civil rights? that is the question to be applied to every member of the community. . . . The "human selection" that is required is primarily a selection that will put aside those members of society who, in moral character or in the power of self-help, fall below the requirements of decent living. This can be carried out as soon as we have sense enough to attempt it; and when once such a separation has been effected, and we have no longer in the heart of society a perennial spring of baseness and incapacity, the march of improvement in all directions will be rapid, while year by year the burden thus assumed by the State will diminish."

Agnes Rankin, the venturesome young girl of Fulton, Ky., who got into the penitentiary through her penchant for wearing boy's clothes, and who was pardoned, and immediately ran away from her home again, is in more trouble. She went to work as a farm hand near Kenton, Tenn., and her sex was discovered, whereupon a very proper old magistrate of the neighborhood sent her to jail for further investigation of the case. Agnes gives a reason for her conduct which is worth some consideration. "I prefer to wear men's clothes," she said, "for the same reason that first led me to put them on: they insure me employment wherever I go. Were I to come into this community dressed as a woman, and asked to be allowed to do a hard day's washing for fifty cents, I would neither get the work nor be allowed to stop in the house without being indorsed by some responsible person, or showing a pocketful of recommendations to satisfy the household of my respectability. But if I come rigged as a man I get plenty of work at one dollar a day, and no questions asked. I discovered a good while ago that it doesn't pay to be a woman: women are no good." -Louisville Courier-Journal.

AMERICANA.

AUGUST UTHOFF is an Elkhorn saloon keeper, who was arrested recently, charged with selling liquor on the Sabbath. He was taken before a justice at Elkhorn for trial, and straightway moved for a change of venue.

- "What's that?" the Court asked
- "We don't want to be tried by you," I thoff's attorney responded.

The judge looked at him in astonishment. Uthost's attorney expected a fine for contempt of court, but he escaped that.

- "I'd like to know why not?" the Court remarked warmly.
- "Well, we have an affidavit here to the effect that we feel that we cannot secure a fair and impartial trial: you're prejudiced."
 - "You're a liar!"
 - "You're unfriendly to us."
- "You're an infernal, no-account, worthless liar. You and your client ought to be in jail."
- "We want to go before another court, anyway."

The justice rose up and roared.

"You make me tired," he cried. "Do you think this Court is going to have you pawing all over the country like Dogknees looking for a man with a lantern to suit your pleasure? Think the law is a thing to be tried on, like a suit of clothes? You sit down there and give your evidence."

Uthoff's attorney complied, and the result was his client was fined \$100, and was sent to jail. But the attorney appeared before the District Court, recited the facts, and the saloon man was released. — Omaha World-Herald

In the Department of the North, France, in 1870, a certain Mlle. Camille --- was born. The secretary of the Mairie put her down on his book of vital statistics as a boy. In due time, the mistake never having been discovered, a conscription number was given her. In this year's drawing her number was drawn, and she was notified to present herself at the depot for recruits. Then, and not till then, the mistake was discovered. French officialism was equal to the occasion. The correctness of the record must be maintained at all hazards. Officialism regretted exceedingly the young lady's unpleasant predicament, but it owed a duty to itself. There was a way by which the young lady could escape military service without impugning the record. It was suggested that she might bring proceedings before the civil tribunal of the Department at Dunkirk, for release from military duty, a course the young lady took, with the result that the French army loses an Amazon.

The crude English or American method would have been simply to drop her name and draw an extra conscript. A near approach to the excellence of the French system was attained in Boston in the old militia days, when the authorities, declining to admit that they had been deceived by resemblance of names, year after year summoned an eminently respectable maiden lady to appear on the Common on training days, "armed and equipped as the law directs."

The patent medicine cross-examiner who asks, "Does your scalp itch?" will likely find strong opposition in the far West Our erring red brethren are preparing to remove itching scalps free of charge, and while you wait. — Washington Post.

Each Congressional corpse has his own theory of what killed him. — New York World.

THE PROPHECY ALREADY FULFILLED — One feature of the Indian Messiah theory is that a mud wave is to engulf the palefaces. They seem to have heard of the late Democratic victory. — Indianapolis Journal.

Mrs. McGudley was recently heard to refer to that eminent Socialist, Ward McAllister. — Washington Post.

The amount of \$35,000, just paid for Bolero, is said to be the highest price ever given for a two-year-old race-horse. The McKinley Bill, of course, did it. — New York Tribune.

I've lost no limbs, as I can see,
I've shed no drops of gore,
But there should be reward for me:
I shot my mouth off constantly
All through the civil war.

New York Herald.

There is no duty on sackcloth and ashes. Could Mr. McKinley have made this omission designedly. — Galveston News.

No Congressman can become so obscure that his constituents can't recall him. — Washington Post.

The one beautiful thing about the special-delivery stamp is that it is never on sale at the hour you need it most urgently. — Puck

An Ohio constable sought to collect a debt, but the debtor refused to pay it. The constable thereupon gave him seven dollars' worth of licking, and when arraigned in court he pleaded that he always supposed the law gave him full power and authority to lick anybody he could, whether they were debtors or creditors.

Detroit Free Press.

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SIR EDWIN ARNOLD

Contributes to the December number the first of a series of four Articles upon Japan, its people, its ways, and its thoughts. Mr. Robert Blum, who was commissioned to go to Japan for Scribaer's Magazine, has prepared a very remarkable series of drawings to illustrate Sir Edwin's papers. Articles upon the recent Japanese Festical will follow, illustrated by Mr. Blum.

HENRY M. STANLEY

Has prepared for the January number an important article upon "The Pigmies of the Great African Forest." Another contribution in this field will be Mr. J. Scott Keltic's account of the recent African Exhibition held in London. Both papers will be amply illustrated.

THE WRECKER,

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POLITICS: EVENTS; COMMENTS; LITERA
URE.



The conditions under which this paper is published render it impossible to give the weekly record of facts the character of news. This is especially the case with the foreign items for which we shall not hereafter rely on the American newspapers. Nor does it seem feasible to complicate the classification by separating items accordingly as they are or are not "news." Suffice it to say that the facts are, in the main, collected from daily papers; that their importance does not generally depend upon dates; that our record of them cannot have greater authority than the sources have, but is evidently more trustworthy than any single newspaper.

LEGISLATIVE.

The British Parliament reconvened Nov. 25. Mr. Balfour has re-introduced in the House of Commons his Irish Land Purchase Bill, with a few slight modifications. An amendment by Mr. Labouchere against pledging the imperial credit to the large amount required until the country should have given its consent at a general election was rejected, Mr. Parnell and thirty Irish members voting with the government.

Among the bills passed by the Vermont Legislature are: the bill providing for an Australian ballot; the bill appropriating \$2,400 for the construction of a fish hatchery; the bill prohibiting the use of dogs in hunting partridges; the ten-hour-labor bill amended so as to permit extra labor when extra pay is given; the bill to pay newspaper publishers for promulgation of the laws; the bill providing for a bureau of immigration and appropriating \$2,000 annually; the bill providing for the payment of Roman Catholic services at the State prison; and the bill prohibiting the use of live pigeons as targets.

Among the bills rejected by the Vermont Legislature are: the high-license and local-option bill; the bill creating a separate agricultural college; the bill establishing a State Board of Pharmacy; the bill to encourage occupancy of abandoned farms; the bill requiring rope fire escapes in hotels; and the bill providing for free text-books in the public schools.

Among the bills introduced in the Alabama Legislature are: a bill to prohibit the keeping of any lunch stand with any bar or beer saloon; a bill fixing the legal rate of interest at six per cent, with an amendment allowing any interest up to nine per cent which may be agreed upon in writing by the parties; a bill for the proper ventilation of mines, and establishing a board of examiners of applicants for the position of mine inspector; a bill to prohibit the selling or giving cigarettes to minors; a bill establishing a State Industrial University School for colored students; a bill requiring railroads to stop passenger trains at all stations at which the receipts amount to \$500 per month; a bill requiring passenger trains to stop one and one half minutes for receiving passengers at all advertised stations; a bill exempting from taxation all capital hereafter invested in the State for a period of ten years; a bill requiring railroads to furnish separate but equal accommodations for different races; a bill providing that, in civil cases, the finding of three fourths of the jury shall constitute the verdict of the jury; a bill making it unlawful for conductors, engineers, firemen, and brakemen to act in their respective capacities who have not been off duty for at least ten hours after a trip of twelve hours; a bill providing for teaching in the public schools of physiology and hygiene, with reference to the effects of alcoholic drinks on the human system.

The school law just passed by the Oklahoma Legislature contains this provision:—

"Separate free schools shall be established for the education of children of African descent, and it shall hereafter be unlawful in the public schools of this territory for any colored child to attend any white school, or for any white child to attend any colored school."

Where ten colored children of school age live in one district, a separate school is to be established.

A bill has been introduced in the French Chamber of Deputies providing that foreign life-insurance companies shall obtain the assent of the government prior to founding branches in France, that they shall invest half the amount of the premiums received from their French business in rents, and that they shall report annually the business done by them. The preamble to the bill explains that, in view of the commercial war with the United States, France ought not to encourage companies which are almost exclusively American.

There was a discussion in the French Chamber on a proposal by Marquis de la Ferronnays for the restoration of the so-called "tours," or foundling receptacles. The Marquis argued that since the closing of the "tours," in 1860, infanticide and abortion had largely increased. As to the objection that parents would get rid of their legitimate children by depositing them in these receptacles, he urged that parents capable of acting thus would also be capable of destroying them. He denied that immorality would be stimulated, for girls who yielded to temptation never weighed the consequences. Of two evils the lesser should be chosen, and the experiment should at least be tried in Paris. M. de la Ferronnays insisted that this was a better course than voting four and one half millions for deserted children, or than the Roussel antibaby-farming law of 1874, which substituted State supervision for maternal supervision. M. Joseph Reinach, on behalf of the Budget Committee, objected to the proposal. He contended that the Roussel law had saved thousands of lives; that if the mothers were cared for they would bring up their infants; that an infant would often contract a mortal malady between the ringing of the bell and its admission; that the mothers used to be watched by adventurers who practised extortion, and that the mortality among foundlings was terrible; whereas, under the existing system, a mother bringing an infant to an asylum was offered assistance for keeping it, and, even if she deposited it, was able at any time to reclaim it. The proposal was rejected by a large majority.

The Swiss Federal Council has decided to expel Mormons from the republic. Petitions in favor of the expulsion have been signed by tens of thousands of the working-people. They have been making numerous converts.

The mayor of Williamsport, Penn., has undertaken to discourage the use of profane language on the streets of his city. He has issued an order directing the police to arrest all persons caught thus violating the law.

Referring to the sugar-bounty provision of the tariff law, the commissioner of the Internal Revenue Bureau says in his last annual report:—

"The ascertaining of the amount of bounty to be paid to the producers of sugar is an entirely new feature in the internal-revenue system. This bureau has none of the machinery required to execute the law. It is simply a collection office. It will be necessary to make a chemical analysis in all cases where bounty is claimed. It is not deemed practical to have samples sent to this office for analysis, and rely upon the tests made here as to the entire production.

"The law requires that the tests shall be made by the polariscope, and this will require the services of a large number of chemists of considerable experience. Only one chemist and one microscopist are now employed in this bureau.

"I am informed that the Department of Agriculture now employs a number of chemists, and that this department gives much attention to the culture of sugar-producing plants and the methods of manufacturing sugar.

"In view of these facts, I beg to suggest that Congress be recommended to amend the law so as to require this bounty to be ascertained and paid by the honorable secretary of agriculture.

"If, however, it shall be decided that this bureau shall remain charged with the duty of ascertaining and paying the bounty upon sugar, I am compelled to ask the privilege of being allowed to make a supplemental report upon these two subjects, and to ask for such additional appropriations as may be necessary to give these laws full force and effect, and to fully protect the interests of the Government in their execution."

One of the issues of the Wisconsin State campaign was the question whether the State Treasurers had the right to put the State funds in banks and keep the interest for themselves. This had been the course of the Republicans for years, and large fortunes had been made out of this practice. The treasurer-elect, who is a Democrat, intends to bring suit against the extreasurers and their bondsmen for the interest on the funds.

The National Sabbath Reform Association has decided to compel the enforcement of the Pennsylvania Blue Laws of 1794. An attempt will be made to suppress the Sunday issue of the Pittsburg and Philadelphia papers. The carriers and newsboys will be arrested. Lawyers admit that every form of employment on Sunday can be stopped absolutely under the old laws.

Digitized by GOGIC

The Treasury Department has instructed the Collector of Customs at New York that the McKinley Tariff Bill was not intended to exclude from exemption from duty wearing apparel and other personal effects which had been worn and had been in bona fide use abroad and are necessary and appropriate for the journey and the present comfort and convenience of the owner, although, from accident or other cause, the owner may not have had their use on the journey and they arrive at a different time. It was not the intention of Congress to exclude from free entry the professional books, implements, instruments, and tools of trade, occupation, and employment of persons arriving in the United States which had been in their actual possession and were intended for their use after their arrival in this country, but which were, as a matter of convenience, or through accident, shipped by another vessel from that on which their owner made the journey.

At a mass meeting held by the International Law and Order Society in Pittsburg, Judge Bonney, of Chicago, delivered an address on "The Executive Power and the Enforcement of the Laws." He said:—

"Legislative work is notoriously poor. In quantity it is excessive, burdening the statute-books with worse than needless details of administration; in quality it is crude and uncertain, requiring years to determine its real meaning and effect; in motive it is too often partial and sectional, instigated by some merely local interest or grievance, and not properly limited.

But it is in the executive department of power that we see the gravest errors. We see as we survey the country executive positions high as the thrones of kings, and richly endowed with regal powers, occupied by commanders-in-chief who do not command; governors who do not govern; executives who do not execute. We see those exalted public offices largely occupied with the affairs of the political party to which they respectively belong, and, when not so engaged, appearing more like the chairmen of important committees than as the custodians and administrators of the great powers of government."

Judge Bonney said that the Law and Order societies were organized to maintain the supremacy of the law. Incidentally, the societies set themselves to correct the abuses of the law. If the officials neglect their duty, the societies compel them to the performance of it. Since 1877, when the movement was started, the success of the societies has been very pronounced. At the meeting of the delegates, Mayor Bond, of Montreal, gave an account of the fight to enforce the law in his city.

The league had employed detectives, but the detectives were bought, and got the league into trouble. Then he turned to the United States, and got a New York detective, who simply made full reports to him of the wickedness going on in the city. He had recently laid this mass of information before the officials of the Province of Quebec. He had got them interested, and now the law-breakers were terrifled. Some of the worst places in the city that had openly defied the law for years were closed last Sunday. He now felt very much encouraged, and had a considerable public sentiment with him. The working-men's societies and the Knights of Labor were now with him. The secretary of the society said that the work of the societies varied with different localities. Chicago the Law and Order Society concerned itself chiefly with enforcing the law and to prevent the sale of liquor to minors. The saloons are kept open on Sunday without concealment, but the society has not felt called upon yet to enforce the law against selling on Sunday. In Boston, and in Massachusetts generally, the Law and Order people endeavor to enforce all the laws relating to liquor selling. In towns where, under the local-option law, the people have voted to allow the sale of liquor, the Law and Order people do not interfere or endeavor to drive the licensed saloons out, but simply to make them obey the law. In prohibition towns they try to enforce the prohibitory law.

JUDICIAL.

The Sacramento (Cal.) Typographical Union has been conducting a systematic boycott against the local Bee for refusing to re-instate discharged employees at the bidding of organized labor. Judge Armstrong granted the proprietors restraining orders prohibiting the boycotters doing any acts tending to injure the paper. Printed circulars and advertisements are included in the order. This is the first decision in California declaring boycotting illegal.

In the Criminal Court of Chicago Judge Tuley sentenced a colored man to twenty years in the penitentiary for assaulting a woman. One feature of the sentence is said to be unprecedented. The judge said to the criminal:—

"You committed the crime the thirteenth day of August, this year, and that you may have opportunity to reflect on its enormity, it is the sentence of the Court that every year until your term shall have expired you shall spend the 13th of August—the anniversary of your crime—and the ten succeeding days in solitary confinement in your cell."

A man was arrested in Philadelphia for selling liquor to detectives without a license. He was a brickmaker, out of work, and had a wife and five children. The officers tempted him to sell them a drink, and he sold them some whiskey from a small bottle in his cupboard. He pleaded guilty, and the judge, in sentencing him, said:—

"I must confess I do not like or approve of this method of inveigling persons into commission of offences, and then prosecuting them.

"Now, it appears that the defendant is undoubtedly guilty of selling liquor on that one occasion, but there is no proof that he sold on any other. Possibly, he would not have sold to the officers if they had not laid this trap for him. I don't approve of police officers laying traps of this kind for persons to walk into, and then turning around and putting them in jail. There are plenty of places to be found where there is a persistent violation of the law, and where evidence could be secured without such treachery. Under the circumstances, I will impose the minimum sentence, — three months, and a fine of \$500."

INDUSTRIAL.

The International Shoe Workers' Union in Rochester, N. Y., has issued a communication to the cutters in which appears the following:—

"The experience of the past has taught us that it would be folly to hope to derive any benefit in an organization comprising the various branches of the boot and shoe industry under one executive head. There never has been any real harmony existing between the bottoming and cutting departments. The cutters being in a minority, their interests have always been ignored. The cutting branch being the only one in the industry to which an apprenticeship has to be served, it would be weakness on our part to acknowledge that a person working in the bottoming department, who knows no more about cutting than a hod-carrier, would be a fit person to settle a dispute between a manufacturer and the cutting department. Profiting by our experience in past organizations, wherein we have been forced to submit to the dictates of irresponsible parties, and betrayed into the hands of the employing classes by bribe takers and office seekers, and, seeing the danger of centralizing power in the hands of one or a few persons, we have built an organization on the broadest of democratic principles, every member having a vote on the adoption of all laws, and, as a precaution against corruption, each local branch is the custodian of its own funds." The Berliner Volksblatt, the organ of the German Social Democracy, announces that the next International Workingmen's Congress will be held in Brussels, on Aug. 16-24 of 1891. All labor organizations of the world will be invited to send representatives. The reports and other documents must be presented printed in English, French, and German. The Executive Committee has decided on this order of business: First, discussion of international and national legislation for protecting the workingman; second, consideration of the right of organization and combination, of strikes and boycotts, from the international point of view; third, definition of duties of workingmen toward militarism.

In a letter to a Brussels paper, Cardinal Manning says that the question of wages ought to be solved by means of free contract between masters and laborers, and that recourse to legislation should be avoided by the workingmen. He declares this to be the spirit of Catholic teaching.

The 2,000 girls who compose the Danbury (Ct.) Hat Trimmers' Union are out on a strike. They say that their employers have ill-treated them and violated their agreements. With the trimmers out, all other departments are helpless, and several thousand other people are idle.

The National Convention of the Farmers' Mutual Benefit Association, recently in session at Springfield, Ill., adopted resolutions demanding the abolition of the national banking system; favoring the loaning of money by the National Government to citizens in sums not exceeding \$1,000 to any one, and property secured, at a rate not exceeding four per cent per annum; favoring the issue and sale at par, by the Government, of United States bonds in denominations of \$10, \$20, \$50, and \$100, bearing three-percent interest, and redeemable at the option of the holder and the Government; demanding a reduction of taxation on the necessaries and conveniences of life; favoring regulation of immigration; recommending a revision of Government officials' salaries; and favoring the election of President, Vice-President, and United States Senators by the popular vote.

The Farmers Alliance claims to have lodges in thirty-five States, with a membership of 2,000,000.

The victories of the Farmers' Alliance are likely to result in harder times than before. Eastern capitalists are warned not to invest in the States where the legislatures are controlled by Alliance men. The New York Sun says:—

"Many wild notions, such as laws for the prevention of foreclosures, and the like, have had strong support in some of the country Alliances. Hostility to railroads and a disposition to interfere with them arbitrarily and to fix rates at a point which means no dividends have been common to all granger movements, and the Farmers' Alliance, with its belief in Government control of railroads, is no exception. Extreme views are likely to come to the top wherever the Alliance is in power. Investors, therefore, will do well to be cautious about increasing their investments in the granger States before the animus of the legislatures has been fully disclosed."

Last summer, the London County Council made eight hours a day's work for a large number of men employed in the drainage works. A few days ago it passed a resolution forbidding these men to spend their leisure hours in earning money elsewhere.

The London County Council will see that all contractors who do work for it treat their employees fairly and pay them good wages.

Meetings were held by workmen throughout Belgium in favor of an eight-hour work-day and universal suffrage. Money was collected in anticipation of a general strike. Bills were thrown over the barrack walls in Brussels urging the soldiers to co-operate with the workmen.

The employers as well as the workmen of Boston are dissatisfied with the workings of State arbitration. Some of the workmen claim that the Board is useless, because its decisions are not mandatory.

It appears from the last annual report of the Missouri Bureau of Labor Statistics that the State law compelling mine operators to pay the miners' wages in legal currency and within four days of pay-day is not obeyed. When some of the miners requested their employers to carry out the statutory provision they were promptly discharged, and this has deterred others from seeking to profit by the law. The chief of the Bureau says that the fault lies with the law itself, in that it provides that the reme ly shall be by civil process. He recommends that the prosecuting attorney should enforce the law, and the employers be made liable to punishment for evading it.

In Hawke's Bay, New Zealand, a "Free Association of Employers and Workmen" has been organized.

On a St. Louis cable line the employees are allowed only ten minutes for dinner or supper, and if a man is one minute late he is laid off for six days.

The Halifax Workmen's Association has resolved to petition Parliament for a law restricting the day's work for miners to eight hours, and also for one prohibiting the employment of boys unable to read, write, and understand the rules of arithmetic as far as fractions.

Since the expiration of the anti-Socialist law in Germany, the Socialists have suffered defeat in many important elections. It is thought that with the removal of coercion there has been a withdrawal of the sympathetic vote cast with them heretofore as a protest against absolutism favored by the imperalists.

The French Government has been conducting an inquiry into the conditions of the Parisian working-women. The statistics collected show that only three or four of the many trades in which women are engaged are fairly well paid, and these require not only natural talent, but an expensive training as well. In the china manufactory at Sèvres, for instance, only two women artists earn as much as eighty pounds a year; the rest earn not more than fifty or sixty pounds, and the posts are hard to get. The men employed receive a retiring pension; the women do not. The reason is said to be that the latter are inferior to the men in originality, and do not make good designers. Such trades as china painting are, however, far above the level of ordinary working-women, and it is among these latter that the intensest misery abounds. Those who have studied this subject assert that it is absolutely impossible for the Paris working-girl to live upon her earnings, and the fate which too commonly overtakes her is a striking confirmation of the statement. Needlework brings in only from two to three francs a day; the plainest sort less. It is said from fifteen pence to eighteen pence represent the average daily earnings of working-girls, a sum on which it is hardly possible for them to exist. Many die of slow starvation; many more, putting scruples aside, seize the readiest avenue of escape from their lot, and a residuum, to whom life in one manner or the other has become unbearable, seek in the Seine a rest that cannot be disturbed.

One means of arriving at an estimate of social condition in Germany is the direct tax that is levied on all persons having an income of 900 marks or more, that is, an income of \$216 per year. It was found, taking the city of Frankfort, which has a population of 167,000, and is one of the wealthiest, for its population, in Germany, that there were 35,278 self-supporting adults who were earning an annual income of less than \$216 a year. More than 7,000 others had incomes ranging from \$216 to \$288 a year, and, at least two thirds of these 42,500 self-supporting adults were married, it is fair to suppose that they represent over three quarters of the entire population of Frankfort.

Specimen cases were taken from this mass of population: a joiner in the government employ, with four children, and with an income of \$253 a year; a man in steady employment in the chemical works of the city, with a wife and six children, and an annual income of \$272, and a night-watchman with a wife and one child, whose income from his services was \$193 a year. These persons were requested to keep a strict account of their expenditures through the twelve months, having a gratuity given to them as an inducement. Each month their books were examined, and a detailed statement obtained of every copper that they spent. In one case the accounts balanced at the end of the year; in the other two very nearly so.

The result in all cases was exceedingly disheartening. There was no dissipation, for the money was wanting wherewith to dissipate, even assuming the desire. Beer, wine, brandy, etc., cost the first workingman for the year \$6.27, and tobacco \$4.89. This represented all of his outlay for society and comfort. About one quarter of his income, \$59.42, was spent for coffee and bread; for meat he gave in the year \$30.48; but for cheese, eggs, seasonings, and children's lunches at school, the entire amount spent was \$4.70, and this, be it remembered, in a country where the price of food is higher, on the whole, than it is in the United States The clothing for the family cost in the year \$22.22, of which \$13 was for shoes. This gave little for clothing proper; but then, the joiner said that he had not bought a suit of new clothes for fifteen years. His lodgings of one room, with a small room for kitchen, was paid for at the rate of \$40.32 a year. Besides this, he was compelled to pay an income tax to the government, and \$11.37, or nearly five per cent of his in. come, for compulsory insurance; and yet this insurance, even when acquired, would be insufficient to support either himself or his family so as to be independent of charity.

The condition of the other two workers did not vary materially from that just referred to. . . . — Boston Herald.

The Victorian Premier, referring to the recent Australian labor troubles, said in a speech to his constituents that he intended to endeavor to bring about an Australasian conference, representing governments and peoples, with a view to devise means to prevent strikes and lockouts. The Leicester, England, boot and shoe operatives have decided to ask the manufacturers to provide workshops, so that all work shall be done on the employers' premises. This resolution will affect several thousand workmen who have provided small workshops at the rear of their houses. It is urged that the prevailing system encourages sweating, irregularity in wages and employment, while it leads to gambling and drinking, by giving the men perfect freedom during the day.

IN GENERAL.

The New York Board of Education is urged to order the opening of the school doors at an earlier hour in the morning. In very many families the women go out to work as well as the men. The result is that at an early hour in the morning the young children who attend school are packed off, and the last one of the wage-earners to leave locks the doors of the home. The little school ones wander about the streets in play when the weather is fair, but when it is inclement they hurry to the schoolhouse, in hope of getting in. The janitor does not admit them, because he has no authority to do so. Hence the children get cold or wet, and sickness often ensues. In the case of children under school age, their working mothers take them to day nurseries, where they are cared for without expense, or for five or ten cents a day.

The objection to opening the school-houses early is based chiefly upon the fact that teachers will have to go to school earlier than at present to look after the little ones. This extra service will force the commissioners to give extra pay to the teachers thus employed. Another objection, not so frequently made, but not less strong, is that the schools are for educational purposes solely, and should not be converted into nurseries.

The Board of Education fears that if the present demand will be granted, they will next be asked to assume complete responsibility for children all day long, even to providing dinner for them, and that the adoption of the suggestion would be the beginning of a movement which would not end until the Board of Education had been transformed into a Board of Charities.

The Anti-Semitic party of the Hungarian Diet has dissolved, after an existence of ten years.

The number of patents granted to women in this country and in England since 1885 shows a great increase over the previous year,

The theatre and music-hall committee of the London County Council were authorized to engage a certain number of persons as inspectors of places of public entertainment. Some time ago the inspectors were chosen, and each of them given a printed series of questions, the answers forming their reports. These are the questions:—

" I. Did you find all the gangways and passages for the use of the audience kept clear from all obstructions? II. Did you find all the exits available for the use of the public? III. Did you find all the doors intended for the use of the public made to open outwards, and were any of these doors found to be fastened? IV. Are any extra means of exit provided for the use of the public, and are the extra exit doors fastened only by automatic bolts on the inside? V. Did you find hydrants provided and also buckets filled with water ready for immediate use? VI. Were there one or more firemen in attendance? VII. Were the passages and staircases provided with lighted oil lamps, so as to be a protection to the public in case of fire and of the gas being extinguished? VIII. What was the character of the performance? IX. Had proper means been taken by the management to secure order and decorum among the audience? X. State any further matters you desire to bring to the notice of the committee."

So far seventy-two reports have been received, at the expense of £44. The number of places inspected was sixty-four. The majority of the reports are of a favorable character, and in some cases the committee felt it necessary to warn the proprietor as to an objectionable feature of the entertainment.

The Russian Government has forbidden the newspapers to publish a petition, drawn up by the Jews, asking for civil equality.

The elections in Italy have resulted favorably to the government. The success of the government is attributed to the scrutin de liste form of election, by which the candidates to the Chamber from the various districts are voted for on a general ticket.

The Brazilian Constituent Assembly has recognized the legality of the provisional government, and requested it to continue its functions until a vote has been taken upon the question of federal constitution.

The ministers have advised the Czar to reduce the number of Jewish students permitted to attend Russian colleges from five to three per cent.

What at one time promised to be a welldeveloped riot occurred this afternoon, when four police officers raided the National Hotel and carried away with them all the wine and glassware that was to be used at the banquet to be given this evening in honor of Allen G. Thurman. The news quickly spread, and a number followed the "hoodlum" wagon to the city jail, where a protest was made against the destruction of the wine, on the grounds that it was not the property of the hotel company, that it had been purchased by the club, and was to be furnished gratuitously to those who attended the banquet. The protest was without avail, however, and the thirty gallons of wine was emptied into the sewer.

This was followed by warrants being sworn out charging the policemen with larceny, and the sheriff and a number of his deputies served them. While the police were being taken before a justice a crowd of at least five hundred assembled, and became so uproarious that it was thought best to remove the policemen to the county jail, which was done, a large crowd following, and yelling "Hang them!" "Shoot them!" and other abusive language. They were released about an hour afterward, by giving \$1,500 bail each.

The members of the Bandana Club, nothing daunted, have secured another quantity of wine, and say it will be served to-night. Twenty deputy sheriffs have been sworn in, and will take possession of the hotel to-night, and have orders to admit no one without a ticket.

The president of the Board of Police Commissioners has just issued an order to the police that if wine is served to raid the place. If they attempt it bloodshed cannot be averted, as the sympathies of the people are with the Bandana Club, and they are worked up to that pitch that they will fight for what they believe to their rights and against police interference. — Press Despatch from Leavenworth, Kan.

Fifteen insane persons and eleven idiots were reported by the medical office among the immigrants arriving at New York during the past year. Surg.-Gen. Hamilton, in a special report, recommends the restriction of immigration and comes near favoring the total prohibition of it.

There are 12,000,000 children in the public schools of the United States; 847,299 teachers are employed, and the schools cost annually about \$113,000,000.

TO-DAY, DEC. 4, 1890.

A record of the facts and considerations which show that Individual Liberty is good for the people of the United States, and that, therefore, Legislative Regulation is injurious for them.

J. MORRISON-FULLER, WALTER C. ROSE, Editors.

No Progress is possible without destruction.

BATCHELOR.

The decision by the Massachu-Weight of setts Supreme Court in the case of the Commonwealth v. Mc-Arthur, relative to the weight of bread, reads like a chapter from Dickens. It is almost incredible that such a grotesquely stupid statute could be enforced in one of the most intelligent States in the country. The parentage of the law might easily be traced, and probably the motives which prompted its enactment were not evil. So in England, an Act of 1533 prescribed the number of sheep a tenant might keep, probably with kind intentions. The laws of the same country which forbade the exportation of corn were not dictated by malevolence; only they were lacking in wisdom. It might seem an innocent regulation to prescribe that every loaf of bread sold shall weigh eight, sixteen, twentyfour or thirty-two ounces, and doubtless no very serious inconvenience would result from the strict observance of such a regulation; but also no good could result either. If every conceivable law having as good an object as this were to be enacted, the world itself would hardly contain the records of them, and there would not be people enough to enforce them. Certainly the presumption that every citizen knew the law would produce great hardship.

But such a law is by no means so innocent as it at first seems. I do not allude to the fact that in this particular case an injustice has been done the defendant, and that much more injustice might be done if every one who observed an infraction of the law should prosecute. There is enough adulteration of food, and fraud in selling it, the punishment of which would keep the courts busy, without their attempting to see to it that sixteen ounces of bread are sold for ten cents instead of thirteen ounces for seven cents.

Mr. Wanamaker has been giv-Mr. Waning an account of himself and his department in the form of an annual report. On the whole, it is a readable and interesting document, abounding in both sense and nonsense. After stating the numerous advances that have been made in the system, the report launches immediately into the question of the need of a postal telegraph, and strongly recommends such an addition. The same pressing necessity that has already prompted the department to make a 7.30 P. M. delivery to the Back Bay district, in Boston, whereby perhaps occasionally a young lady receives a letter from her true love a few hours sooner, and is thus the sooner made a happy citizen, seems to actuate Mr. Wanamaker when he says: "The swiftest mail is not fast enough in these days for all the needs of commerce and social correspondence. . . . The postal service is the Government's kind hand, protecting and promoting the correspondence of its people; and communication by telegraph, as well as by mail, is essential to its best development." Yes, indeed! The Government should assist its children in this respect, and thus " promote correspondence "; and it would so often occur that it would be much more convenient for one, or more profitable to another, if the telegraph could be used at a slight expense. The Government has of course little to do, as it is, and longs to add another string to its bow. But further on. Mr. Wanamaker says: "A year's experience confirms me in the judgment formed twelve months ago, that the civil-service system as applied to the rosters of the Post-office Department is susceptible of improvement." This remark at least suggests the idea that it might not be unwise to perfect the civil-service system before assuming other duties. "One thing at a time, and "- but we wander.

Another " recommendation " is to authorize the Post-office Department to establish Postal Savings Banks. If, when that step is once taken, the Government would go still further in its paternal care, and give each depositor a bounty, how soon might we not become a wealthy and prosperous people!

The recent legislation concerning lotteries is reported as making "satisfactory progress," and in explaining the Department's recent Censorship of Morals and Literature he shifts the whole responsibility on to the Law:

"The Assistant Attorney-General, finding it indecent, under any definition of the word, issued an order excluding it. To exclude the book was the simple duty of the Department.

For myself, I never discuss the policy or wisdom of breaking the law."

A one-cent postage is also favored, as well as the pneumatic system, and the latter is especially desired to be in working order in time for the World's Fair. How our foreign friends will be astonished!

By far the most rational ideas found in the report are in relation to the building of expensive post-offices. Such extravagance he condemns, and suggests the ridiculousness of moving out of a \$600 rented room, safe and ample for the postal business, into a \$100,000 building, where the janitor alone gets more salary than the whole of the rent in the former place.

Two articles in the current American Forum deal with the question of Cities. American cities. The subject is attracting much attention at present; almost everybody has something to say about it, and almost everybody seems to think, like the bishops of Winchester and of Gloucester, that "something must be done." To this statement, the last article in the Forum, that by Mr. Springer, forms an exception. Nevertheless, an important condition of the problem may be gathered from the article. If cities are plague-spots and sinks of corruption, then the condition of a country is largely determined by the number of them it contains. Modern civilization may be regarded under one of its aspects as a process of concentrating population into cities, and the process has been going on more rapidly here during the last century than elsewhere. The growth of the urban population since 1800, compared to that of the rural population, has, in the United States, been almost portentous. In that year only four per cent of the people lived in cities of eight thousand and upwards, while now the proportion is nearly one fourth. The figures for some of the States are even more striking than those for the whole country. In Maine, during the last decade, the rural population actually decreased, while that in cities increased twelve per cent. (A city here means a place containing eight thousand inhabitants or more.) In Massachusetts, five eighths of the total increase was in cities, and in Illinois thirty-five thirty-sevenths; in Tennessee, the urban population more than doubled, and in Colorado it was multiplied by more than two and a half.

Mr. Springer considers chiefly the political effect of this growth of cites, and inasmuch as the national policy favored by them is opposed to that advocated in the country, this effect cannot be unimportant. Still, a more important question, and the one that has received most attention, is that discussed by Mr. White in the first article of the magazine. During the greater part of our history popular orators have flattered us that we had instituted the best government the world had ever seen. Now, those who have taken pains to inform themselves agree that to the American people belongs the distinction of having invented the worst government that ever made its appearance in the world—the worst in proportion to its powers at any rate. It would be incredible to one who had not seen it occur that in a free election the lowest, most ignorant, degraded - drunkards, blacklegs, gamblers, even men with their hair still short from terms in prison, should be chosen as rulers of cities. This, however, is what occurs. Given the character of the men who compose city governments, and the wonder is, not that they do so badly but that they do so well. Nevertheless, the state of affairs is such that a very striking description can be made of it without exaggeration, and such a description Mr. White has given us.

The effects which will follow are likely to be of much greater moment than those from the adoption of free trade or protection. The amount of money squandered is a little thing comparatively, though, when we think of the good which might be done by a wise expenditure of it, even this is worth considering; but the really important effect is that wrought upon the health and character not only of the present but of future generations. It is plain that more government is needed in cities than in rural districts. One of the most important functions cities have to perform in the body politic is to concentrate the criminal and pauper classes so that they can be dealt with. But if, as the result of concentration, these classes are to predominate over the better classes, the future does not look very bright.

According to Mr. White, the problem has already been solved in European cities; there you will find streets clean, well paved, and lighted, sewerage properly disposed of, electric wires placed in safety,—in short, honest, economical, and efficient administration of

city interests. To take a single instance: for a number of years the populations of Berlin and New York were nearly equal. The latter is much better situated as regards drainage, materials for building and paving, and water supply. Berlin is obliged, as capital of the empire, to incur many expenses from which New York is free; all the natural difficulties have been overcome, all the things which conduce to public health and comfort have been admirably provided; "and yet, today, the entire expenditure for maintaining the city is, dollar for dollar, almost exactly the amount which is required to pay the interest of the public debt alone of the city of New York."

It might at first seem to follow that the populations of the Old World cities are better than ours; but a comparison of governments really affords no criterion, for in neither case is the government truly representative: the one represents the best citizens and the other the worst. The advice given by Mr. White, though very plain and simple, we probably shall not follow; since it is repugnant to our theory that there is an intrinsic virtue in votes. The advice is to follow the example of other countries, and take some steps towards treating cities as corporate instead of political bodies. The mayor might still be elected as now, and the common council by a majority of all the votes, but on a general ticket, instead of from the wards. In addition to this the property-owners should elect a board of control, without whose permission no expenditure could be made. The plan seems too simple to secure the result, but it is a pity that some American city will not give it a trial.

The law passed by the Vermont Legislature prohibiting the hunting of partridges with dogs, must carry good cheer to all the weary and heavy-laden in that State. Surely, that power which interposes to protect the birds of the wood will not leave men and women to suffer.

LEGISLATION AND EMANCIPATION.

A curious instance of the way in which men's special occupations or studies warp their conceptions is found in the treatment of the term "law" by writers on jurisprudence. According to the received theory,

a law in jurisprudence is a general command given by a political superior to a political inferior. This definition applies perfectly to the statutes enacted by legislatures; but, not content with defining clearly the way in which they choose to employ the term, jurists maintain that this is the only sense in which the term can properly be used, and that any other use, as when we speak of laws of nature, the law of gravitation, etc., is merely metaphorical and derived. A consideration of the etymology of the word might have made them suspect the error of this contention, since the root from which "law" is derived means to lie, and therefore suggests the orderly sequence of phenomena rather than commands imposed by force. But etymology is almost as far removed from the inquiries of legal writers as science in a broad sense.

It is of little importance in what sense lawyers use the word "law," or whether they think that any usage which differs from that of their books is wrong; even what root the word is ultimately derived from is not a vital question; but the development of legislation is a subject both important and interesting. The common point of view is very much like the legal; we are so accustomed to think of laws solely as enactments of bodies chosen expressly to pass them that it is difficult for us to realize that legislation is a modern development. It at first seems certain to us that the alternative lies between legislation and what is called anarchy - a state of society in which each man does what is right in his own eyes, regardless how his conduct may affect others; but history acquaints us with States which certainly could not be called anarchical which yet had no appliances for manufacturing laws.

"We know something of the Assyrian and Babylonian empires from Jewish records, and something of the Median and Persian empires from Greek records. We learn from these that they were in the main tax-taking empires. We know that they raised enormous revenues from their subjects. We know that, for occasional wars of conquest, they levied vast armies from populations spread over immense areas. We know that they exacted the most im-

plicit obedience to their occasional commands, or punished disobedience with the greatest cruelty. We know that the monarchs at their heads were constantly dethroning petty kings and even transplanting whole commuities. But amid all this, it is clear that in the main they interfered but little with the everyday religious or civil life of the groups to which their subjects belonged. They did not legislate. The 'royal statute' and 'firm decree' which have been preserved to us as a sample of 'law of the Medes and Persians, which altereth not,' is not a law at all, in the modern juridical acceptation of the term. It is what Austin would call a 'particular command,' a sudden, spasmodic, and temporary interference with ancient multifarious usage, left in general undisturbed. What is even more instructive is that the famous Athenian Empire belonged to the same class of sovereignties as the empire of the Great King. The Athenian assembly made true laws for residents on Attic territory, but the dominion of Athens over her subject cities and islands was clearly a tax-taking as distinguished from alegislating empire." - Maine, "Early History of Institutions."

These and kindred instances which might be named show that "the legislative function develops much later than the administrative or the judicial, and that law attains a considerable degree of perfection before a distinct idea of legislation makes its appearance." But before anything which could even loosely be called law exists, the lives of men are by no means unregulated. As Sir John Lubbock remarks: "No savage is free. All over the world his daily life is regulated by a complicated and apparently most inconvenient set of customs (as forcible as laws), of quaint prohibitions and privileges." Just at what point custom passes into law is perhaps difficult to determine. The main duty of chiefs in savage tribes is to enforce the ancient customs, and any attempt to alter or abolish these customs is likely to cost them their thrones and their lives. The legal fiction, that whatever the sovereign permits he commands, is not sufficient to bridge over the gulf. By a stretch of language, one of these chiefs might be said to command conformance to the customs, and thus make them into laws; but the force of the customs evidently does not depend upon the sanction of the sovereign, and it is this sanction which constitutes the essential feature of a law, according to the definition.

The broad distinction between custom in the ancient sense and law in the modern juristic sense is that the former represents the power of the dead over the living, and the latter, to some extent, the power of the living over themselves. For where does the savage get his complicated set of customs which regulate his daily life? Evidently from his forefathers. "In the first place, the emotional nature prompting the general mode of conduct is derived from ancestors - is a product of all ancestral activities; and in the second place, the special desires which, directly or indirectly, determine the courses pursued, are induced during early life by seniors, and enlisted on behalf of beliefs and usages which the tribe inherits." The sentiment thus generated is shown at its strongest by the Tupis in their notion that "if they departed from the customs of their forefathers they would be destroyed"; but in general the authority of traditional customs among savages and the semi-civilized is almost unqualified.

The force behind custom is essentially different from the force of law: the former is partly the opinion of the community, partly superstition, partly a blind impulse; the latter is ultimately physical force. Custom is almost unchangeable; legislation is continually being altered and added to. The history of England affords us perhaps the best example of a transition from one system to the other. The common law is merely an embodiment of the customs of the realm, and it is even now being superseded by statute law. The process has not proceeded so far but that the former is yet the more important of the two. There is some doubt whether the latter ever will entirely supersede it, since every act of Parliament has to be interpreted by the courts, and the first interpretation forms a precedent which is appealed in subsequent cases.

The rule of the dead over the living obviously can never be escaped but in a comparatively slight degree. Past generations exercise power over the present, chiefly, of course, by transmitting their natures, bodily

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and mental, but in addition to this by bequeathing private habits and modes of life, and by regulations for public conduct, handed down orally and in writing. It is from the last of these methods of rule that man is discovering how to emancipate himself. In most of the civilized countries of the world there exists a legislative body which possesses power to abolish any customary or statute law. It is clearly immaterial whether a regulation made for us by our ancestors is merely a custom or a statute law. Men to-day have no hesitation whatever in repealing foolish laws enacted by their ancestors; if they were as ready to refrain from enacting foolish laws for their successors to repeal, the progress of the human race would be more rapid.

Legislation may be regarded as one means of emancipating the present from thraldom to the past. I do not mean simply that kind of legislation which occupies itself in repealing laws previously in force, but, by enacting laws which conflict with long-established customs, the latter may be weakened and at last abolished. The decay of local custom and idea has proceeded concurrently with greater activity in legislation. It is, perhaps, not surprising that men, having found out that they can manufacture laws, should be greatly delighted with the discovery, like a child with a new toy, and should attempt to apply it to the accomplishment of all things. "The capital fact in the mechanism of modern States is the energy of Legislatures." There can be little doubt that after countless experiments men will, though at the expense of considerable misery, discover for what things legislation is good, and for what things it is bad if, as seems likely from the considerations hinted at above, legislation has been largely instrumental in abolishing ancestor worship, and the impulse to act in this way or that merely because men have so acted in the past, then it has helped to remove one of the greatest bars to human progress, and the incidental harm which its abuse has worked may be pardoned to it.

BOOKS.

The Distribution of Wealth; or, the Economic Laws by which Wages and Profits are Determined. By Rufus Cope. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. 1890.

The work begins with a discussion of the amount of wealth in the country, and the amount produced each year. The writer finds occasion to differ with those who have previously estimated these amounts, particularly with Mr. Nimmo, Chief of the Bureau of Statistics, and with Mr. Edward Atkinson. Their estimate of \$10,000,000,000 for the value of the annual product, and \$43,000,000,000 for the total wealth, seems to Mr. Cope too large. The discussion cannot be summarized here, but his own conclusion is that these figures are about a fourth too large.

After having determined how much wealth there is in the country, the author proceeds to inquire how it is distributed; making the discovery, it is needless to say, that the distribution is very unequal and inequitable.

Some of the tables given in this part of the book are very interesting; for example, one comparing the wages in seven leading industries of the United States, as a whole, with those of Massachusetts for the same year (1880) and for 1888. In only one instance out of the seven were wages in Massachusetts less than in the country at large, and in that instance they increased from \$376.05 to \$516.57 between 1880 and 1888. In only one instance was there a decrease in the wages paid during the years named; and that was in the production of food products. On the whole, the workingmen of Massachusetts can derive encouragement from this table, as it shows, taken as a whole, a marked increase of wages in the leading industries which it embraces. The average annual earnings of the operatives in all the manufacturing establishments of the State were \$402.45 in 1888, and only \$394.79 for the year previous.

Mr. Cope holds that the wealth which may be created, or which may exist at any one time among a people is a strictly limited quantity, determined by the natural and acquired wants of that people. Certainly it does not seem likely that a people would labor to produce wealth in excess of their desires. The point is important in discussing the question of poverty, for, it being granted that only a certain amount of wealth will be in existence at any time, it seems to follow that large fortunes in the hands of a few are correlated with the absence of any property at all in the case of many. Moreover, the way in which wealth is distributed has an effect

upon the demand for the particular goods which compose wealth, and therefore on the amount which will be produced. So that, while the present method of distribution renders a large production possible in one sense, it checks the demand, and therefore prevents the people from producing as much as is in their power to produce if the demand were greater.

The book, on the whole, is well worth reading. It contains a good deal of information, and displays considerable originality. One cannot refrain from the suspicion that the most original parts are lacking in soundness; but this is one of the penalties of originality generally.

POLITICS IN THE MAGAZINES.

"What shall we do with the Dago?" asks Mr. APPLETON MORGAN,* and although he occupies six pages in the asking, he leaves us confronting as formidable an interrogation point as before he put the question. He does, however, furnish the reader with interesting ideas and facts relating to criminals in general, and to the wisest methods for punishing them, as well as enlighten us in regard to Italy's generous contribution to the classes that are rapidly rendering our social problems so complex and numerous. Mr. Morgan surely echoes the beliefs of sane people generally when he asserts that if "we tax the good man for the benefit of the bad man, we ought to tax him as lightly as possible"; or that, if "the peaceful and useful citizen is assessed to build prisons for the home-breaker and molester of the public quiet, he doubtless should be assessed roundly enough to keep the unruly class secure from the facilities for working further mischief"; or, further, that the sanitary condition of a prison should be in all respects acceptable to the wisest of wise Boards of Health. But "How much further may we proceed?" is the real question that agitates the writer's mind, and is perhaps a question that should be a subject for consideration to every thoughtful citizen. The Dago's condition in his own country seems in no way to fit him for becoming a lawabiding American citizen, and there is room for doubt as to his being extremely useful, even in building railroads, for which he has most frequently been induced to try America. Local criminal laws seem totally inadequate for dealing with this degenerate species, which has nothing to lose by inhabiting our jails and prisons. What shall we do with you, Dago? is but another unsolved problem of the day.

In the "Correspondence" appears an interesting letter from Gaston A. Cuadrados, Phar-

macist Major in the Spanish Army in Cuba. The writer expresses the satisfaction he experienced in reading "Mr. Spencer's Place in Philosophy," which appeared in the August number, and roundly scores the editor of the New York Times for questioning "the position which the superior intelligence of the English philosopher has conquered." The points in which specialists in different sciences have been anticipated by Mr. Spencer are briefly, but clearly and forcibly enumerated. In stating his superiority to Mr. Darwin, he says:—

Mr. Darwin introduced an epoch in the history of thought. But, before the Origin of Species appeared, Mr. Spencer had formulated the doctrine of transformism in a manner so universal that the truths demonstrated by Mr. Darwin are seen to be a necessary consequence of the laws of evolution.

The Señor has but to read that amusingly correct (?) compilation called *Hazen's Annual*, to find the remarkable statement that "Mr. Spencer is said to be an evolutionist."

We should like to quote the whole of so excellent a letter from such an ardent admirer of Mr. Spencer and his teachings, but must content ourselves with the following, which will be of most interest, perhaps, to our readers:—

His social studies are instructive to the statesmen of the present. His criticisms of the parliamentary systems of Europe have modified the ideas of political men. The recrudescence of the military regime, with all its consequences, was foreseen by Mr. Spencer; the exposure of the absurdities of much modern law-making by constituted states is his work; no one has demonstrated as he has done the wonderful power of individual initiative as opposed to the Attila's horse of state intervention; the force of German socialism as a consequence of the socialism of the state imposed by Herr Bismarck was foreseen and censured by the philosopher. The new Toryism and the Coming Slavery, which he foresaw already exist in Europe. The pernicious consequences of protectionism, which have occasioned great commercial crises in the Old Continent, but which the United States have escaped suffering only because the economical errors of the system are in great part balanced by the magnificent political organization they possess, and the conditions of the environment, and the ethnical relations that help you, were all pointed out in the sociological works of the philosopher. What authority can be seriously opposed in this day to the arguments of the Socialistic party in its contentions against the present organization of society, except we invoke the sociological principles established by Herbert Spencer?

^{*} Popular Science Monthly for December.

The letter concludes by citing the powerful influence Spencerian doctrines have had upon the leaders of thought in the writer's own country, Spain.

The Arena contains several articles of general interest. In the article entitled "Then and Now," the Rev. Minot J. Savage indulges in some interesting reflections upon the superior condition of society compared with that of the past:—

"Woman now enjoys a far more exalted position, our manners are better, our schools brook no comparison with their pioneer predecessors, the church has made rapid strides toward a more intelligent plane, and last but not least our politics have improved." Mr. Savage does not believe that "most of the really great men have just died off"; and in regard to our Government, he says: "Whatever may be the evils of any department of our Government, there never has been a time when government, the world over, was so good as to-day."

The above statement, compared with one made in the same number of the Arena, by Prof. Andrews, President of Brown University, in "Patriotism and the Public Schools," affords a striking contrast. Prof. Andrews defines the different kinds of patriotism, but argues that the kind that begets heroes must be of a higher variety, of a diviner species, and that such love of country can be evoked only for a country that is worthy. The following would scarcely lead us to believe that the writer considers our country at present worthy:—

"One hears a great deal of perfervid speech concerning the grandeur of our country and its institutions, which, powerfully as it may build up national self-conceit, can never advance genuine patriotism. There is not another thoroughly civilized country under the sun whose cities are so ill ruled as ours. There is not another in whose government the laws of political economy and public finance are so little studied or so flagrantly defled. Our methods of taxation are, in fact, so unreasonable and unjust that if the people understood their oppressiveness, our Government would, I believe, be overthrown in a day, as was the old régime in France. There is not a second country this side of Turkey whose civil service is so corrupt as ours, or where special fitness is so little regarded as by us in selections for public office. In no other land upon the planet is poverty so common or so dire in proportion to national resources. Our system of pensions is costlier in dollars and cents than the very worst of those European military systems which we are so often and so properly bidden to

deplore, and its total effect in creating poverty is ten times as bad. Our mail system is far from the best. So of our school organization So and more also of our electoral arrangements, which, happily, we have just begun to amend. Let the good work go on! In several other lands, I think, common justice between man and man is surer and speedier than with us."

In "The Nature of the Negro," Prof. Shaler dwells at considerable length on the inherited instincts of the negro, and the primitive, savage state of his ancestors. The directions in which the colored man has made the most rapid advancement toward civilization are noted, as well as those in which he has been slow to develop, and, according to this article, the negro stands particularly in need of training in politics. The closing lines state the case most clearly: "The ballot is as dangerous a plaything as a gun, and until the negro acquires the habits of thought and action, which make it an effective arm, he will be impotent to use it to any good effect. It is more than absurd to devise legislative plans for making him free to use his vote. The enfranchisement can only come by education: until he is properly developed as a citizen, his ballot will represent his immediate personal needs, and have no relation to statesmanship."

"Electoral Reform Legislation," by Chas. Claffin Allen, gives the reader a fairly clear idea of the Australian ballot system. and how far it serves to decrease the prevalent corruption at the polls, sketches briefly the attempts at this reform in England, and closes with some suggestions as to the elements which ought to enter into this sort of legislation.

"It may be worth while to call the attention of the Central Labor Union economists, and all other persons who want to see the Government control the railroads, that when the Government comes to operate the railroads there will be no more striking for any cause. Wages may be low, bosses may be offensive, work may be excessive, but so much of the Grand Army of Labor as is employed on the railroads will have to work right on, grievances or no grievances. To strike will be mutiny, and the unfortunates who attempt it will have to be punished summarily.

"The dreamers and the cranks who would organize a benevolent despotism forget that a despotism cannot afford to get out of gear. It cannot give free play to the desires of individuals. The great machine must run every day, no matter how many people it may have to crush. The Grand Army of Labor would have to serve out its term of enlistment, whether its soldiers were satisfied or not."—

New York Sun.

AMERICANA.

Railroad managers view the result of the recent elections in the Western States with considerable uneasiness. The Legislatures in Kansas, Nebraska, Minnesota, and Iowa are in the hands of the grangers, and there i- more than passing danger that there may be some rather strict corporation legislation passed in those States. This means that there will be some lively times in the capital cities of Topeka, Lincoln, Des Moines, and St Paul. The wily granger will introduce bills twice as severe as would satisfy his constituents. Then the corporation attorney will introduce the shrewd legislator to the mysteries of draw poker and mixed drinks. Finally, the gentleman from the country will "win" enough money to buy another farm and put up a few more barns, while in some unaccountable manner the anti-corporation legislation will be passed with a clause that invalidates the whole law the minute the Supreme Court goes to the bat. What little corporation legislation a granger Legislature usually passes that will stand the test of the Supreme Court is not of tremendous importanc. What the grangers might pass and make stand forever but never think of is another thing altogether. -Chicago Herald. .

The W. C. T. U.. of Detroit, Mich.. it is said, have decided that the drinking of root beer, ginger ale, and all drinks of like dangerous tendency "violates the pledge." Now let the women of Iowa come to a like decision, induce the legislators to follow their example, and behold! these humble beverages will rise to the dignity of "original packages," and the pop-man will go to the head.

- A pound of Plausibility, of Satire quite an ounce;
- A modicum of Courage, and a bucketful of bounce:
- A thickish slice of Sentiment, a grain or two of Sense:
- A teacupful of Truthfulness, a gallon of Pre-
- A peck of Perspicacity, and quite a quart of Blindness;
- A flavoring of Selfishness, and just a pinch of kindness,
- With the above ingredients stuff a man of erudi-
- And you may send to Parliament a "Model Polician."

- English Exchange.

Queen Victoria's preference for Scotch whiskey has induced the City Council of Charlottetown, Prince Edward's Island, to pass this resolution: Whereas, woman in all ages, savage and civilized, has been an object of love, affection. and respect; and whereas, a woman in this city has been imprisoned for a breach of an enactment not supported by public opinion, and contrary to British freedom, justice, and liberty; and, whereas, the breach of said enactment consisted in selling an intoxicating beverage freely used by all classes, from her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen who is head of the Church and Defender of the Faith, to the humblest of her most loyal and most dutiful subjects; and, whereas, the various Legislatures in the British dominions, exerci-ing authority delegated to them from the people, legalize the importation and manufacture of such intoxicating beverages by imposing thereon a specific charge; therefore, Resolved that, in the opinion of this Council, imprisonment of a woman for a breach of an enactment is a destruction of individual liberty, opposed to the spirit of the age, and denounced by theologians and moralists of the highest standing as an act worthy of the days of the Star Chamber and Jeffreys." - New York Sun.

Lady (at crowded railway station).— Officer, I wish you'd keep an eye on that man: he looks like a pickpocket."

OFFICER. — "You have made a little mistake, madam: that gentleman is a member of Congress."

LADY. — "Dear me! Is he? Well, I'll bet he voted for the McKinley bill, anyhow. — Puck.

The mayor of an Indiana city who was recently elected got drunk so often to celebrate the victory that the Common Council voted to impeach and remove him. The mayor says he didn't agree not to get drunk when nominated, and that this is a land in which any man can do as he pleases. — Exchange.

Thunder has its origin in a point of detonation: that is, a point of no tone. The sound of thunder is the responsive reverberation or reaction.—The Flaming Sword.

This must refer to campaign thunder.

The moral strength of the farmer legislators will not have been fully tested until they are brought face to face with the railroad pass. — Washington Post.

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POLITICS: EVENTS; COMMENTS; LITERATURE.



The conditions under which this paper is published render it impossible to give the weekly record of facts the character of news. This is especially the case with the foreign items for which we shall not hereafter rely on the American newspapers. Nor does it seem feasible to complicate the classification by separating items accordingly as they are or are not "news." Suffice it to say that the facts are, in the main, collected from daily papers; that their importance does not generally depend upon dates; that our record of them cannot have greater authority than the sources have, but is evidently more trustworthy than any single newspaper.

LEGISLATIVE.

The second session of the Fifty-First Congress began Dec. 1. In the President's message, recommendations were made in favor of the continuance of the Tariff Law, subsidized steamships, and the passage of the bill for federal supervision of elections. During the day, the following bills and resolutions were introduced in the House: several bills (mostly by Republicans) for the free coinage of silver; several resolutions for another census for the city of New York; a resolution (by Dockery, Dem., Mo.) reciting that it is alleged that twelve Senators and fifteen Representatives, pending the passage of the Silver Bill, were admitted to partnership in various "silver pools," by which they realized \$1,000,000 profits in the advance of the price of silver after the passage of the act, and directing the Committee on Coinage, Weights and Measures to inquire into all the facts and circumstances connected with the alleged purchase and sale of silver; a bill by Mr. Lodge (Mass.), to regulate immigration; (The bill requires that every immigrant shall obtain a certificate from

some diplomatic representative of the United States stating that the holder thereof is a person of good character, not obnoxious to any law of the United States, self-supporting, not assisted by charity or otherwise to emigrate, and able to read and write his native language and to read the Constitutian of the United States in some language. A medical certificate testifying to the physical and mental soundness of the holder is to be appended. The transportation companies are required to pay \$5 for each immigrant landed) a resolution (by Wike, Ill.) instructing the Ways and Means Committee to report bills to repeal all increases in the rates of duties occasioned by the McKinley Bill, and to place upon the free list wool, lumber, salt, coal, ores of all kinds, tinplates, agricultural and manufacturing machinery, binding twine, bagging, cotton ties, and such other articles of raw material as the committee may deem of importance to the people. The resolution instructs the committee to report a bill for raising all revenue that may be necessary by a graduated tax upon the incomes of persons and associations in excess of \$5,000.

On Dec. 2, in the House, Mr. Andrew (Mass.) introduced a bill to place on the free list raw wool, coal, and iron ore.

In the Senate, Mr. Plumb introduced a Free Coinage Bill, providing for a double unit of value (a dollar of 412½ grains, standard silver, or 25.8 grains of gold) of full legal-tender quality. The Federal Elections Bill was called up by Senator Hoar and discussed. The Republican friends of the measure intend to adopt new rules and to pass the bill without much discussion.

On Dec. 8 the House passed Mr. Simonds's (Conn.) Copyright Bill by a large majority. The proposition of the bill is to permit foreigners to take American copyright on the same basis as American citizens in three cases: first, when the nation of the foreigner permits copyright to American citizens on substantially the same basis as its own citizens; second, when the nation of the foreigner gives to American citizens copyright privileges similar to those provided for in this bill; third, when the nation of the foreigner is a party to an international agreement providing for reciprocity in copyright, by the terms of which agreement the United States

can become a party thereto at its pleasure. A subsidiary proposition to the bill is that all books copyrighted under the proposed act shall be printed from type set within the United States or from plates made therefrom. Mr. Frank (Mo.) introduced a bill making an apportionment of the Congressional Representatives under the eleventh census. The apportionment is as follows:—

Alabama, 9; Arkansas, 6; California, 7; Colorado, 2; Connecticut, 4; Delaware, 1; Florida, 2; Georgia, 11; Idaho, 1; Illinois, 22; Indiana, 13; Iowa, 11; Kansas, 8; Kentucky, 11; Louisiana, 6; Maine, 4; Maryland, 6; Massachusetts, 13; Michigan, 12; Minnesota, 7; Mississippi, 7; Missouri, 15; Montana, 1; Nebraska, 6; Nevada, 1; New Hampshire, 2; New Jersey, 8; New York, 34; North Carolina, 9; North Dakota, 1; Ohio, 21; Oregon, 2; Pennsylvania, 30; Rhode Island, 2; South Carolina, 7; South Dakota, 2; Tennessee, 10; Texas, 13; Vermont, 2; Vir. ginia, 10; Washington, 2; West Virginia, 4; Wisconsin, 10; Wyoming. 1.

Section 3 of the bill provides: -

"That in each State entitled to membership under this apportionment the number to which such State may be entitled in the Fifty-third and each subsequent Congress shall be elected by districts composed of territory contiguous, adjoining, and compact, so that the distances from the central point of the district to the several boundaries of the district shall be as nearly equal as practicable. The population of no district shall be greater nor less than the average population of the several districts of the State by more than eight thousand. The districts shall be equal in number to the Representatives to which such State may be entitled in Congress, no district electing more than one Representative."

In the Senate a bill was introduced reducing letter postage to one cent.

On Dec. 4 the Senate passed a resolution directing the issue of arms to the States of North and South Dakota and Nebraska. As soon as peace is assured the Senate will order an investigation into the condition of the Indians.

Several amendments were introduced, limiting the scope of the Federal Elections Bill.

On Dec. 5th the House passed the bill appropriating \$133,173,000 for pensions; also the Senate joint resolution authorizing the Secretary of War to issue one thousand stands of arms to each of the States of North and South Dakota. Wyoming, and Nebraska. A bill was introduced

providing for the disarment of the Indians and making it a crime for any person to sell arms or ammunition to them.

In the Senate, Mr. Stanford reintroduced his bill to supply the national want of a sound circulating medium. It authorizes the issue of \$100,000,000 in treasury notes, to be loaned at two per cent on application to citizens owning unencumbered agricultural lands, the loans not to exceed one half the assessed value of the land nor to extend for more than twenty years.

On Dec. 6th, Senator Sherman introduced in the Senate three financial bills, and one amendment to a bill. The bills are as follows: To amend the law relating to the refining and parting of bullion, to amend the act authorizing the receipt of gold coin in exchange for gold bars, and a bill authorizing the recoinage of subsidiary coins of the United States.

The amendment is one to the Senate bill to reduce the amount of United States bonds to be required of national banks.

The Vermont Legislature has adjourned, after having been in session the usual number of days. In the Senate, 162 bills were introduced, of which 61 became laws. In the House, of the 414 bills introduced, 172 became laws. Among the bills of general interest that have been passed are: the oleomargarine bill; the bill appropriating \$5,000 for Vermont's exhibit at the Chicago Fair; the Australian ballot bill; the bill providing for the appointment by the governor of municipal and city court judges; the bill reenacting the prohibitory law; the bill permitting the consolidation of railroads, and the bill assessing State tax of eighteen mills and school tax of five mills on the dollar.

Among the bills introduced in the Alabama Legislature are: A bill prohibiting betting or buying or selling pools on any candidate for office or any nominee; a bill providing for the safety of female passengers on trains; a bill to prevent the distilling of spirits; and a resolution instructing the committee on education to consider the subject of opening all State educational institutions to women. The bill to prevent the keeping of eating stands or restaurants in connection with retail liquor houses was defeated.

In the House of Commons, a motion by Mr. Balfour that Parliament appropriate \$5 000 for seed potatoes for the Irish cultivators was approved. This money is to be given to the people as a loan. The construction of railways,

TO-DAY.

drainage works, and reclaiming of lands is among the plans of the government to relieve the distress in Ireland.

The new Japanese law on public meetings permits one to be held on forty-eight hours' notice, instead of three days'. The notice must also state the residences and ages of the speakers. An adult male Japanese in possession of public rights can alone project a meeting. Soldiers, sailors, government instructors, students, infants, or women may not attend. No foreigner can speak at them, and none can be held in the open air. The police have power to break up and disperse any meeting.

The Hudson County (N. Y.) Grand Jury, in view of the "alarming increase of the number of accidents on the railways entering their county" (the record shows one hundred and twelve fatal accidents in ten months, in which no inquest was ordered), say, in their presentment to the Court:—

"We trust that at the next session of the Legisture some law may be enacted assuring to the people of the county and State that when death has come through accident contributed to by a railroad or other corporation the responsibility will be fixed and placed on record.

"We believe that such a law would result, first, in an appreciable decrease in the death-rate from such causes through the exercise of additional care; second, in securing to the family of the slaughtered bread-winner substantial redress when the evidence adduced will warrant it."

In their last annual report, the civil-service commissioners call attention to the systematic evasion of the law interdicting political assessments, saying:—

"The commission, in the course of its investigations, has found that both in 1888 and 1890 there were certain campaign committees of the dominant party (for the time being) which procured full lists of the various employees in the Government service, and of their home residences, and then sent letters soliciting campaign subscriptions to them at their homes. These letters were signed by men not in the Government service, acting for the different campaign committees. In some instances these agents even visited the clerks in person at their homes."

The commissioners ask for an increase of appropriation, and make two recommendations. One is, that the places excepted from competition be made as few as possible, and the second, that every officer making a removal be required to place on the records a statement of his reasons for making it, after giving the person to be removed a hearing.

The Belgian prime minister has introduced a bill providing for an extension of the franchise. The workmen who had intended to inaugurate a general strike as a part of the agitation for universal suffrage will probably remain at work.

A motion was carried in the French Chamber calling on the government to stop all railway passes to monks and nuns not teachers, or not serving in army hospitals.

The Australasian Federal Convention will assemble in Sydney in March next to consider the scheme for establishing a Federal Constitution for the Australasian Colonies.

The offences against the Compulsory Education Act have risen, in Birmingham, England, from over 1,200 in 1888 to over 1,600 in 1890.

JUDICIAL.

Judge Nelson, of the United States District Court at St. Paul, Minn., has decided that the State law prohibiting the sale of oleomargarine in original packages is unconstitutional.

Over a year ago a Tennessee farmer was arrested and convicted for working in the field on Sunday. The State Supreme Court affirmed the decision of the lower court. As the farmer, who belongs to the sect of the Seventh Day Adventists, and observes Saturday as the Sabbath, refused to pay the fine imposed upon him. he was sent to jail. Thereupon he petitioned the judge of the circuit court for a writ of habeas corpus, stating that he is illegally imprisoned in direct violation of Section 1 of the Fourteenth Amendment, which declares that no State shall abridge the privileges granted by the Federal Constitution. The writ has been issued and the case will come up in January. The Adventists Society and the Personal Liberty League have interested themselves in the case, and it will go to the United States Supreme Court.

The Supreme Court of Louisiana held, in the recent case of State v. Cozzens, that under the power expressly granted to the city of New Crieans to regulate the use of its streets by railways a discretion was rested as to method and means of regulation, which will not be judicially interfered with unless manifestly unreasonable and oppressive.

The Supreme Court of Indiana held, in the recent case of the State of Indiana v. Klein, that

the act of 1889 for promoting the growth and sale of healthy cattle and sheep, and making it a misdemeanor to sell the same without inspection before slaughter within the State, and to authorize cities to appoint inspectors, was in violation of the Constitution of the United States, and was inoperative.

The sentence against the American schooner "Howard Holbrook," which had purchased from the Newfoundland Government a license to buy bait in the colony's ports, and which had been seized and sentenced to be fined (with imprisonment for the captain) for taking more bait than the license permitted, has been reversed by a judge of the Supreme Court, on the ground that the government has no power to charge any fee for the license. The judge says that a perusal of the act affords no evidence of any intention to authorize the imposition of a tax, and the license fees levied under the act must all be refunded.

The Supreme Court of Minnesota has rendered a judgment of interest to the railways and the travelling public. While the gate-keeper of a railway station was occupied in inspecting and punching tickets a passenger passed through without showing his ticket. He was thereupon seized by the gate-keeper, who demanded to see his ticket. He showed this, but the gate-keeper still held him, saying that the train was already in motion, and that it was against a rule of the company for any passenger to board a moving train. For this treatment the aggrieved ticketholder brought an action for damages against the company. The suit for damages was dismissed and the case in due time reached the full bench of the State Supreme Court. Chief Justice Gilfillan, in delivering judgment, held that a railway, being a common carrier, has the right to make reasonable rules for the conduct of its business; that the rule complained of was reasonable and proper; that passengers are bound to observe them; and that the company was justifled in enforcing them or preventing any violation of them.

The New York Court of Appeals, in a recent decision, held that where a municipal corporation is bound by its charter to care for the streets, it is liable for damages for personal injuries, notwithstanding that the duty of keeping the streets in repair is imposed upon the owners of the adjacent lot, by the municipal authorities. The owners are liable to the municipality only for the expense of repairing after notice has been served upon them.

INDUSTRIAL.

The retail clerks of San Francisco are making a strong fight for early closing. Firms that refuse their demands are boycotted by the labor organizations.

The General Assembly of the Knights of Labor has instructed Master Workman Powderly to issue an invitation to the officers of all industrial organizations and reform leaders to meet in a national convention for the purpose of framing a platform of principles to present to the people of the country for consideration. The congress will be held in February next.

Among the reports adopted by the General Assembly of the Knights of Labor at their last session in Denver are: a report in favor of the Order's urging legislation permitting the chartering of trades-unions, to the end that their labels and trademarks may be protected; a report advocating the unlimited coinage of silver and its elevation to the standard of gold; one to urge the introduction of the eight-hour system into post-offices; one advocating the Australian secret ballot law; and one directing the Order to urge the passage of the eight labor bills now before Congress.

The Farmers' Alliance of Central Kansas is arranging for an Alliance bank, to control all Alliance business of the Fifth Congressional district. Each member is to take stock.

The Connecticut Farmers' League has recommended resolutions for consideration by town leagues favoring independent political action to secure the following objects: State insurance against loss by fire or lightning; choice of United States Senators by an electoral body in each State; provision by Congress (under a Constitutional amendment) to enact such laws as may be necessary in order to make it easily possible for any one desiring it to own and occupy sufficient land from which to gain a livelihood by obliging the largest landholders, when necessary to this end, to sell enough of their land for this purpose on easy terms and at a price not exceeding its assessed value for taxation.

The Boston (Mass.) Industrial Alliance has asked the candidates for the common council the following questions the answers to which are to determine the political action of the Alliance:—

- 1. Are you in favor of eight hours as a legal work-day for city employees?
- 2. Are you in favor of setting apart a certain portion of Franklin Park for public meetings?

- 3. Are you in favor of the city of Boston owning all street railways within its limits?
- 4. Are you in favor of the city of Boston owning all its gas works?
- 5. Are you in favor of the city of Boston owning its electric-light plants?
- 6. So long as the above exist as private corporations, are you in favor of the city exacting from them a revenue in return for the franchises or other privileges granted them?
- 7. Are you in favor of the city of Boston paying any part of the expense connected with the Harrison Avenue extension as asked for by the West End Rallway Company?
- 8. Boston is paying \$146 per year for each electric light in use. Cincinnati gets equally as good service for \$58.94. Are you in favor of exacting a further reduction in price by contracting with any company that will render service equal to the present, at a lower figure?
- 9. The city of Chicago has contracted with the Rapid Transit Company for an elevated road. The company binds itself to charge a five-cent fare within the present or future city limits; to carry policemen, firemen, and letter-carriers, in uniform, free; to pay fifty dollars annually to the city for each car in use, two per cent of the gross receipts for the first five years, three per cent for the second five years, five per cent for the third five years, and at the expiration of twenty years the city has the privilege of bying the entire plant at a fair valuation. Are you in favor of imposing similar conditions upon any company asking for the privilege of building an elevated road in Boston?

There is now in process of formation, in Chicago, what is to be known as the United Buildings Trade Council. It will comprise, according to the designs of the projectors, all artisans employed in any capacity in the construction of buildings. The carpenters, cornice makers, architectural iron workers, plasterers, plumbers, gas fitters, painters, and sash, door and blind makers have already signified their willingness to join the amalgamated organization. cardinal principle of the association will be a pledge by each member to refuse to work on any job with any artisan of the craft embraced in the council who is not a member of the union. The adoption of this principle will make it impossible for the "bosses" to use one tradesunion for the purpose of defeating another which is on strike.

It is also proposed to affiliate the new organization with the American Federation of Labor, thus securing the moral and financial support of the greatest labor organization in the world.

The Bricklayers' Union refuses to enter the amalgamation. The union is very strong, and has generally been successful in its disputes with employers.

Should the amalgamated association be perfected, the carpenters, who recently suffered defeat in their fight for eight hours, will renew their demands in the spring, and, should they be refused, the building business, including the World's Fair operations, will come to a complete standstill.

The next annual convention of the American Federation of Labor is to be held in Detroit, Mich., Dec. 8. State federations, central labor unions, trades assemblies, local trades-unions, and federal labor unions will be entitled to one delegate each. About one hundred delegates will assemble at the convention, representing most of the diversified trades in the country.

A quarrel is expected to take place over the application for admission that will be made by the Socialists who are represented in the Central Labor Federation of New York.

Eight thousand miners are idle in Alabama, having struck for an advance of wages. The mine operators are seeking to fill the strikers' places with negroes, and they intend to operate their mines hereafter entirely with negro labor. It is charged that the strike was brought about by Pennsylvania iron manufacturers who want to shut down the furnaces in Alabama, and that they have promised the miners financial support.

Three thousand shoemakers have been locked out by the shoe manufacturers in Rochester, N. Y. The firms are determined that the shops shall be free, and no persons belonging to the Shoemakers' Union employed in them. The trouble has grown out of a boycott of one shoe firm by the union.

Fifty thousand pounds sterling have been contributed toward the hundred thousand desired by Gen. Booth to redeem "darkest England."

The Socialists throughout the German Empire have lost heavily in the elections for the city councils, and especially in Bavaria, where the Socialist vote shows a decrease all over the country.

The German emperor has given orders that women shall not be employed at night in any government factory.

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IN GENERAL.

It appears from the last report of the Postmaster-General that the revenue of the department for the fiscal year was \$60,858,783. The expenditures and liabilities were \$66,645,083. The deficiency for the year was, therefore, \$5,786,300. Compared with the previous fiscal year, there was an increase of \$4,710,768, or 8.37 per cent, in the revenue, and an increase of \$4,089,636, or 6.50 per cent, in the expenditures and liabilities.

The Secretary of the Navy says in his annual report: —

"The best guaranty of peace is a judicious expenditure for the navy, such as will meet the necessities of the country. At the present time it has not such a force, nor will it have the force required even when all the ships now authorized are completed. The problem of naval construction has been simplified almost beyond belief in the last eight years. It only remains to add to the number of vessels of types already in existence.

"The price is not too high to pay if it affords the means whereby the United States, for the first time in many years, may be enabled to preserve and defend its rights."

On the subject of Public Schools, the Secretary of the Interior says in his last annual report: —

"The progressive decrease in the number of public-school pupils as compared with the population in the Northern States, which has already been referred to in the reports of this office, is still going on; in point of fact, there has been during the past year an absolute decrease in the number of pupils enrolled in six of the Northern States, and in one other — New York — there has been an increase of only five hundred and forty-four pupils, against an increase of school population of over thirty thousand.

"In the commissioner's opinion, the apparent retrograde movement in the Northern States may be partially accounted for by the increase of private and parochial schools, and by the tendency to refrain from sending children to school at as early an age as heretofore, whereby the number of very young pupils has diminished. In Massachusetts, for instance, the number of pupils under five years of age has decreased during each of the last ten years."

The average number of pupils daily attending the public schools is 65.1 per cent of the whole number enrolled. The number of different public-school teachers is as follows: males, 124,929; females, 227,-302; total, 352,231. The relative number of male teachers has been continually decreasing since 1879, at which date they formed 43.3 per cent of the whole. This decrease is taking place in all parts of the country. The present percentage in Massachusetts is only 8.9. The average wages of male

teachers per month in thirty-six States and Territories is \$42.43; of female teachers, \$34.27. The public-school revenues amounted to \$132,121,200. The total amount expended the past year for publicschool purposes was \$132,129,600, being an increase over the preceding year of \$8,861,660. The amount expended for all purposes per capita of the population was \$2.12, of which \$1.41 was for salaries. To educate a child in the United States costs at present an average of 13.3 cents per school day, of which 8.2 is paid for salaries of teachers and superintendents. The rate of growth of school expenditure (7.19 per cent per annum), when compared with the rate of growth of the number of the pupils enrolled (1.83 per cent), is seen to be extraordinary, and indicates a rapidly-growing per capita expenditure.

A big stand, erected for a foot-ball game in a Brooklyn (N. Y.) park, collapsed, and hurled to the ground 3,000 people. About twenty were seriously injured. It appears that an inspector had been sent by the Department of Buildings to see "that the stand was properly and substantially built," and that he had reported that the work was well done and the timbers sound and substantial.

The denial by the English judicial tribunal of the application for the extradition of Castioni, the Swiss revolutionist accused of murder, on the ground that the murder was committed at a moment of political excitement, has, it is reported, determined the Austrian, German, and Italian governments to introduce modifications in the extradition treaties between themselves and other governments.

The postal authorities of Germany and the United States have been carrying on negotiations looking to the establishment of a postal sea service on the German mail steamers running to New York. It is proposed to sort mail on the ships, and save several hours' time on the delivery of German mail in New York. American clerks will sort the mail on the westward trips, while German clerks will sort that going to Bremen and Berlin.

The Russian Government has forbidden the employment of Austrian workmen in Russia, and hundreds of discharged laborers are being conducted to the frontier.

Thousands of Chinese laborers are being imported by Mexican contractors, to work on rallroads now under construction in that country.

CLIPPINGS.

The yellow-fever broke out in Philadelphia in 1797, and was followed by unusual alarm. Men, who in the terrible days of 1793, in 1795, and again in 1796, had never for a moment thought of hurrying away, now shut their houses and fled. . . . At such a time, a man of sense and judgment would have spared no pains to quiet fear and allay excitement of every kind. But Gov. Thomas Mifflin possessed no tact, save that peculiar tact which makes men leaders of parties, and puts them in the high places of the State. What the doctors could not cure with medicine he would cure by fines, by penalties, by yellow flags, by the rigorous execution of a silly law. Yellow-fever was, he proclaimed, contagious. All communication, therefore with the wharves and houses of the infected districts must be cut off. Streets must be barricaded, yellow flags must be hung from infected houses, dwellers in the adjoining houses must instantly remove, men sick of the fever must be carried out of town. To climb over the barricades, to talk to a fever-stricken person, to go into a house from which a yellow flag was hung, was to be subject to a fine of \$300. Half of all fines went to the informers.

The effect was most pitiable. Before a week elapsed the proclamation was more dreaded than the disease. If a flag appeared before a house, the whole neighborhood fled into the country. . . . Ignorant of the symptoms of the malady, men no longer dared summon a doctor to prescribe for a pain in the back, lest they should be pronounced fit subjects for the Wigwam, and hurried there to die. . . . Nobody knew when his turn might come. To be sick, it was said, was no longer necessary: mere suspicion that he might be was enough to send a man to some infected hospital, where, surrounded by the most malignant cases, tormented by fear, overcome by anxiety for the safety of those he held dear, he would himself be stricken down. Then the inspectors would name him as an instance of the keenness of their judgment and the excellence of their medical skiil. Then they would boast how they had detected the symptoms of the fever, when his physician, when his friends, when the patient him-elf, solemnly protested he was a well man.

Then these minions of power would become more insolent and overbearing than ever. Each one of them who nursed a grudge or cherished a mean political hatred would henceforth have his victim in his power. From these terrors there was but one way of escape, and that was in flight. The shops were deserted, the wharves were no longer covered with hogsheads and

bales; thousands of laborers were thrown out of work. — McMaster, "History of the United States."

The Democratic party, even in full control of legislation, cannot succeed by any means in affording such relief or such benefaction as a vast army of discontented people will demand and expect. This is a broad country, with as great variety of interests as any country on earth has in it. Many of these interests are made by artificial conditions created by partial and unequal paternalism to antagonize each other. All classes are more or less saturated with the moral poison of class legislation. Whenever the poison works a clamor will rise for some special advantage. If this is denied an army of disappointed persons will fall out with the Democratic party or with any other party that similarly defaults. If dissatisfaction is appeased by special concession in one direction this will only arouse indignant feelings and more vehement demands in other directions. The party that engages to enact laws, other than simply repealing laws, to please all classes and satisfy all interests will have both of its hands very full. The Democrats must fail in any such attempt as egregiously as the Republicans. If the Democratic party comes into power it will be sorely tempted to undertake something of the sort. This is the prospect, unless a rising spirit that threatens to prevail with all aggrieved classes for insisting upon an indemnifying extension of class legislation shall subside and give place to a call for the general abatement of all such legislation. -Galveston (Tex.) News.

Referring to the school issue in the recent Wisconsin State elections, the Washington correspondent of the St. Louis Globe-Democrat writes:—

"The returns made to the educational division of the census office reveal an extent and depth of feeling against the Bennett school law which was not appreciated by the politicians. In these schedules one of the questions was: 'Do you receive any aid from the public-school funds?' The Lutherans, who have parochial schools, were not satisfied to write down a simple negative. The spaces allowed for the answers were utterly insufficient for the expressions of feeling against the Bennett law and the Republican party, which enacted it. The answers show that these people have been estranged beyond all hope of an early restoration to good feeling. The Democratic Legislature in Wisconsin will repeal the obnoxious law this winter. Those Republicans who have had access to these census schedules and have read the sentiments therein expressed say they do not see how their party can hope to regain Wisconsin in 1892."

The bars were all closed yesterday (election day); but, as there were a hundred drunks in the courts the day before, the average drunkenness of the week will probably be maintained.—

Boston Herald.

TO-DAY, DEC. 11, 1890.

A record of the facts and considerations which show that Individual Liberty is good for the people of the United States, and that, therefore, Legislative Regulation is injurious for them.

J. Morrison-Fuller, Walter C. Rose, Editors.

Speaker Reed is reported to have devoutly thanked God that the House over which he presided was no longer a deliberative body. The result of the late elections shows in the most emphatic manner possible that Congress as at present constituted is very far from a representative body in any proper sense of the words. The duty of the Fifty-first Congress in the brief time left it to confine itself strictly to routine business is generally recognized, even by the better-class Republican organs; but the crime it commits by acting otherwise is not so generally perceived, and the Congressional majority ignores the point altogether. Men who, if they received their deserts would now be wearing a tunic of stone for the evils they have wrought, take advantage of the imperfections of our representative system to foist positive legislation upon the people after they and their measures have been most distinctly repudiated. In no country where the people felt less confidence in their power to make their will prevail ultimately could such a course be pursued without producing a rebellion. The leaders of the Republican party betrayed their trust in the Tariff Bill which they framed, and exceeded their instructions in much of the other legislation which they passed. They seem to be men naturally endowed with a very moderate degree of political sagacity, and absolutely incapable of learning anything from defeat. There can be no doubt that the sentiment of the country is distinctly against the Election Bill, which they are now trying to make law, and for them to attempt to thrust this bill upon the country in face of such a sentiment is really treason. Treason against the United States is defined in the Constitution as levying war against them, or giving aid and comfort to their enemies. But this action of the Republican majority amounts to betraying that system of Government which they have sworn to uphold. By that system the will of the people is to be the law of the land, and to attempt to make anything which is in direct contravention to the will of the people, the law of the land is certainly treason against the people and our form of Government.

The St. Louis Globe-Democrat, Pensions. discussing the effects of the disbursements of public money in payment of pensions, points out that not only are the recipients of the money directly benefited, but, owing to the increased liveliness of trade, many others are indirectly benefited. From this it goes on to argue that the payment of liberal pensions is a good thing. The argument is perfectly sound if the words are confined to their strict meanings. It is much better that the money should be paid out in pensions, or in any other way, than that it should be retained indefinitely in the Treasury, or thrown into the sea. The writer of the editorial referred to saw only one side of the question, but if he had thought to inquire where the Government gets the money to disburse, and thereby enliven trade, he could hardly have failed to see the other. The Treasury at Washington is not like the widow's cruse; every dollar that is placed in it has first to be taken from the people. Now if the disbursement of money from the Treasury which finds its way into the channels of trade is a good thing, then withdrawing money from trade and putting it in the Treasury must depress trade, and must therefore be a bad thing. How there is any possibility for gain, or for anything else except loss, is very difficult to be shown when the whole transaction is taken into account. Of course, by taking only half of it, pensions may be shown to be a very good or a very bad thing.

Bigotry and the Public Schools.

That men are almost as ready the Public to persecute for opinion's sake in the nineteenth century as they were in the sixteenth, provided that the opinion is one about which they feel strongly, is well shown by the movement made in Lynn to deprive certain teachers in the public schools there of their means of earning a livelihood, solely on account of their religion. It is not charged that these teachers do not perform their duties well, or that they seek to instill their beliefs into the minds of their pupils, but simply because the religion they profess is obnoxious to many they must be driven from their positions.

In many places over the country the publicschool question has been complicated with religious questions. In Boston the condition is thus described by thirty-two citizens, men

and women, who for true liberalism and deserved respect of their fellows could hardly be matched within the limits of the city:—

A large body of voters, composed chiefly of women, but with many sympathizers among the men of the Republican party, have made their nominations with the avowed purpose of excluding Catholics from any representation in the management of the schools attended by Catholic children and supported by Catholic taxpayers. They have refused to nominate two able Protestant members of the present board because they were not sufficiently subservient to this spirit of bigotry and intolerance.

It has been repeated so often that it is commonly taken for granted that our public schools are the corner-stone of our liberties, but the experience of the last few years raises grave doubts whether they are compatible with religious freedom. Certainly if the adherents of one religion are to be proscribed from any influence in the management of schools they are compelled to help support the system is hardly one of liberty. It is doubtful, moreover, whether any system of compulsory education can be "free." "Compulsory" means schools which the people at large are compelled to support and to which they are compelled to send their children. Are such schools likely to train children properly for becoming citizens of a free commonwealth? In the first place, the child is compelled to go to them whether his parents wish it or not, and after he is there he is subjected to a class drill which cannot but have a tendency to check the development of individuality; the government is from necessity largely despotic: in short, with the larger schools, system, drill, mechanism are inevitably the watchwords, and little room is left for free play of personality on the part either of teacher or pubils.

This aspect of the contrast between modern city schools and the old district schools, which were at first almost like voluntary associations to hire private teachers for children of the members, has been less dwelt on than other aspects; but perhaps a little more attention bestowed upon this aspect would not be wasted. The results of the former, in comparison with the latter, are not altogether admirable.

It is an encouraging symptom that a large portion of the press, and many leading thinkers, including a few eminent instructors, are inclined to be severe critics of the publicschool system. Most, to be sure, content themselves with pointing out wherein the public schools are defective; but eventually, we may hope, some of them will turn their attention to the underlying principle, and discover that it is wholly unsound.

The passage in President Har-The Spoils System in rison's annual message relative Diplomatic to the recall of Mr. Mizner un-Circles. mistakably shows that American diplomacy would be greatly benefited by the application of the principle of personal fitness to foreign appointments. The following excerpt explains the gravity of the offence and the necessity for the President's action: "It being evident that the minister had exceeded the bounds of his authority in intervening, in compliance with the demands of the Guatemala authorities, to authorize and effect, in violation of precedent, the seizure, on a vessel of the United States, of a passenger in transitu charged with political offences, in order that he might be tried for such offences under what was described as martial law, I was constrained to disavow Mr. Mizner's act and recall him from his post."

The necessity for such action is an unanswerable argument for the extension of civil service reform to diplomatic circles.

The question involved in Mr. Mizner's case was simple, painfully simple, and known to almost any dabbler in international law; the fact that an American minister should be unaware of it argues a degree of ignorance amounting to disgrace. Public vessels by the fiction of ex-territoriality possess immunity from the private law of the particular country within whose territorial waters they may chance to be. The right of asylum is universally acknowledged and conceded. The British Admiralty Instructions inform officers in command of war vessels that "during political disturbances or popular tumults refuge may be afforded to persons flying from personal danger." Lord Palmerston laid it down in the Naples troubles of 1849, that "a British ship-of-war has always and everywhere been considered as a safe place of refuge for persons of whatever country or party who have sought shelter under the British flag from persecution on account of their political conduct or opinions." Turning now to the most recent authoritative work on the Law of Nations, Mr. Hale lays

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down the international ruling regarding political refugees as follows: "The right to protect him (that is the refugee) has been acquired by custom. He ought not to be sought out or invited, but if he appears at the side of the ship and asks admittance, he need not be turned away, and, so long as he is innoxious, the territorial government has no right either to DEMAND his surrender or to expel the ship on account of his reception. (Hale's "International Law," page 193.)

It would certainly not be too much to require every representative of this country abroad to have the "Law of Nations" at his finger-tips, if not in his head; and even then the working politician, it is feared, would cut but a sorry figure.

In the first years of the century, diplomacy was a profession and the substantial reward of merit—not a compensation for party services and a place of refuge for superannuated politicians. "The great political engine," as Mr. Lowell wittily phrases it, "did not then come down at regular quadreunial intervals, like a nail-cutting machine, to make all official lives of a standard length, and to generate lazy and intriguing expectancy." The ablest men of their generation represented America at foreign courts.

But this period is long passed; happily the tradition of it survives. With the inauguration of Andrew Jackson, the spoils system entered the White House, party service became the passport to position and influence, and civil service became a byword and a mockery. A few years later President Polk recalled Henry Wheaton from Berlin, to make room for a man whose only claim to office lay in the fact that he never failed to support Democracy at the polls. Wheaton, whose "Law of Nations" made an epoch in the study of international law, and whose "History of the Law of Nations" is used to-day as a college text-book, - Wheaton was removed to give place to a mere partisan!

Since that date, our diplomatic relations have been for the most part intrusted to political adventurers whose names have slipped from the recollection of men. Men of ability there have been: for example, Charles Francis Adams, Mr. Motley, and Mr. Lowell; but they have been the exceptions, not the rule. So sweeping has been the change that there exist among us in the United States to-day only two specimens of

the trained diplomat of other days: Mr. Trescot and Mr. Kasson.

62,000,000 or 65,000,000.

The result of the last census is such as to cast much doubt upon the computation, made some years since, that by the end of the next century the United States will number 800,000,000 people — a computation of which the most reliable newspaper in the country said: "The dream is rather wild, perhaps, but we doubt if any one can read it without, when he lays it down, finding it very hard to furnish good reasons for doubting it." It may be said that Mr. Porter's census cannot furnish a good reason for doubting or believing anything, except for believing that a partisan census is a shameful waste of money. wherever this census has been tested, it has been discredited, and the more complete the test, the greater the discredit; but, after all due allowance has been made, it seems impossible to escape the conclusion that the rate of natural increase of population the increase aside from that due to immigration - has been markedly less during the last decade than during any previous period of our history. One would naturally suppose that even if the Government could not be trusted to do anything else properly, it might be expected to count the number of people in the country with tolerable accuracy. This, probably, it has not done, but to say that the great falling off in the rate of increase which the returns seem to show is wholly due to blunders seems very unlikely.

The one desire which has actuated us all through our history has been to become a great nation, and the definition of "great" which has been almost unhesitatingly adopted, is a nation consisting of a large number of people. This ambition has not by any means been peculiar to this country. As boys eagerly look forward to the time when they will be men, so in general, sparsely-settled countries eagerly desire to hasten the time when they will be densely

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populated. And then, when the period of dense population has arrived, a much more difficult problem has been to discover what to do with the surplus of human beings. We are still ardently pressing forward to the time when this problem will confront us. Now and then the question is raised whether the quality of the population secured does not enter into the question of national greatness, as well as the quantity. Some have even maintained that Athens in the age of Pericles, or Rome in the age of Scipio, was really a greater phenomenon in the world than the Chinese Empire at present, with its three or four hundred million people; though China has for the last two thousand years been greater in bulk than the whole of Western civilization, in influencing which the greatness of Greece and Rome is supposed chiefly to reside.

Nevertheless, we have, on the whole, given our allegiance to numbers, and have succeeded so well in attaining the object of our ambition that two or three millions more or less do not make a very serious difference to us. If our growth for the last ten years has not been so marvellous as we hoped, we can console ourselves by reflecting how much more rapidly we grew when we were younger. Beginning with the present century, the population of the country, which in 1800 was not quite five and a half millions, has doubled three times; the first time in about twenty-three years, the second in twenty-five, the third in twenty-seven. At this rate the fourth duplication ought to be completed about 1905, giving us a population of 85,000,000 nearly. The percentage of natural increase might be expected to be a little less in the last decade than in the preceding one, but not nearly so much less as the census seems to show. In the first five decades, from 1790, the percentages of natural increase were: in the first, 33.9 per cent; in the second, 33.1; in the third, 32.1; in the fourth, 30.9; in the fifth, 29.6 per cent. The increase of territory has not kept pace with the growth of population. In 1790 the settled area

amounted to 239,935 square miles, and the average density of population to 16.4 per mile; in 1880 these figures were respectively 1,569,570 square miles and 32 to the mile.

The advantages of a moderately dense population are by no means to be underestimated. The explanation from natural philosophy given by Mr. Carey, to whom we are indebted for many curious speculations in sociology, is doubtless true, if taken with the proper limitations. Man is simply a highly differentiated portion of the earth's crust (or, perhaps, that plus something else - x), and the more the matter existing on the earth takes the form of men the greater becomes their power to give direction to natural forces. Other writers have said substantially the same thing in different words; for example, Bastiat: "Other things equal, an increased density of population is equivalent to an increased facility of production." To leave these statements in this form affords a good example of what is called abstract theorizing. Since the whole matter which exists in the wor'd cannot be changed into men, obviously there is a limit of numbers, beyond which the more men there are the harder will it be for them to get a subsistence. A dense population, too, supplies men with a stimulus towards improvement. The mental and physical inertia, the distaste for change and exertion everywhere observable would probably keep man stationary, if the reproductive instinct were less strong. In the case of individuals, - outside of America, at any rate, - those able to live comfortably without exertion are seldom extraordinarily active, and the same would doubtless be true of the race. After the population on a given area has become as numerous as can be supported on that area, a change in the mode of life, as from hunting to grazing, enables it to increase; but the pressure of population is generally necessary to induce the change. So long as there is game enough to supply food man is not likely to rear domestic animals for that purpose. How the change in methods of industry

which took place between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries enabled population to expand is exhibited by the following figures: In France, the annual increase of population per square mile was*: 1700-1800, four; 1800-1825, sixteen; 1824-1846, thirty-two: in England and Wales, 1700-1800, sixteen; 1800-1825, forty-two; 1824-1846, one hundred and thirty-six. The figures for other nations are hardly less striking. In this country the wilderness, infested with hostile savages, present a barrier to the spread of population westward which it required a good deal of energy to overcome. The people, however, were possessed of a strong love of novelty and adventure, so that it did not need a severe pressure of population on the means of subsistence in the settled districts to produce the outflow. Of Americans, it cannot be said that "of all things, the hardest to move is human beings."

It cannot be said, then, that during the first part of the present century our population increased rapidly because the natural conditions imposed no check, but that during the last decade such a check has made its appearance. In certain places the population is very dense, but taking the settled area as a whole, it is very sparse. Moreover, there yet remains considerable territory suitable for settlement. In the six States, — Maine, New York, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Florida, — the unsettled area amounted, in 1880, to 89,400 square miles.

The decline in our rate of increase can hardly be due to the exhaustion of fertile lands. The question, To what has it been due? is an interesting one to speculate about, though of course no very certain answer can be arrived at yet. If the case is really serious the true answer will probably be discovered when the "Decline and Fall of the United States" comes to be written.

I would not, however, suggest that there is occasion for alarm, even if the census is substantially correct, and there are really only a little over 62,000,000 of us, instead of 65,000,000, as there ought to be. Unless, of course, the missing 3,000,000 should prove to be the "saving remnant," the men on whose presence the safety of the country depends There might be some reason for suspecting this, for there has been no falling off in immigration. The loss has therefore been in the increase of naturalborn citizens. Some may be disposed to maintain that the Government has been so occupied with increasing our population from foreign sources that it has utterly neglected the most important source. A bill is now before Congress having for its object to restrict immigration; but the whole duty of the Government will not be done until it puts in operation some of the old devices for facilitating the natural increase of population, such as imposing fines on men who wilfully remain bachelors, offering rewards for large families, or providing a marriage fund to enable poor couples to marry. Colbert, in 1666, decreed that whoever married before his twentieth year should be exempt from taxation till his twenty-fifth. Frederick the Great limited the mourning time of widowers to three months and of widows to nine. In Iceland, during the last century, after a great plague, it was decreed that it should be no disgrace to a young woman to have as many as six illegitimate children. Probably less strenuous measures will suffice here for the present, but we can have this as a last resort.

Another cause which may be suggested as explaining our lower rate of increase is that the standard of life of the people as a whole has risen, and that therefore what is called the prudential restraint upon increase of population has been more effective. The person who believes himself unable to support a family refrains from marriage. Closely allied to this is the unequal distribution of wealth, which might be assigned as a cause of the phenomenon we

^{*} Dieterici (Berliner Akadamie, 16 Mai, 1850); quoted by Roscher: Political Economy, § 253. The figures are probably not exact, but they represent the facts approximately.

are considering. The wealth of the country has increased in a greater ratio than the population, but it is probably less equally distributed now than it was ten or twenty years ago. The aggregation, in accordance with which the small shop has given place to the large factory, the small retail establishment to the large one, the hundred men with \$10,000 each to the one man with \$1,000,000, has naturally borne hardest upon the middle classes; the tendency has been for a few of them to become great capitalists, and for the rest to be depressed toward the proletariat. Now, supporting a family means to a man not merely providing the bare necessaries of life but that degree of comfort to which he has been accustomed. Obviously, if founding a family necessitates giving up a large share of this, fewer will be founded. If the number of marriages proves to have diminished, it will lend support to this explanation, and the missing millions will be shown to be precisely that part of the population which could worst be spared. It can hardly be said that the condition of the workingmen is any harder now than in 1880, so the number of marriages among them probably has not fallen off, but the decrease, if there is any, has been among the middle classes.

The causes which act to check the increase of population have been very thoroughly discussed during the last hundred years. There may be some which have not yet been discovered, but of those usually assigned there remains only one yet to mention - the worship of the goddess Aselgeia, and the disintegration of the family produced largely by the tendency of modern governments to take upon themselves family functions, such as the education and care of children, and to make the individual rather than the family the unit of the state. That both these causes have been increasingly active, the latter markedly so, during the last ten years, can hardly be questioned. We boast ourselves to be a monogamous nation, with the vanishing exception of Utah; but practices prevail in our midst

quite extensively which are analogous to the polygamy or even promiscuity of certain savage tribes, and the relation between these practices and increase of population is too obvious to need pointing out. The increase in the number of divorces has frequently been dwelt on, but that the writers on the subject have not understood the evil is shown well enough by the fact that most of them think it could be cured by a national divorce law. It certainly was not from lack of laws that sexual relations at Rome fell into such a deplorable condition under the Cæsars. Divorce is by no means the only influence among us that diminishes the strength of the marriage bond; mariages de convenance and adultery manifestly tend in the same direction. It has frequently been pointed out that among declining nations the distinctions between the sexes are as far as possible obliterated; at any rate, this was the case in Greece and Rome; but we have hardly enough instances to give validity to a general rule.

Just how much influence governments have exerted upon the disintegration of the family by usurping family functions cannot of course be determined. It is probably not by accident that a community of property has been associated with community of wives. The grounds for both are similar, namely, the evil resulting from the exclusive appropriation by individual men of particular things and particular women, and a step towards community of the one is likely to prove a step towards community of the other. The fundamental requirement for either is to regard the individual, man, woman, or child, as the unit of the State, thus ignoring the family; for private property is more essential to the family than to the individual.

One other cause may be named to account for the disappointment in our numbers. The fact may be regarded as showing that the stock is becoming exhausted. Two hundred and fifty years ago, the Anglo-Saxon race numbered only a few millions;

now the numbers are computed at 120,000,-000. The expansion of the race as a whole has been marvellously rapid, but it is here that the increase has been the most rapid. We know that about 20,000 Englishmen migrated to this country between 1620 and 1640, and it is estimated that from these a fourth of our population is descended. We know that the population doubled between 1800 and 1824, when immigration was not very active, and that the multiplication must have been nearly as rapid during preceding periods. It has been computed that when the birth-rate is five per cent of the population and the death-rate two per cent, that the population doubles in twenty-four years. Whether the death-rate averaged two per cent during the period 1800-1824, is not known, but it could not have been much under that. A birth-rate of five per cent for a generation means that the average number of births per woman must be between four and five, and, as some women will bear less than this number, or none at all, many must bear more. Now it is not improbable that there has been established in the experience of the race a normal number of children which women can bear without producing race deterioration. There are no data for discussing the question; all that can be said is, that if any portion of the Anglo-Saxon stock is becoming exhausted through long-continued excessive reproduction, this country probably contains that portion.

Whether, then, there are 62,000,000 or 65,000,000 people in these United States is really a question of great interest, not so much from the importance of having 3,000,000 more here as from what the fact one way or the other would indicate. We have spent money enough on the census to ascertain beyond any reasonable doubt; and yet the doubt remains—more doubt, in fact, than if no census had been taken, because then the larger figure would unhesitatingly have been assumed. The causes named above which tend to check increase of population are nearly all of them constantly in opera-

tion, no matter how rapidly a country is growing. If we could trust the census we could predict the intensity with which these forces have acted here during the last decade; or, conversely, if we knew the intensity of these forces we could decide as to the accuracy of the census. It is much easier to count the people than to gauge the forces directly; but in this case, as in so many other cases when we have trusted to the Government to do things for us, we have been defrauded.

PARLIAMENT AND THE LAND PURCHASE BILL.

The Parliament that assembled on the 25th of the past month will probably be the most important session of the body elected at the general election a few years ago. From the fact that it may be the last, and on account of the pressing nature of the business before the government, the session promises to be as lively and interesting as it will be important.

The question of Newfoundland and the claims of the French to exclusive fishing rights on the coast, unknown to any existing treaty on the subject, the fortifications of St. Pierre and Miguelon, together with the complete and exclusive sovereignty over these islands, claim d and exercised by France under the treaty of 1768, will undoubtedly lead to diplomatic complications, but, as the Queen's speech hopefully informs Parliament, "a settlement may be arrived at which will be satisfactory to all parties."

But these and other matters may, however, be considered side-issues to this really great question of the session, the Irish Land Purchase Bill. If passed, — and the present complications of parties point that way, — and if it is but half as comprehensive as its framers claim, it will greatly facilitate the transfer of land, will give the Conservative party a positive standing before the country, and influence to a considerable degree the coming elections

On its introduction, last March, Mr. Gladstone pronounced it a bold and manly measure; and although the Liberal party opposes its passage, the bill is nevertheless conceived in a singularly liberal and progressive spirit. As reintroduced, it differs but slightly from the measure of last spring. The substance, as explained by Mr. Balfour, is simple. The government is to place a fund estimated at about £33,000,000 at the disposal of the Land Department, consisting of the land commissioners appointed under the pre-

vious acts. Suppose a tenant wishes to purchase his holding: the first thing to be done is for both landlord and tenant to come to an agreement regarding the value of the piece of property in question. Experience shows that a fair valuation lies somewhere between seventeen and twenty times the net rent, otherwise called a seventeen or twenty years' purchase. If the landlord and tenant fail to agree, the Land Department investigates the matter and assigns a value, after a consideration of the circumstances of the case. When the value has been determined, the Bank of England pays the landlord in government stock created for the purpose, bearing interest at a rate of two and three fourths per cent for thirty years. The tenant then takes possession of the land and pays a rate of interest slightly exceeding four per cent on the purchasing value. After five years have passed, the tenant, or rather the new owner, pays four per cent on the principal or purchase for forty-four years, after which time he becomes absolute owner of the holding in question.

A simple example will show the working of the bill. Suppose the gross value of the annual rent is £10, 14s.; the net value 14s. less; that is, £10. At seventeen-years' purchase, this would amount to £170; four per cent of this would be £6, 16s. But in order to supply a guarantee fund for the payment of the interest in hard times the government collects £8 from the tenant. That is to say, the tenant pays from 20 per cent to 32 per cent less than his annual rent. After the first five years the tenant only pays four per cent of the investment, that is, £6, 16s. for a period of forty-four years, by which time he has acquired complete possession of the land.

Such in brief is the outline of the measure introduced by Mr. Balfour last session. The details are complicated, but of a minor importance, so that they need not be considered here.

A further point of the bill deserves a passing notice. The sum of £33,000,000 appearing inadequate to such a comprehensive measure, Mr. Balfour proposed that "unless Parliament should otherwise direct, when the £33,000,000, under the act, is exhausted, the repayments of that £33,000,000, as well as the repayments of the £10,000,000, under the Ashbourne Act (1885, amended 1888), shall be a perpetual fund from which future purchases by tenants may be effected."

The "congested districts" were treated on a somewhat different plan. As they suffered most from the agrarian disturbances, and were unable, as a rule, to meet even small payments within a prescribed period, the government adopted a

smaller number of years' purchase for any and all holdings within such congested limits. The valuations vary according to this modification of the act, between eleven to fourteen times the rent. Applying a smaller valuation to the above example, it will be seen that a considerable reduction of the amount paid in interest takes place, and that the burden of transfer is lightened by just such a sum.

The bill as introduced last week contains the principles of the original measure with one seemingly slight yet important modification. That purchasers of holdings under £50 shall be given precedence. While this, no doubt, limits the scope of the bill, it gives assurance that those most interested - the small tenants shall have the first chance to take advantage of the relief offered by the government. From all appearances, the government is deeply in earnest. Mr. Balfour introduced, on behalf of the ministry, a proposal to devote £5,000,000 to the distressed districts of Ireland. This was but last week, and the measure, with the support of the Liberals, has already passed the second reading, with little or no opposition to speak of.

Whether or not the Land Purchase Bill will answer the expectations of the framers it is difficult to say. For many years the system of peasant proprietorship in France has attracted the attention of economists and statesmen. The present measure, like its predecessors of the past twenty years, is an attempt to extend to the Irish tenant the advantages which his fellow-worker in France has enjoyed for generations.

"Give a man the secure possession of a bleak rock," said Arthur Young in reference to peasant proprietorship, "and he will turn it into a garden; give him a nine years' lease of a garden, and he will convert it into a desert."

J. B. S.

POLITICS IN THE MAGAZINES.

FORUM (December). — In "The Stability of the French Republic" M. Jules Simon speaks briefly of the foreign relations the French Republic has sustained during the twenty years of its existence. Then follows a more elaborate treatment of internal affairs, from the condition of which he draws inferences as to the future stability of the republic. Of the "civil service" he speaks highly, asserting that it has been due to its excellency that the republic has been enabled to pass through great crises without damage. The magistracy was dealt a severe blow by an act empowering the minister of justice to remove magistrates suspected of favoring the empire or the monarchy. This weakened the

faith in the tribunals. In the connection the writer says, "One of the most necessary and august functions of a government is to administer justice, and it is impossible to diminish the authority of justice without taking away from the government a portion of its strength."

The expenses of the republic have been heavy, but as a result M. Simon considers that France "lacks nothing, either for the defence of her territory or for the development of her industries." Verily, the money must have been more wisely spent than it would have been by the United States Government, if such a perfect state of affairs has been brought about. In suggesting means for reducing the expenses in the future, he advocates a tax on spirituous liquors, and mildly suggests "the suppression of the budget of public worship," which reaches the surprisingly large annual sum of 52,000 000 francs. Unfortunately, in France, as well as in this country, "politics are not conducted solely on principles," and it is deemed impolitic thus to dissatisfy the Catholics.

Despite imperfections both of the constitution and the manner in which its precepts are carried out, M. Simon considers that the republic of France is lasting, and growing stronger day by day, while the strength of its enemies is constantly diminishing.

Family Stocks in a Democracy is discussed by President Eliot in a paper of considerable length. As the means for perpetuating good family stocks, country life, permanent dwelling-places, the transmission of family business or occupation from father to sons, education, and wise marriages are urged, and their respective advantages duly set forth. In addition, a careful training in truth, gentleness, purity, and honor is considered all-essential.

President Martin answers the question "Does China Menace the World?" by showing what a home-loving people the Chinese are, and that whatever elaborate measures they may be taking to protect and develop their native land, it is purely to make this land more dear to them, and more profitable to live in. Her only threat would seem to be to return to her ancient isolation.

In conclusion, it is shown how absurd prohibitory legislation regarding the Chinese has been, in view of the fact that during the past twenty years Europe has given millions of population to this country, while China has contributed only a paltry sixty thousand.

Among the Century's Open Letters is found one from Daniel S. Remsen, on Election by the Majority, in which the writer sets forth the

weak points in our present system of balloting. He contends that the system does not accurately express the different shades of political opinion, and that the loss of what he styles "conscience votes" is greatest. But unlike many writers, who are more ready to show defects than to suggest remedies, Mr. Remsen gives an outline of a plan whereby he believes the popular vote might be rendered more effectual. His plan, in brief, is to allow each voter a second choice of candidate, so that in case no first-choice candidate receives a majority of the votes cast, the second-choice votes may be counted. Rules and regulations are laid down to govern the carrying out of such a plan, and the writer further states that in many States no Constitutional amendment would be necessary to carry such a plan into effect.

COSMOPOLITAN (December). — Reviewing current events, Mr. Murat Halstead suggests that the freedom of speech which is allowed in this country, the wholesale criticism of public men and their acts, of administrations, - national, State, and municipal, — all has a tendency to give an exaggerated idea of the extent of misgovernment. In other words, his thought is that "We, the people of the United States," are addicted to a terrible habit, — the habit of telling the truth about ourselves. With all its faults, he considers our Government better conditioned than that of older countries beyond the sea. If, then, we are not altogether perfect, why should we hold our imperfections to the glaring light of criticism? "We should have a care not to allow the character of our country to suffer in our understanding because it is subjected to such an extraordinary sweep of unfriendly commentary."

The social problem, discussed this month by the Rev. E. E. Hale, is temperance. Past efforts in the battle against intemperance have, he says, been for the most part futile. Societies have fought against the rumseller more than they have discussed the subject from a social and ethical standpoint. Temperance journals have been edited to little purpose, their pages being usually taken up with arguments concerning the legal aspects, to the utter neglect of the physiological and social sides of the question. Mr. Hale would establish refuges, on "pretty islands," where one might be free from tempta-tion. The Italian island of refuge for criminals is cited as a successful example. It is suggested that islands whose climate and products are wellnigh perfect be selected. This would relieve the drunkard of all responsibility, and hasten his departure for the "isles of the blest." To be sure, there would not be many left to tell the tale, but for the few of us that did have the fortitude to resist such a tempting bait there would be more room, and the blessed consciousness of having contributed to the happiness of worthless drunkards.

AMERICANA.

Mr. Andrew D. White, in the December "Forum" tells an amusing episode that occurred while as a member of the Senate Committe of the State of New York he was serving on special committee of investigation into the several departments of the great metropolis. A "sanitary inspector" being called before the committee, the following dialogue occurred:—

- "Mr. Inspector, did you have a case of smallpox in your ward at such a time?"
 - "Yes, sir."
 - "Did you visit the sick people?"
- " I did n't."
- "Why did you not visit them?"
- "For the same reason that you would n't: I did n't wish to get it myself."
 - "Did the family go entirely without care?"
 - "No; they were hyjinnicks (hygienics)."
 - "What do you mean by 'hyjinnicks'?"
 - "I mean people who doctor themselves."

This furnished a test for the various "health wardens" and "sanitary inspectors" who were brought in afterwards, and each of them was generally asked: "Have you any hyjinnicks in your ward?" Some of these guardians of public health answered that they had, some replied that they had not, some said that people "had them pretty bad," and some averred that people in their ward got over them pretty easily. At last one of them was asked, "Witness, do you know what the word 'hyjinnicks' means?" "Yes, sir." "What does it mean?" "It means the bad smell rising from standing water."

Mr. Justice Maule once addressed a phenomenon of innocence in a smock-frock in the following words: "Prisoner at the bar, your counsel thinks you innocent, I think you innocent, but a jury of your own countrymen, in the exercise of such common-sense as they possess, which does not seem to be much, have found you 'guilty,' and it remains that I should pass upon you the sentence of the law. That sentence is that you be kept in imprisonment for one day; and as that day was yesterday, you may now go about your business." — The Green Bag.

In England, a man cannot keep a dog-cart, light vehicle, or carriage without a license. A countryman who drove his wife to market in a farmer's cart in order that she might mind the horse while he was attending to business was recently summoned before a magistrate on the charge of "keeping a carriage without a license." The astute magistrate decided that the poor countryman had no right to drive his wife about, and that by such use the cart became a carriage under the law, and was liable to taxation. — Exchange.

Chief Engineer Fteley reported to the New York Aqueduct Commissioners that of the thirty-six inspectors on the rolls only about one third will be needed further. As fifteen of the thirty-six are veterans, and claim that they must be retained in preference to any one else, as long as there is work for them, the chief engineer is in a quandary; for the remaining work is connected with the construction of dams, and he would rather be able to make a selection of inspectors on some other ground than that of war services. The commisioners took no action on the report.

They have a singular ordinance in the town of Greenup, Ky., where the city fathers seem to be very careful of their dignity. The ordinance, which has about it a strong flavor of paternal government, reads as follows:—

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— I had the honor to send your Honor to the island once when I was on the bench.

THE JUDGE. - Six months. - New York Sun.

The barber shop of the United States Senate is supported out of the contingent fund, and Senators are shaved for nothing. There are a good many other contingent funds that cover a great amount of shaving. — Boston Transcript.

The Farmers' Alliance says that the force bill will "revitalize the gory ghost of sectional estrangement." We presume that the gory ghost is the original owner of the bloody shirt. — New York Commercial Advertizer.

A Nationalist, my son, is a person who, being utterly unable to succeed in business, naturally believes that all business enterprises should be carried on by government. — Boston Transcript.

Down in Connecticut when they find an orphan boy so weak and sickly that he can't work his way they lay a dollar before him and tell him to pocket it. He obeys, and then they arrest, search, and convict him of theft, and send him to a reformatory to become a State charge. — Detroit Free Press.



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CITY GROWTH AND PARTY POLITICS. WILLIAM M. SPRINGER.—The increase of urban over rural population as shown by the census; how this increase is advantageous to the Democrate THE STABILITY OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC. JULES SIMON, of the French Senate.—A review of domestic and foreign influences favorable and unfavorable to the Republic; a hopeful outlook.

FAMILY STOCKS IN A DEMOCRACY. PRESIDENT C. W. ELIOT, of Harvard.—Democratic society favorable to the perpetuation of families; a study of American conditions therefor.

DOES CHINA MENACE THE WORLD? PRESIDENT W. A. P. MARTIN, of the Imperial Tung Weng College, China.—Why the tendency of Chinese life forbids fear of competition.

THE HUMANITIES. MAJOR J. W. POWELL.—The first of a series of articles to show that the theory of biological evolution fails when applied to sociology.

FORMATIVE INFLUENCES. ABORDEACON F. W. FABRAR.—An autobiographical essay, following similar ones by Prof. John Tyndall, W. E. H. Lecky, Frederic Harrison, and other noted men.

SPEED IN RAILWAY TRAVKL. PROP. R. H. THURSTON.—The possibility of 200 miles an hour with steam; why electricity is likely to supersede steam.

ARMOR FOR WAR SHIPS.—Commander F. M. Barber, of the U. S. Navy.

NOTES ON GHOSTS. Andrew Lang. PITY, GENUINE AND SPURIOUS. Frances Power Cobhe.

Among the features of The Forum for 1891 will be:

RESULTS OF THE CENSUS. A series of articles by GEN. FRANCIS A. WALKEE: RESULTS OF THE LATEST RESEARCH and of the most recent ACHIEVEMENTS in all IMPORTANT LINES OF WORK, in SCIENCE and in INDUSTRY, by specialists; POLITICAL DISCUSSIONS, by the leaders of opinions in the United States, and by foreign statesmen; SHIBBOLETHS OF THE TIME, a series of critical examinations of popular opinions, by W. S. LILLY, the British essayist; AUTOBI-OGRAPHICAL ESSAYS, a series to which some of the most noted men of the time, American and British, have already contributed; DISCUSSIONS OF SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS PROBLEMS IN THE UNITED STATES; LITERARY ARTICLES, discussing the tendencies of literary work along all directions of activity, by the foremost critical writers.

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MAGAZINE

For the coming year will be noteworthy for a number of special features which the Publishers believe are of very unusual interest, and among them the following may be mentioned: -

SIR EDWIN ARNOLD

Contributes to the December number the first of a series of four Articles upon Japan, its people, its ways, and its thoughts. Mr. Robert Blum, who was commissioned to go to Japan for Scribner's Magazine, has prepared a very remarkable series of drawings to illustrate Sir Edwin's papers. Articles upon the recent Japanese Festival will follow, illustrated by Mr. Blum.

HENRY M. STANLEY

Has prepared for the January number an important article upon "The Pigmies of the Great African Forest." Another contribution in this field will be Mr. J. Scott Keltie's account of the recent African Exhibition held in London. Both papers will be amply illustrated.

THE WRECKER,

A Serial Novel by Robert Louis Stevenson and Lloyd Osbourne, will run through a large part of the year. Hinstrated by Hole. A two-part story by Frank R. Stockton will also appear.

PROF. JAMES BRYCE, M. P.,

Anthor of "The American Commonwealth," will write a series of Four Articles upon India, embodying the results of his recent journey and studies on this land of never-ending interest.

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Is the title of a novel collection of articles on which the author and artist will collaborate to give the characteristics of famous thoroughfares. The first, on Broadway, will be written by Richard Harding Davis, and illustrated by Arthur B. Frost. Others will follow on Piccadilly, London; Boulevard, Paris; The Corso, Rome.

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SONS, Publishers. CHARLES SCRIBNER'S 743-745 BROADWAY, NEW YORK.

Vol. II. No. 31.

Thursday, December 18, 1890.

Price 5 Cents.

Published weekly by J. Morrison-Fuller, at 3 Somerset Street, Boston, Mass.

SUBSCRIPTION, \$1.00 PER YEAR.

POLITICS: EVENTS; COMMENTS; LITERA-TURE.



The conditions under which this paper is published render it impossible to give the weekly record of facts the character of news. This is especially the case with the foreign items for which we shall not hereafter rely on the American newspapers. Nor does it seem feasible to complicate the classification by separating items accordingly as they are or are not "news." Suffice it to say that the facts are, in the main, collected from daily papers; that their importance does not generally depend upon dates; that our record of them cannot have greater authority than the sources have, but is evidently more trustworthy than any single newspaper.

LEGISLATIVE.

THE HOUSE, Dec. 8, passed a bill prohibiting the granting of liquor licenses within one mile of the Soldiers' Home in the District of Columbia, and a bill requiring that eight car tickets shall be sold by the Washington Street car companies for twenty-five cents, instead of for five cents each, and that no passenger shall pay his fare until he is provided with a seat. The bill providing for a rebate on tobacco in stock equal to the reduction made in the internal revenue tax by the last tariff bill was also passed.

IN THE SENATE, Mr. Gorman appealed to Mr. Hoar to drop the Federal Elections Bill, and give the Senate a chance to take measures for the relief of the business community, to which Mr. Hoar made the following answer:—

"For four days the Senate had been listening to Democratic speeches which those who made them knew would not affect a single vote—speeches for mere delay and obstruction. If the Senator from Maryland had any measure which he thought would allay the panic, or the menace to the commercial

prosperity of the country, which had begun when the elections were declared in favor of his party (the country having been before that in a position of unexampled prosperity), why should he not, after a fair and proper statement of the reasons for voting against the Elections Bill, let the Senate vote upon it?"

On Dec. 9, the House passed the thirty-three public building bills, which were passed by the committee of the whole last session. They authorize appropriation exceeding \$3,500,000. The resolution providing for the removal of the remains of Gen Grant to Arlington was defeated. A bill was introduced by Mr. Bland (Mo.), providing that

"the tax of two per cent, heretofore imposed upon the circulating notes of State banks, and all provisions of law preventing or restricting the issuing of circulating notes by the authority of the States are hereby repealed."

IN THE SENATE, Mr. Plumb introduced a bill to reduce the amount of United States bonds he required of national banks, and to replace their surrendered notes, and to provide for the free coinage of silver. He also offered an amendment in the same terms to a bill now on the calendar, so that the matter

"can be brought before the Senate independently of any report from the Finance Committee. In doing so, he gave notice that if the Elections Bill were not disposed of at an early day he should move to lay it aside for the time being, in order that the bill just introduced by him and all the other measures relating to the financial condition of the country should be considered."

THE SENATE, Dec. 10, passed the House Bill authorizing the payment of drawback on rebate on tobacco. A bill was introduced by Mr. Hawley to increase the line of the army and to increase its efficiency.

On Dec. 11, the House passed the Fortification Appropriation Bill, also a bill to prevent the manufacturing of dies or moulds used in counterfeiting of United States or foreign coins.

IN THE SENATE, a petition was presented from the Wageworkers' Political Alliance of the District of Columbia asking for the establishment of a department of banking, and demanding

"the distribution of twenty dollars per capita per annum to each public authority, 'such as States, territories, districts, counties, cities, towns, and villages within the limits of the Republic, for the purpose of enabling them to pay their debts and expenses without any local taxation whatever'; and that 'national taxation shall be abolished until freedom from debt shall be universal within the limits of the Republic."

IN THE SENATE, Dec. 12, Mr. Dolph (Rep., Or.) introduced a resolution instructing the Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections to inquire whether in any State the right to vote is denied to any male citizen twenty-one years of age, or in any way abridged, except for participation in crime. Mr. Dolph said, —

"what he desired the Committee on Privileges and Elections to give special attention to was whether some States had not provided in their constitutions or laws such voting qualifications as were not permitted by Sect. 2 of the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution. He said that, according to the Constitution recently adopted in Mississippi, payment of all taxes (with a uniform poll tax of two dollars) and an ability to read and explain the Constitution are requisites for the exercise of the elective franchise. He did not deny the power of a State to require such qualifications; but he asserted that if they were made, and if by them citizens of the United States had their right of suffrage denied or abridged, the representation of such State ought to be diminished in like proportion. The State of Mississippi, he said, was not the only State that imposed restrictions on the right of suffrage. The State of Wyoming disfranchised persons going into that State who were unable to read the Constitution of the United States. The States of Massachusetts and Connecticut, he understood, imposed like conditions. If it were true that the abridgment of the right to vote was not permitted by the Constitution of the United States without a reduction of representation in Congress, then it was the duty of the Senate to ascertain what States required qualifications other than those permitted by the Constitution."

Mr. Vest (Dem., Mo.) moved an amendment instructing the committee to inquire further whether by any State legislation the right to work on public improvements was denied to any citizen. He read a clause from a statute of the Oregon Legislature authorizing the building of a bridge and providing that none but white labor should be employed on the work.

On Dec. 13, the House passed the Senate Bill providing that in open steam launches of ten tons or under one person may act in the double capacity of pilot and engineer.

The extra session of the New Hampshire Legislature, which lasted four days, and cost the State about ten thousand dollars, resulted in the election of a new clerk in place of the old clerk, who resigned after the extra session had been summoned. The Republicans expect to benefit by this change.

Among the bills passed by the Alabama Legislature are: A bill prohibiting the sale or giving of cigarettes to minors under eighteen years of age; a bill requiring a license tax for pedlers; and a bill prohibiting the sale of whiskey within from two to five miles of a large number of churches. Among the bills introduced are: One confining the sale of "Rough on Rats" to regular pharmacists; a bill providing that allopathic, homoeopathic, and eclectic physicians may establish boards of medical examiners to examine applicants to practise medicine; one preventing work on any farm, railroad, or building on the Sabbath; one requiring the telegraph companies to be more prompt in the delivery of messages; and one making drunkenness unlawful, and persons convicted of public drunkenness ineligible to testify in certain cases.

The Bermuda Legislature has adopted a memorial to the Queen protesting against the recent refusal of the imperial government to allow aliens, even when they became naturalized, to own real estate in the islands. It is pointed out that, as all the privileges of citizenship in Bermuda rest upon the ownership of real estate, there is no other inducement to become citizens. As to the reason given by the imperial government for its action, — that it is not expedient to admit foreigners to the privileges of acquiring land in so small a colony, which has been converted at a vast expense into an imperial fortress, as the defence of the islands might be seriously affected thereby, --- the Legislature says that the present law affords ample opportunities for aliens to obtain a footing in Bermuda, with a view to hostile action, since it permits subjects of friendly powers to hold real estate for the purpose of residence or business for a term of twenty-one years as fully as British subjects are allowed to do.

In the French Chamber, a deputy proposed the stoppage of theatrical subsidies, on the ground that the country's finances could not afford luxuries and that all France ought not to be taxed for the pleasures of the Parisians. The motion was defeated. A motion to reduce the opera subsidy was also rejected.

A Detroit (Mich.) congregation has invited a minister from Canada to become its pastor. If the pastor, who has accepted the charge, comes to Detroit, the organization is liable to a fine of \$10,000, which is the penalty for violating the Contract Labor law. The law will, it is understood, be amended by Congress; but at present its literal and obvious construction excludes clergymen, lecturers, and professors.

In the report of the commissioners appointed last winter by the mayor of Boston to revise the building laws of the city, the buildings hereafter to be put up are divided into three classes. The first class is one that consists of noninflammable material throughout, except that wood may be used for upper floors, window sashes, hand-rails, etc. The second-class building is one constructed in a thorough manner, as buildings go, but not absolutely of non-inflammable material throughout; but such a building must have fire-stops at each floor, and must, in other respects, be a substantial structure. Those not up to this standard come under the third classification, and so many limitations are put upon buildings belonging to the third class, as to their location, etc., that it would hardly pay for a property owner to put up such a structure, except for purely dwelling-house purposes.

Buildings of the first class may have any area that their owners and constructors can command. Their height is limited in two ways: First, they cannot under any circumstances exceed an altitude of 120 feet, and, second, their height must not be greater than two and one half times the width of the widest street or square on which they stand.

Buildings of the second class cannot have a greater height than seventy feet; that is, ten feet less than the present building law would allow them to have, and cannot cover a greater area than six thousand feet.

If a real-estate owner or merchant desires to build or possess a great warehouse or manufactory, covering half an acre or more, the building must be constructed throughout of incombustible material. If he is not willing to do this, then he must limit the area of his store to six thousand square feet, though, of course, this can be connected with adjoining buildings by properly protected openings through the walls.

Another improvement suggested by the commissioners is that all weight-bearing metal in first and second class buildings hereafter built shall be protected by brick, terra-cotta, or plastering on metal laths and furring, or other incombustible material; also all upright supports in those buildings hereafter erected or altered, of other material than brick, below the first floor, shall be protected by a jacket of brick or terra-cotta, or by a coating of plaster on wire lathing.

JUDICIAL.

Judge Gordon, of Philadelphia, recently refused a charter to a coal corporation. The objects of the proposed company were "to promote the business of such retail coal dealers as became members thereof, and to protect them from unwarranted increase in sales and prices." In refusing the charter, the judge said:—

"The proposed charter, under which incorporation is sought, is an unprecedented and startling exhibition of the extravagant misconception existing as to the facility with which corporations may be formed and the purpose for which they may be created. Probably no social tendency of our times is more marked than the disposition to merge personal responsibility and obligation in organized combinations. Undoubtedly, much good has resulted in the past from this method of concentrating and directing the energies, capacities, and possessions of men. Nevertheless, thoughtful observers are beginning to question whether we have not reached a stage when a check should be applied to the drift, which for years, in nearly all social activities, has been sinking the individual in the organization. This problem, however, is one for legislative and not judicial solution. We might dismiss this application with the mere statement that it does not fall within any of the purposes for which the courts are authorized to create corporations. This, however, would be too slight a treatment of the questions of vital importance thus formally raised. There is, to start with, a suspicious want of clearness and distinctness in the statement of the purposes of the proposed corporation. This is always a fatal objection to such an application. Certainty, above all things, should pervade a grant of corporate power."

The judge held that all corporations intended to interfere with trade in its natural movements as governed by supply and demand are unlawful, and that while the scope of the organization in question may not be of great gravity, it might prove the nucleus of a most dangerous organization.

The Maryland Court of Appeals sustains the license law passed by the last Legislature. The law contains a provision discriminating against aliens. The judge said:—

"The power of the Legislature over the whole subject, under the constitution of the State, cannot be denied. The law was an effort to restrict the licenses to such persons as would not abuse the privilege, and the commission had the power to refuse the license to an unfit person, or, if the license was not necessary for the accommodation of the public, it was thought proper to confine the licenses to citizens of the United States of temperate habits and good moral character. It seemed wise to the Legislature to confer it only on those who, being natives of the country, might reasonably be supposed to have a regard for its welfare; or who, not being natives, had, as required by the naturalization laws, proven, by creditable testimony before a court of justice, that they were attached to the principles of the United States, and were well disposed to their order and happiness. It was certainly the function of the law-making department to exercise its judgment on this question, and this Court has no right to criticise its conclusion."

It has been decided in a British court that every citizen, unless physically incapacitated, is bound to assist the police in carrying violent prisoners to the nearest police-station when called upon.

The United States Supreme Court has passed on the constitutionality of the statute, enacted by the Minnesota Legislature in 1889, limiting the number of persons to be present at executions, specially excluding newspaper reporters, and forbidding newspapers to publish more than a bare statement of the fact that a criminal was executed. The Court says:—

"Mere questions as to exclusions of persons do not affect any substantial right of the convict. The limitation as to the number and character of those who might witness the execution, and the exclusion of newspaper men, are regulations which the Legislature, in its wisdom and for the public good, could legally prescribe."

Judge Baker, of New Orleans, quashed the indictments of the prisoners accused of the murder of the Chief of Police Hennessy. In his opinion, the judge says:—

"It was proved that one Michael was appointed short-hand reporter, and that he attended all but two meetings of the Grand Jury, and reported the testimony of the witnesses. The question to be determined is, Has the short-hand reporter any right to sit in the Grand Jury room? The rule is to allow no one in the jury-room during the examination of witnesses except the prosecuting officer and his assistants. The present is the first instance in which any person other than the district-attorney or his assistants has so appeared in the Grand Jury room. This is such a radical change from the usual procedure that something more than mere convenience must justify it. There is nothing which the stenographer did which could not have been done by any member of the Grand Jury. The Court is clearly of the opinion that the presence of the stenographer in the Grand Jury room was illegal, and that the indictments herein should be set aside. It is ordered that the motion to quash be maintained, and that the accused be remanded to custody to await the action of another Grand Jury."

An Iowa judge in instructing the jury to acquit a man charged with selling beer without a license made the following distinction:—

"Suppose a farmer who was to have a husking-bee should purchase three or four kegs of beer, and should find after the work was done that he had one keg over, and should sell it without a license; or suppose a man should give me a bottle of wine without a license, that would not be a violation of the United States law, for the reason that neither of these men was keeping a saloon. There is a wide difference between the Government law and the Prohibitory law: the latter seeks to prevent the sale or giving away of liquor by one person to another, but the former does not hold a man liable unless he is engaged in the liquor business with a license."

In Pennsylvania, a workman was recently sentenced to a fine and imprisonment for selling a glass of liquor to a police-officer without a license, although it was not alleged that he was keeping a saloon.

INDUSTRIAL.

From the report issued by the labor correspondent of the London Board of Trade, it appears that in England, in 1889, strikes took place in 3,164 establishments. Sixty-seven per cent. of the strikes were due to claims for advanced wages, although in some cases there were other points of dispute also involved. Of those for advances in wages 48.3 per cent were successful. The proportion of those partially successful was 31.5 per cent; 10.7 per cent were not at all successful, and the results were unknown in the remaining strikes.

Of the financial aspect of strikes some interesting particulars are given. Taking 597 of the strikes, the loss of wages is estimated at £652-000, while the loss to each individual would be a little over £3 5s. For 930 of the strikes the loss for the 844,840 persons engaged is taken at £1,122,500. In 216 instances it is shown by employers whose men have been on strike that the value of fixed capital laid idle was £14.450,-962; while in 169 instances the ratable value of property laid idle was £268,684. In 288 strikes the estimated outlay caused for laying down and reopening the works on strike was £169,219. On the other hand, the returns sent in by trade unions show that in 369 strikes the amount expended in support of men by strike committees or trades-unions was £63,636. The returns also show that in 446 strikes the weekly wages earned before the stoppages amounted in the aggregate to £153,504; while the estimated loss of wages in 292 of these strikes was £294,175.

At the congress of the English railway employees, the president, in his address, referred to the series of railway disasters that had lately occurred, and said that the public could expect nothing better when signal-men were worked night and day, and one man had to do two men's work. Men in some of the country districts were worked fifteen, sixteen, eighteen, and even twenty hours per day, for a miserable wage of from fourteen to twenty-one shillings per week. They had cases of men at the age of sixty-five and seventy working in signal-boxes, the reason being that the companies would not give the wages demanded by younger men or would not grant the old employees their justly-earned pension. Another reason was that the old men hung on to their situations, inasmuch as, if they resigned, their only place was the workhouse.

The secretaries of the building exchanges in thirty-eight cities in the country have sent to the Wisconsin Bureau of Labor Statistics the schedule of wages in the building trades for each city. Where there is no exchange the information has been supplied by masons and builders. The schedules have been tabulated, and interesting facts thus brought to light.

The six cities in which the highest wages are paid are New York, Brooklyn, Chicago, St. Louis, Galveston, and San Francisco. The trades selected for the table were masonry, carpentry, painting, plumbing, roofing, and the common labor required in the erection of a building. No one city pays the highest wages in all the trades, or in more than one trade. Thus St. Louis pays the highest wages for masonry, New York for carpentry, San Francisco for painting, Chicago for plumbing, Santa Fé for roofing, and Galveston for common labor. Santa Fé pays more than any other city for roofing, but it ranks below Brooklyn in all the other trades.

The lowest wages are paid in the Southern cities,—Atlanta, New Orleans, Lexington, Va., Vicksburgh, and Norfolk, Va. Some of the smaller cities of the North pay but little more than those of the South. Wages in the North seem to depend more on the size of a city than on its location. The explanation is, of course, that in the larger cities the trades are better organized. For the same reason, two adjoining cities seldom pay exactly the same wages. New York pays more than Brooklyn for painting, carpentry, and plumbing. Brooklyn pays more than New York for masonry, roofing, and, ac-

cording to the talk, for common labor. There is the same difference in the wages paid in the near-by cities of Minneapolis and St. Paul, and Cincinnati and Cleveland. Philadelphia and Boston rank below the five leading cities, and many smaller Western cities pay higher wages than do Boston and Philadelphia. Atlanta pays the lowest wages for roofing, masonry, and common labor, but comparatively good wages for painting and plumbing.

The labor organizations of Milwaukee (Wis.) have agreed upon a policy, and have appointed a committee to see it carried out by the next Legislature. They propose the compulsory attendance at school of all children between the ages of seven and sixteen for at least nine months in the year. No child under sixteen years of age is to be permitted to work in any factory under a penalty to the owners of from \$250 to \$500, and in case of the poverty of parents, the State is to undertake the care of the children. Prison labor contracts are to be annulled. and Pinkerton detectives and members of kindred associations are not to be tolerated in difficulties belonging to the State for settlement: the pay for laborers is to be above all other claims against employers; trade labels must be made secure by law, and Labor Day be made a legal holiday.

According to Government reports, the average wages of railroad employees in the United States are \$248 per year. The average employment is 147 days, the rest of the year being enforced idleness.

The clothing cutters of Rochester, N. Y., have organized a co-operative clothing company to engage in the manufacture of clothing. An association of the clothing manufacturers had been formed in Rochester for the purpose of protection against the demands of the labor organizations, and that gave an impetus to the long-projected Knights of Labor clothing manufactory.

The Window Glass Workers' Association of North America will shortly operate a plant of its own. Three years ago the sum of \$15,000 was set aside to start the plant, but a minority then made objections, and the project was temporarily abandoned. Now the objectors all favor the scheme.

The Hungarian International Socialistic party, in a manifesto just issued, demands the abolition of the army and of child labor, free education, and the recognition of the right of the people to carry arms.

The platform adopted by the Farmers' Alliance at the Ocala Convention demands: —

- 1. The abolition of national banks.
- 2. Laws against dealing in options and futures on all agricultural and mechanical productions.
 - 3. Unlimited coinage of silver.
 - 4. Laws prohibiting alien ownership of land.
- 5. Repeal of duties upon the necessaries of life, and the raising of money needful for the economical administration of Government by a graduated income tax.
- Rigid supervision and control of transportation agencies.
 - 7. Postal savings-banks.

The convention adopted resolutions denouncing the Lodge Election Bill, asking the World's Fair management to close the exhibition on Sunday, and acceding to the request of the Knights of Labor that delegates be sent to their political conference next February.

The Colored Farmers' Alliance has adopted a platform substantially similar to that of the National Farmers' Alliance. Most of the delegates signed a call for a conference to be held at Cincinnati next February to consider the advisability of forming an independent political party.

A Citizens' Alliance has been organized at Ocala to supplement the Farmers' Alliance and serve as its political weapon, as the Farmers' Alliance does not intend to transform itself into a political party. The Citizens' Alliance is formed (according to the declaration of principles) "for the purpose of co-operating with the Knights of Labor, Farmers' Alliance, and other orders in the support of the St. Louis and Ocala platforms."

Two thousand West Virginia miners have struck against a reduction of five cents a ton. The work of evicting the strikers living in the companies' houses has begun, and trouble is anticipated.

The discharge of thirty-four switchmen from the employ of the New York Central at Buffalo, which has just occurred, is believed, in railroad circles, to be the commencement of a fight against the railroad employees' organization. Another great strike may be inaugurated if further discharges take place.

The labor troubles in the Danbury (Ct.) hat factories have been settled, a compromise having been effected between the locked-out work.

ers and the employers. The lock-out has continued three weeks, and the hatters lost during the time \$200,000 in wages alone.

The French Minister of Trade has just collected a lot of interesting opinions concerning the labor question from all classes of men in the French mercantile world. One hundred and fifty thousand question blanks were sent out and thirty-five thousand were returned with all All Boards of Trade throughout France protested against the interference of the State in the solution of labor problems. The industrial courts spoke for the nine-ten hour day; the trade societies for the eight-hour day. All French Chambers of Commerce declared that the introduction of the eight-hour day would result in the decrease of production. A somewhat unexpected result of the investigation was the discovery that an unusually large number of Swiss and German workingmen have been crowding into French factories of late years.

At a meeting of London workingmen, chiefly connected with the shipping, engineering, and colonial branches of trade, the following resolution was adopted:—

"This meeting, recognizing in the principle of Imperial federation the best security for the development of trade between Great Britain and her colonies, the maintenance of peace, and the permanent unity of the empire, most earnestly urges upon the attention of Her Majesty's Government the necessity for calling together, without delay, a general convention of British, home, and colonial representatives for the purpose of setting the basis of a comprehensive system of Imperial federation in the interest of labor, commerce, and the peoples of the British Empire at large."

The London cabmen have recently formed a union, primarily to secure a reduction in the price of cabs to the drivers. Other grievances to be redressed by the union are:—

(1) The unlimited issue of drivers' licenses by the authorities at Scotland-yard; (2) the granting of such licenses to raw, inexperienced youths; (3) the competition of railway omnibuses; (4) the privileged cab system at railway termini; (5) the facilities which, under the existing law, are afforded to "bilkers"—i. e., dishonest hirers of cabs, who cheat the cabman of his fare; and (6) the provision of cabstands where they are least wanted.

Cincinnati pedlars complain because they are paying the city \$11,285, while the street-car companies pay but \$26,029.



IN GENERAL.

The most expensive Legislature in the world is that of France. It costs annually about \$3,600,000; the Spanish Parliament costs \$250,000; the Italian, \$430,000; the Belgian, \$200,000; the Portuguese, \$150,000.

The Canton dollars and parts of dollars made by order of the late viceroy have been made a legal tender in all parts of China. The introduction of this coinage, it is expected, will result in the establishment of a national bank, and become the basis of a paper currency.

The New Orleans Grand Jury denounce, in their report, the sheriff, his deputies, and other officials for corruption and maladministration. They present indictments against officers for assault and robbing the prisoners. There is a system by which a favored prisoner is put in command of the yard, and in the absence of the sheriff or his deputies he becomes a ruler, beating and robbing the prisoners without restraint. The Grand Jury find that the boys' house of refuge is a source of revenue to private individuals. In the police jail the insane are roaming around with the prisoners, receiving no treatment whatever for their maladies.

In 1857 we had 4,000,000 tons of shipping in the foreign trade; to-day we have less than 600,000 tons. In 1860 we did eighty-four per cent of our own carrying trade in our own ships; to-day we do less than fourteen per cent of it. In 1860 we had 90,000 of the best sailors in the world; to-day we have less than 6,000 of them. In 1857 we carried our own products; to-day we pay foreigners \$150,000,000 annually to carry our products for us. — Springfield Democrat.

A Russian physician has compiled statistics which show that the greatest mortality of peasant children occurs in the spring and summer months, when the mothers go out to work in the fields and leave the children alone in the houses. He urges the establishment of day-nurseries, where peasant women could leave their children when they go out to work. In some places the authorities have signified their intention to adopt his suggestion.

At the Cork police court upward of fifty strikers were sent to gaol for a month for breach of contract. The company in whose employ they had been will in future work with non-union men.

CLIPPINGS.

. . . The London Board employed Messrs. Wall six years ago to build the Kilburn Lane schools, at a cost of rather more than seventeen thousand pounds. The schools were built within the year, and in August, 1885, the architect gave his cetificate. In 1888 it became necessary to repair some pipes under the playground, and then a somewhat important discovery was made. Under the contract, the defendants should have provided "a six-inch layer of hard, dry, well-They had actually provided rammed débris." two or three inches of clay, ashes, and burnt ballast. This unpleasant disclosure naturally led to further investigation, with results not creditable to Messrs. Wall. It turned out that "inferior mortar and concrete had been used, that mortar had been substituted for cement, that drain-pipes had been improperly joined, and that in the foundations the lower strata of cement were soft, and not of as good quality as the upper strata." Similar defects were unearthed elsewhere, and, in short, the whole work had been abominably scamped. . . .

The defendants said that all they had done was expressly sanctioned by Mr. Coombes, an inspector in the architect's department. . . . Mr. Robson, the late architect, denied that any such permission was given by him. . . . The position of Mr. Robson was a strange one, or at least would be strange if a public body were not concerned. He stated, in cross-examination, that he "had never personally visited the schools until they were completed, and then only to gather ideas for future schools, and not to examine the work done; but he had given his certficate on the report of others." Thus, the only person who examined the schools had no authority, and the only person who had authority did not examine the schools. . . . The only person to do his duty was the solicitor who drew the contract, and who carefully stipulated that the architect's certificate should not exonerate the defendants for the consequences of any "wilful deviation." - Saturday Review (London).

Quebec has a law which provides that every father of twelve or more living children shall receive from the government a grant of one hundred acres of land for each child above that minimum number. The total number of fathers who have applied for the bounty up to date is about one thousand, nearly all of whom are French Canadians. Among this are one with twenty-three children, four with eighteen, six with seventeen, one with sixteen, twenty-seven with fifteen, forty-five with fourteen, twenty-seven with thirteen, and the balance with twelve.—Boston Herald.

TO-DAY, DEC. 18, 1890.

A record of the facts and considerations which show that Individual Liberty is good for the people of the United States, and that, therefore, Legislative Regulation is injurious for them.

J. MORRISON-FULLER, WALTER C. Rose, Editors.

The Copyright Bill, passed by To Him That Hath, the House, contains the provision that no foreign author shall enjoy copyright unless his work be published here simultaneously with its publication in his own country. This means that only the famous foreign authors are to be protected, while the unknown and struggling authors, the poor, who, from the protectionists' own standpoint, most need protection, are to be sacrificed to the publishers. Such a provision, as Moncure D. Conway suggests, will tempt publishers to return to foreign authors, as if declined, manuscripts secretly copied, to be published under other imprints, and would surely be followed

"by the formation of 'rings' to prevent fair payments for foreign works, with 'corners,' raising their price on a pretext of authors' compensations never made. The American market will be stocked with unpaid and underpaid productions, with which the American author will be unable, as now, to compete."

Thus we find that, as usual, only the rich authors and the large publishers are to derive profit and pleasure from this new protective scheme, while the poor will have nothing but vexation and trouble. The man who imagines that a copyright bill fairly and impartially protecting all foreign authors could ever pass Congress is very innocent indeed.

The practice of this country The Ethics thus far in this matter reminds Question. one of the Mosaic law forbidding the sale of meat to Israelites, from creatures that had died a natural death, "but to the stranger thou mayst sell it." So our law has been, Thou shalt not steal property in ideas from a fellow countryman, but from an alien thou mayst steal it. The instinct of ownership makes its appearance very early in the evolution of living beings. "The desire to appropriate and to keep that which has been appropriated lies deep, not in human nature only but in animal nature; being, indeed, a condition to survival." The dog which fights for a bone, the lioness which defends her

whelps, manifests a sense of proprietorship. Nevertheless, the sentiment of respect for property is still in course of development, and has not reached a very high degree even in the most civilized nations, except with a comparatively few individuals. Intangible property would naturally be the last to be recognized; and of intangible property that in ideas and in character is most shadowy in the minds of men. This is well shown in the one case by the fact that private vindication of character survives long after the law protects men in the enjoyment of material things, and in the other by the debates on the present Copyright Bill. If the question had been whether we as a nation should make slaves of our neighbors, or should appropriate their material property, it would not have been necessary to convince our Congressmen by arguments of expediency that such a course would be ill-advised. The arguments from expediency are perfectly sound; but in the case of stealing material things it is sufficient to say that such a course is wrong; and that includes all considerations of expediency. There has become established by the experience of the race an intuitive feeling that theft is wrong, and as soon as any action is classed as theft the feeling prompts us to refrain from that action. Occasionally the representation of the immediate advantages to be derived from the action crowds the feeling out of men's minds, as in the case of the Southern planters when they seized upon Eli Whitney's invention of the cotton-gin, without observing the forms of law or giving him just compensation. Particular actions of this sort do not always bring punishment; the Southern planters afterward met with great trouble; but it is difficult to trace any connection between that and their treatment of Whitney. Still, every one is convinced that a society in which such actions were the rule instead of the exception would be a wretched society to live in.

It is very difficult for the average man to see how any harm is done to a foreign author by reprinting his works here; some men are unable to see how any wrong is done an inventor by making a machine like one he has patented. It is said in each case that the ideas are not taken away from the author or the inventor; they remain his — in his possession — just as much as before. And yet, according to the common opinion, the best

claim, the only moral claim, a man can have to anything is that he has produced it, or has given an equivalent for it. Now, knowledge which a man has acquired by reading, by legitimate observation, by experiment, and ideas which he has obtained by elaborating and combining such knowledge, on this theory, certainly belong to him; he has a right to their exclusive possession, and to use them in any way he sees fit. He may publish them to the world, or he may keep them secret, and use them solely for his private advantage. Experience shows that if society refuses him any reward he is likely to choose the latter course, and the loss to society is much greater than to him. It is impossible for society adequately to reward a man who furnishes it with valuable ideas which it is capable of receiving. The question is simple enough for the comprehension of the ordinary mind as long as it is confined within the limits of a single society; every one recognizes the justice of Swift's complaint against the printer who stole the "Tale of a Tub." A publisher who steals a book, a manufacturer who steals an invention, and those who receive the stolen goods, are appropriating property to which they have no claim and wronging him who has a perfect claim. But morality is not bounded by State lines. Theft is wrong all over the world. Because a publisher happens to have an establishment in the United States does not make it right to steal an English work, if it would be wrong for him to steal the work for his establishment in Great Britain.

Good deeds may be done from sordid motives, and Congress is (fortunately, I had almost said, in this case) open to arguments of that kind. Still, it is not quite the same; if Congress had been actuated purely by considerations of morality, it would have framed a bill which would have come nearer to securing perfect justice.

The Boston Herald, discussing the duty of Congress and the injurious effects upon the country of the partisanship which keeps the Federal Elections Bill before the Senate to the exclusion of regular business, says:—

No man not completely cankered by partisanship will dispute the position that, in view of the business depression and business dangers of the country, the imperative duty of Congress is to aid the business men of the country by legislation, if possible. It is amazing that Senators should be willing to turn away from this to give attention to narrow partisan squabbling.

The faith displayed that if Congress really would direct the force of its intellect to the actual interests of the country, it might discover some way of furthering these interests is exceedingly touching. The Herald, in reviewing past acts of Congress, is under no illusion. It has no hesitation in declaring this or that act foolish and mischievous. Its criticisms of measures brought forward in the present are by no means reticent. But when it comes to dealing with the future, the state of mind common to almost all men, attributing some mysterious efficacy to government action, crops out. If our chief, our god, only willed, he could change the seasons, could make the earth bring forth abundantly, could reverse the action of economic laws. What has Congress been doing during the hundred years of its existence but trying to further the interests of the country? Well, the country has prospered; so here is a clear case of cause and effect. So, for thousands of years, savage rain-doctors have gone on making rain, and rain has fallen. The country has passed through severe commercial crises, and in each case Congress has done something, or many things, and recovery has followed. In a thousand times as many cases have savage peoples been distressed by drought, and the rain-doctors have done something, and rain has fallen. There is a thousand times as much evidence that savage medicine-men have made rain as that Congress has induced prosperity by making its laws supersede the laws of trade.

In one respect the analogy fails. The rain-doctors never prevent a shower by trying to make one; but Congress does frequently impede prosperity while seeking to induce it. Civilized governments, therefore, have this advantage over the magic of the savage, that they can sometimes benefit industry by freeing it from the fetters they have themselves imposed upon it. This they are willing to do at the same time that they forge other fetters. Bad laws do get repealed after doing an incalculable amount of injury. There is possibly one way in which governments might aid industry, namely, by making their laws correspond to natural laws. But

most of the men who compose governments are hardly aware that industry is subject to natural laws, much less what those laws are. The chances are, therefore, infinity to one against their action being in the right direction. It is too much of a strain upon their intelligence even to distinguish what laws of theirs have worked badly in the past, so as to repeal them, - to say nothing of foreseeing how a proposed law will work in the future. The operation of a law is not simple and easy to trace; just what effects to assign to it is not an easy question to determine, and many of its indirect effects are sure to be overlooked. All this, even after the law has been a long time in operation; but to answer this question in advance, to foresee what will be the results of a law acting in an aggregate so complex as a society, is, in the general case, impossible for human intelligence. But when the demand is seriously made that such a problem shall be solved by men of such intelligence as the men we send to Congress possess, the matter becomes supremely ridiculous, albeit rather tragic for those who make the demand. It is like asking an infant just beginning to talk for advice about steering a ship, and being guided by his random words.

Congress stantly being treated to new ideas as to what the government should or should not do, — principally the former. From the number of these infatuated individuals, who seem to believe that the Government should undertake almost everything under the sun, comes Mr. T. C. Crawford, the Washington correspondent of the New York Tribune, with such an unusually large grist of demands for Government enterprise as to entitle him to be ranked chief of his tribe.

Mr. Crawford has many grievances. Washington is not fine enough to suit his taste, and there is no reason why it should not be made finer and grander, for, as he says: "The United States is rich. It has plenty of money for such improvements, and the time has come to make them."

What improvements does this fastidious Washingtonian want? Listen! "Three great bridges between Washington and the Virginia side." The Potomac Flats improvement should be hastened rather than dragged

along for purely economical reasons. The town south of Pennsylvania Avenue should be cleared up; and the different railroad stations be combined in one union station. A great national park should be established in Rock Creek Valley; and, not content with all this, he would have the Government establish and foster a national university, a national art museum, and a national conservatory of music. A national theatre seems to be the only undertaking of this kind not recommended, for he admits that such theatres have never been successful. But even the national theatre need not despair, for but recently a writer in a popular magazine was heard to utter a deep-drawn sigh of regret when he considered the hopelessness of Congress ever being so generous. This latter visionary was not quite disconsolate, however, for he still cherishes the hope that some individual of wealth may come to the rescue and establish this popular educator in the art histrionic in - New York - he lives there.

Doubtless an inborn modesty prevented further additions to Mr. Crawford's category of urgent necessities, although he does venture a few remarks on the gaslight furnished in the Capital, claiming that the gas is lighted only "upon nights when the almanac declares no moon."

Why are the gas-lighting facilities so poor in Washington? Who is to blame? We have but to read another article in the same issue of the *Tribune* to learn that our Capital is at the mercy of the Washington Gas Light Company for light, which company, it seems, is the beneficiary of a public franchise, and has successfully blocked in Congress all the efforts of other companies to obtain a charter to furnish lights for the city.

Congress blocked by one gas company! Should not that sound a bit ominous to those disciples of socialistic reform, who would increase the functions of Government? It is unfortunate that the citizens of Washington are compelled to travel dark streets; and it is with surprise that we learn that such is the case, for Washington is a city controlled by this all-powerful Government, and half of its taxes are paid by this same kind parent; but it is hardly consistent to complain of remissness in the discharge of present duties by Congress while arguing for a further extension of that self-same power. First let the

Government learn to light a small city honestly and well before undertaking further enterprises of greater magnitude.

The Farmers Probably the greatest phenomenon in our politics just now Legislation. is the uprising of the farmers all over the country. Farmers have been regarded for a long time as chronic grumblers, as people who think in a vague way that they are ill-used by banks, railroads, the middle-men, and the country generally. Hitherto the attention of politicians has been little directed to them, except about election time, and in bringing up for discussion in State Legislatures a few measures which the farmers are eager for. The measures generally fail, or, if they become laws, are put in such form that they are of no effect; but the next time the farmers are appealed to it has been easy to explain the case and to get them excited over some other issue. There have been sporadic uprisings before which have attained considerable local importance, but they have been of brief duration, and things have readily resumed their former condition. The present movement is already so widespread and has been growing for so long that it hardly seems

Farmers as a class are certainly tenacious of the ideas they possess, if not readily accessible to new ones, and the ideas and aims which actuate the various leagues and societies they hold very strongly. They have been rather slow in learning the lesson, but after seeing the practice of class-legislation working very well for other classes, - legislation for a large part of which they have had to foot the bills,—they have at last got to the point of seriously demanding such legislation for themselves. Naturally this legislation is directly antagonistic to the classes which farmers regard as their greatest enemies, bankers, railway managers, speculators in agricultural products, and a few others.

likely to meet a similar fate.

One of the last places to which the Alliance spread was New England. Granges there had been, but they had not connected themselves with politics to any extent; the most they had done was to start stores here and there, which generally failed after dragging out a precarious existence. But at last the farmers of New England have organized for political action, and certain demands which those of Massachusetts will make upon the

State Legislature the coming session have been made public. It is interesting to compare these with the demands made by the Alliance in other parts of the country. As might be expected from the fact that New England is much more conservative than the West, the demands made in the former are much less radical than those made in the latter; in fact, most of the demands made in Massachusetts are fully justifiable, though the wisdom of the way in which the objects are sought to be accomplished is questionable.

The first, and by far the most important, demand is for protection against fraud on the part of those who sell seed. The extent to which fraud in this matter has been carried is greater than has been known, and the consequent injury to farmers can hardly be overestimated. Farmers themseves have not, as a rule, facilities for raising their own seed, and the injury done them by palming off on them bad seed is not merely the loss of the money paid for it but the loss of, say, half of the crop. Still greater is the injury arising from impure seed,—that which is mixed with sorrel, "witch grass," thistle, and other seed. It is almost impossible to exterminate these weeds after they have once been introduced. There is an interesting question as to how far weeds in the struggle for existence can adapt themselves so as to survive the unfavorable conditions to which the ingenuity of man can subject them. Be that as it may, however, it is certainly a just demand that the Legislature do all in its power to protect citizens against cases of aggravated fraud, such as selling vile seed and representing it to be good. The means advocated, do not seem very promising to one who has observed the results of such methods in other cases. They are, that the law shall require all seeds to be "sold under a guarantee that they possess a certain per cent of purity and germinating power; also, that a State Inspector of Seeds be appointed to carry out the law." The difficulty of proving an infraction of such a law in the courts might be considerable, but the inefficiency of official inspection is so notorious that to expect good from it is simply ridiculous. The farmers expect too much to be done for them; here is a case of non dormientibus sed vigilantibus. They must themselves be ready to co-operate with those who apply and enforce the law, and to prosecute offenders. Moreover, they have a better

remedy in their own hands than appeals to the law. There are some reliable seedsmen, and if the farmers would publish complaints in the agricultural papers against those who swindle them, such dealers would soon be driven out of the business.

The outcry against oleomargarine continues. Of course, in so far as this is fraudulently sold as butter, the outcry is eminently proper both on the part of farmers, and more especially on the part of consumers; but merely because oleomargarine competes with a farm product is no reason for suppressing it.

A desire is also expressed for protection against the gypsy-moth. It is hardly needful to say that this does not come in the same category with protection against fraud. The farmers do not seem to have much confidence in the commission appointed last year to exterminate this pest, which did not accomplish much. Nevertheless, they ask that it continue its operations for another year.

A change has taken place in the feeling towards hawks and owls, which are now regarded as beneficial to farmers, and they "respectfully urge legislators to refrain from the passage of any law which will have for its object the destruction of these birds." In this prayer we heartily join.

These demands seem very tame, compared with the radical and revolutionary legislation called for in the West. But, in addition to their greater conservatism, the hardships which New England farmers have to endure are not so directly the result of legislation as are those which oppress Western farmers. The protective tariff is not wholly an evil to New England agriculture; and though the Government, State and National, is largely responsible for stimulating the growth of the West, which is the real cause of the decline of farming in New England, this responsibility is not yet recognized.

JUSTICE TO ALL.

With the organs of society, as with the organs of the body, the truth holds that if any one of them is forced to do work which does not belong to it, it will discharge badly its own proper functions. This is shown with great clearness by our Government in

its inefficient administration of justice. Acute foreign observers are impressed with the fact that this system of government, including all the branches, Municipal, State, and National, is perhaps the most expensive system in the world. In time to come, it may not improbably impress them as the most tyrannical. The most alarming strides have been made in the last half century in the direction of invasion of privacy. The inquisitorial character of the last census has been freely commented upon; but statistics collected by different States have gone almost as far. Inspection has of late amounted almost to a mania. Outside the Government, prying into private affairs and tale-bearing in the newspapers have taken the place of elderly female gossips of the village. . The intimate connection between a respect for privacy, and individuality and personal freedom, is too obvious to need pointing out. In theory, our Government does not yet claim so large powers to invade privacy as others; but the inquisition of a democracy, even if not exercised to the most complete degree, is far more terrible than any within the power of a personal despotism.

Another thing commented upon by foreign observers is the low salaries here paid to judges, especially judges in the inferior Not that justice - even what courts. passes for justice in the courts — is cheap, but the expense is borne by litigants, and not by the Government. The total expense of the courts is the same here as abroad, or perhaps greater, but it is differently distributed; the officers employed by the Government get less, and those employed by the private individual more; while the money to defray the expense is collected not from the people at large but from those who desire to obtain justice. result is that those only get justice who are able and willing to pay for it. It might at first appear that this is directly in line with much which is advocated in this paper. But there is a fundamental difference between justice and other commodities, which makes

reasonable and firmly establishes the common belief that justice should not be bought or sold. Certain Socialists loudly assert that every man born into the world is entitled to a living (whether he does anything to deserve it or not?), and at the Massachusetts State Teachers' Convention last week a socialistic pedagogue asserted that every child has an inalienable right to an education. These statements, which when made with respect to such things as a living or an education betray a darkness of intellect that no amount of teaching could ever dispel, are strictly true if made with respect to justice.

Every man has a perfect right to just dealing at the hands of his fellows, and any social system which denies this right to all who are not able to pay for it, as ours does by implication, will perish, and ought to perish; for justice is the fundamental condition of social life, and the neglect of it must prevent survival.

Another way in which the smallness of the salaries paid to judges impairs the quality of the justice administered is in keeping able men off the bench. While it is not true that high salaries would invariably secure able men of high character, it is certain that low salaries almost invariably exclude such men from the positions. A lawyer who can make \$20,000 a year by private practice is not likely to accept a judgeship for \$5,000. A justiceship on the Supreme Court of the United States, or on that of many of the different States, is a position of honor; but, aside from these places, the low salaries paid have so far brought the bench into disrepute that acceptance of a judgeship is almost sufficient to stamp a man as a second or third rate lawyer.

Yet another thing which has been sup-

posed to tell on the morale of the courts is the method of appointing judges and their terms There are three methods, which may be distinguished as the monarchical, the aristocratic, and the democratic: the first, where power of appointment is vested in one man; the second, where it is vested in a select body of men; and the third, where the judges are elected by the people at large. All three methods are in vogue in the United States, but the movement is decidedly in favor of popular elections and short terms of office. The whole question has been very well discussed by Mr. Bryce, in his "American Commonwealth." He reaches the conclusion that both popular elections and short terms have a tendency to lower the character of the judiciary; the latter by inducing timidity and discouraging independence, the former by throwing the real appointing power into the hands of politicians and wire-pullers. Further on, in explaining why the system does not produce worse results, Mr. Bryce cites as a chief reason, the influence of public opinion, "which not only recognizes the interest the community has in an honest administration of the law, but recoils from turpitude in a highly placed official." More horror is felt towards an unjust judge than toward a corrupt executive officer, probably because the ancestors of those who settled this country had experienced greater evil from the one class than from the other. But the great body of the people is not so absurd as to expect grapes from thorns; why, then, should it elect incompetent men of low moral character to high positions, and then recoil whenever the offices are prostituted to base ends? Is it that the people can judge well as to the performance of the duties, but cannot select men who will be likely to perform the duties satisfactorily? There is little doubt that the men usually elected governors can, by taking advice, make a better choice of judges than the people at large. The chief objections to vesting the power of appointment in them are, that they are liable to be influenced by

^{*} George Howland, Superintendent of Schools, Chicago: "It is a commonly accepted theory that the public school is supported by the State as a means of self-preservation; but I believe it rests upon a broader and deeper foundation: upon the inalienable right of childhood to an education suited to its surroundings." [As reported.]

personal favoritism, and that perhaps they have less interest in making the best selection than the people as a whole. The practical objection is that the people choose to reserve the power to themselves; but that, of course, need not be considered when inquiring which method of choice is likely to give the best results. The defects in vesting the choice in the people are, that they have not so good means of determining the character of the candidates, and that they are not sure of having any really good candidate presented to them.

Moreover, since judges are sometimes called upon to decide questions having a political bearing, the election is liable to assume a political aspect, and political questions are decided rather in accordance with prejudice and caprice than intelligence and reason.

The brief tenure of office, one is inclined to think, is an almost unmitigated evil. There are certainly much better ways of holding judges to a strict accountability than by subjecting them to frequent elections; the temptation to them to become time-servers involved in this plan, as things are at present, is too powerful. After a certain amount of experience the American people will probably gain wisdom enough to see that it is not good policy to turn out a man who discharges his duty faithfully just to put another man in his place.

An improvement in our means of administering justice is exceedingly desirable, though this department of Government is not quite so corrupt and inefficient as the other branches. Such improvement would be effected by removing the causes which now conspire to lower the character of the judiciary. A change in the popular theory is necessary, however, before these causes will be wholly done away, and replaced by others tending to exalt the character of the courts. The relative importance of justice to all, and how it differs from all other things, must be recognized. More public and less private money must be expended on the courts. Higher character and ability on the bench will make success in a suit depend more upon the right in the case than upon the skill and shrewdness of the lawyer. The money will doubtess be forthcoming as soon as the people at large perceive the positive mischief which results from the Government's undertaking work which would be better, more cheaply, and more honestly performed by private enterprise, and as soon as they see, even as in a glass, darkly, the transcendent good which would follow from the exact dispensation of justice to every human being in the society, without money and without price.

REMOVAL FROM OFFICE AND THE SPOILS SYSTEM.

The power of removal, rightly claimed but wrongly exercised by the Chief Executive of this country, calls in question the "wisdom of our ancestors" in vesting such extensive patronage in the discretion, or rather indiscretion, of a single individual.

Yet, on the whole, it seems difficult to devise any other plan that would work better than the present. Certainly one responsible appointing and controlling power is both more simple and more effective than would be the case if the authority in question were vested in almost any body of men. The abuse of the power, everywhere visible to-day, is not due to the theory but rather to the practice of choosing an irresponsible and inefficient executive, who is either ignorant or careless of the tradition connected with his great trust.

The intention of the framers was clear as to the appointing power. (Constitution, Art. II., Sects. 11, 12.) The great contemporary authority on the interpretation of the Constitution, the Federalist, laid down the ruling that the appointing power, that is, the President, "by and with the advice and consent of the Senate," alone possessed the power of removal. (Federalist, No. 77.) Indeed, such interpretation was urged as an argument for adopting the Constitution and for preventing a too great concentration of power in any one office.

When the Government went into force in 1789 the question came before Congress for definite action. The great departments of state were to be formed. Was the President to possess unqualified power of removal, or was he to exercise such power jointly with the Senate?

The House of Representatives, by a close vote, decided that such power was vested in the Presdent; the Senate followed the same course, by the casting vote of the presiding officer. It is to be noted that Mr. Madison, with Hamilton, the principal writer of the Federalist, changed his mind on the question of removals, and led the movement in favor of lodging the power unconditionally in the President. The fact that Washington was the Chief Executive at that period is perhaps the safest, and indeed the only reason for such action of both Houses of Congress.

The question of abuses was not treated seriously. The legislators of that day rather feared its legitimate uses would be curtailed than extended. And, indeed, the first forty years of our Government present few examples of its use, scarcely any of its abuse. A couple of examples taken almost at hazard from the first and last Presidents of the era of statesmen, together with sundry statistics concerning the later period, will best exhibit the contrast between American ideals of the past and the present.

Mr. Freneau, a clerk in the Foreign Office during Mr. Jefferson's tenure of the State Department, published a newspaper bitterly anti-federal in tone, yet Washington did not remove him.

Mr. McLean, postmaster-general under Mr. Adams, professed extreme devotion to the President, while secretly aiding Gen. Jackson. Great pressure was brought to bear on Mr. Adams to remove him. This the President refused to do, since he considered McLean an efficient officer. He stated clearly that McLean was not appointed to secure his (Adams) reelection, and that he might hold what views he pleased on the questions of the day, provided he fulfilled his duty as postmaster!

The removals in the course of these forty years were very few: nine during Washington's administration, ten during John Adams's, thirty-nine during Jefferson's, five during Madison's, nine during Monroe's, two during J. Q. Adams's; in all a total of seventy-four!

During the first year of Jackson's term, two hundred and thirty officials of higher rank and seven hundred and sixty postmasters and subordinate officials were removed. The Capital swarmed with applicants for office, the purity of our civil service was corrupted, and offices of trust treated as the legitimale spoils of party-service! Clay, writing eight days after the inauguration, said: "Among the official corps here there is the greatest solicitude and apprehension. The members of it feel something like the inhabitants of Cairo when the plague breaks out: no one knows who is next to en-

counter the stroke of death, or. which with many of them is the same thing, to be dismissed from office." Nine years before this period, the first movement in favor of the spoils system was discernible.

Mr. Crawford, as a Secretary of the Treasury and a candidate for the Presidency, had procured the passage of a bill creating a four-year term for collectors, for the purpose of increasing his patronage. With the wholesale introduction of the spoils system, four years, or a Presidential term, was generally applied except when cases of "extreme urgency" demanded attention. The result of this, as seen in President Jackson's first year, is known to all. From Washington, the system spread to the subordinates stationed throughout the country. A couple of examples taken from the New York Custom House will admirably illustrate the practical results of the system under which we exist to-day. A collector there in the four years from 1858 to 1862 removed three hundred and eighty-nine of his six hundred and ninety subordinates; another of the opposing party removed five hundred and twenty-five out of a total of seven hundred and two. The latter collector was more energetic than his immediate predecessor, for all this was accomplished in the comparatively short space of three years and a half.

The prophecy of the younger Adams has been fulfilled. When repeatedly urged to remove from office, he said: "I can justify the refusal to adopt this policy only by the steadiness and consistency of my adhesion to my own. If I depart from this in any one instance, I shall be called upon by my friends to do the same in many. An invidious and inquisitorial scrutiny into the personal position of public officers will creep through the whole Union, and the most sordid and selfish passions will be kindled into activity to distort the conduct and misrepresent the feelings of men whose places may become the price of slander upon them."

Truly, "A prophet is not without honor, save in his own country, and in his own house."

POLITICS IN THE MAGAZINES.

LIPPINCOTT'S MAGAZINE (December). — Mr. Joel Cook takes A Glance at the Tariff in a matter-of-fact way, more for the benefit of the reading public generally than for those actively engaged in business and supposedly already informed. Neither argument nor theory is attempted. The writer contents himself with explaining the leading features of the McKinley Bill and giving the real or apparent reasons for

the various changes the bill has made in the duties on both the necessities and luxuries of life. The list given—showing the increased duties in agricultural products—is quite complete, and leads one to think that the farmer was very generously cared for. Indeed, the only item wanting, apparently, became protection against "bad seasons." Any one desiring information concerning the scope of the new tariff will find this article profitable reading.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW (December).—
Partisanship and the Census, by Robert P.
Porter. The original intention, says Mr. Porter,
was to make this article purely statistical; but
the wholesale way in which the eleventh census has been attacked led him to change his
mind. Instead, therefore, of statistics, we
are treated to an extensive argument in favor of
its accuracy and completeness.

The early census troubles in certain ambitious Western cities were purely local, but had a more general effect later on, when "this decennial census epidemic" broke out in New York, and when strong symptoms of partisanship began to develop. The reasons given for the difference between the Federal and Municipal Court in New York are, first that the population of that city is always much smaller in June than October; secondly, that one hundred and twenty-five thousand immigrants had arrived meanwhile, and thirdly, that at the time of the Federal census the newspapers were declaring the questions inquisitorial, and as a result the enumerators found their task much more difficult than did the police in October.

All claims that the eleventh census was "partisan" Mr. Porter pronounces absurdly false. He considers the task of corrupting a body of fifty thousand enumerators, of all shades of political opinion, an impossibility in itself. Furthermore, the chiefs of the different departments were composed of men recommended by men of the highest standing in both political parties as the best fitted to be found in the country, and "in no instance was an appointment refused to a competent man for political reasons."

"The charges, therefore, of partisanship in the management of the census office cannot for a moment be sustained, while the results already published, when analyzed, as effectively stamp out the false allegations of a partisan census as would the production of the alleged 'corpse' in good health by the defence."

Statistics of this and previous censuses are given, affording excellent comparisons, and aiming to show not only the absurdity of "partisan census claims" but also that the percentage of

gain in the last decade is as large as could reasonably be expected.

In regard to the American method of taking the census, Mr. Porter considers it the best for this country, although he recommends that it be simplified by the omission of several questions from the census catechism. He also favors an increase per capita pay for enumerators, and the employment of a much larger force. In this connection, the English system is compared with ours, and the statement made, that if the United States should be covered, as will England be when the census is taken next April, it would take, from a standpoint of area, nearly ten times as many enumerators as were employed in the eleventh census. We fail to see, however, why a standpoint of area should be chosen.

The complete report, Mr. Porter prophesies, will be superior to any similar publication of any government in the world; and "those who vilify and slander it will take their places alongside of the men who only a century ago opposed the idea of a census for fear it would bring on an epidemic of contagious diseases."

Mr. John G. Carlisle calls attention to The Recent Election, and gives what he considers the real causes for the large Democratic gains in nealy every section of the country. Local questions, he thinks, played little part. The people were far better informed and more deeply interested in the questions at issue than is usual in a Congressional campaign. The main reason for this interest is ascribed to the extraordinary proceedings of the last Congress, which he terms the most arbitrary and extravagant in the history of the country. At the beginning of the Fifty-first Congress, the ejection of nine Representatives lawfully elected was but a foretaste of what came, later on, - the arbitrary rulings of the Speaker and the violation of pledges made to the people in the campaign of 1888. Instead of lowering the taxes, as they had promised, they proceeded to increase them by extravagant appropriations of the public money, by framing and passing the Tariff Bill, granting generous bounties to owners of steamships, and manufacturers of sugar; "while the people who are engaged in other pursuits, equally useful and meritorious, are to struggle on as best they can without aid of any kind from the Government." Furthermore, the uncalled-for Federal Election Bill was introduced, and served its mission in the unfortunate re-agitation of sectional questions, and injuring the industrial and commercial prosperity of the South. All these acts tended to cause distrust of the Republican party, and this distrust was forcibly expressed at the polls on electionday. In regard to the part taken by the Alliance men in some of the Western States, Mr. Carlisle says that the "organization is itself a protest against the principles and measures of the dominant and responsible party," and that "they, the members of the Farmers' Alliance, are on the direct road to the Democratic fold, and they cannot retrace their steps without a complete abandonment of every position they have taken on public questions.'

AMERICANA.

There was rejoicing in the collector's office at the Boston Custom House recently: a brandnew latest edition Webster's Dictionary had arrived. This may seem to the uninitiated a very little thing, but the acquisition was bound all over with red tape, and was obtained only after an official correspondence.

1858-1890 — these dates mark the latest dictionary and its immediate predecessor at this office.

When Col. Olin discovered that there was none later than 1858, he wrote the department requesting permission to purchase a new one. The reply came in due season to get competitive bids. Competitive bids for Webster's Dictionary? Noah Webster must have turned in his coffin from excitement at the thought, then, of Boston's largest booksellers eagerly bidding for the privilege of furnishing, at the same price, his dictionary to the Boston Custom House! At last the bids were in, and formally forwarded to Washington. Finally permission was obtained to purchase the dictionary.

This is not so ludicrous as the disallowance of the accounts of a Southern collector, who, to save a warehouse stored with valuable goods from destruction by fire, hired, for \$50, a tug that was lying near by. When he forwarded his accounts, accompanied by vouchers, this item was disallowed, and he was gravely informed that, according to section and chapter so-and-so, such service should have been advertised for thirty days in advance. A special bill in Congress was necessary for his relief. Red tape binds like bands of steel. — Boston Herald.

A New Yorker has gathered statistics from twenty-five of the largest cities in the United States to prove that such a thing as an honest, upright Common Council does not exist except in small towns. In the cities named, on an average, not over one third of the aldermen are spoken of as square, honest men.

Detroit Free Press.

TEACHER. — Thomas, you are not paying attention. Why do you smile?

THOMAS. — I was just thinking about something.

TEACHER. — Well, please bear in mind that if you want to think you have got to do it outside of this school-house. — Texas Siftings.

"The path to the cow-barn," says the Maine Farmer, "is the road to success." It is evident that the Maine Farmer believes in a stable government. — Boston Transcript.

A village in the Department of Drôme, France, applied two years ago to the sub-prefect for leave to bring a water supply into the village. The sub-prefect, as usual, sent the application to the prefect, who forwarded it to the Minister of the Interior, in Paris, who handed it on to the Minister of Public Works, who laid it before the Council of State, and then passed it on, no one knows where. All this, however, was but the usual routine. But here is the interesting part of the story: Some official in Paris stopped its further progress by remarking, like the haymakers in the nursery rhyme, that it was necessary to have a sample of the spring. The parish clerk accordingly filled a bottle and sent it to the Local Board of Woods and Forests, who handed it on to the sub-prefecture, and so the bottle was passed from office to office, in the same order as before. When, somewhere in Paris, an official chose to express doubts as to its genuineness, the bottle was sent back circuitously to the South of France, there to be refilled and returned with a certificate of origin. This was done, and the bottle, having been held to the light in Paris, was sent back again to the Laboratory of Valence, the county town of Drôme, there to be analyzed. The report duly reached the Minister, went through several departments in Paris, was submitted to the Council of Health, and went through other vicissitudes. A few days ago the village received the permission required, having waited for it a couple of years. - Exchange.

Among the interesting new Congressmen will be a Farmers' Alliance man from Kansas. During his stumping tour he referred to Daniel Webster and his "Onabridged!" A friend near him whispered, "You mean Noah." "Git out!" was his rejoinder: "it was the ark that he built."— Philadelphia Ledger.

"That's a Congressman at large," said Glim, indicating a man to his cousin from the country.

"Oh, I ain't afraid," replied young Medder-grass: "I've only got seventeen cents about my clothes."—New York Sun.

WHEELER. — Did you ever know a man to be convinced in an argument on politics?

HRELER. — Oh, yes; but I had to give him ten dollars. — Puck.

It has been ascertained at last why Dr. Koch's lymph should pay a duty: it interferes with home consumption.—New Haven Register.

The latest ghost dance—the meeting of the Fifty-first Congress in December.—Albany Argus.

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IN MEDIAS RES.

The conditions under which this paper is published render it impossible to give the weekly record of facts the character of news. This is especially the case with the foreign items for which we shall not hereafter rely on the American newspapers. Nor does it seem feasible to complicate the classification by separating items accordingly as they are or are not "news." Suffice it to say that the facts are, in the main, collected from daily papers; that their importance does not generally depend upon dates; that our record of them cannot have greater authority than the sources have, but is evidently more trustworthy than any single newspaper.

LEGISLATIVE.

On Dec. 15, the House passed a bill for the adjustment and payment of claims arising from Indian depredations. A resolution was adopted calling on the Seretary of the Treasury for the names of the several banks in which public money is deposited, the place where the banks are situated, the date of such deposits, and the rate of interest, if any, paid by such depositories in return for the use of the funds; also for information as to the reasons for the deposits and the law under which they were made.

THE SENATE passed the bill enlarging the rights of homesteaders on public lands. The bill provides that when parties settled opposite unsurveyed lands and were obliged to take up less than one hundred and sixty acres they may extend their holdings.

On Dec. 16, Mr. Walker (Mass.) introduced in the House a bill for a new banking law. It provides for an issue, by banks, of currency notes, based upon their coin and coin certificate

reserve, and, in addition thereto, an equal amount of circulating notes to be purchased of the Government with lawful money. Of the funds thus received by the Government, ninety per cent is to be used for the redemption (and destruction) of the old greenbacks, and ten per cent kept as a redemption fund in place of the present greenback redemption fund. No tax is to be levied on the banks when the law is complied with, but tax penalties are to be so arranged as to allow the increase or decrease of the currency under certain conditions. Under the terms of the bill a possible bank circulation to the extent of the capital of the bank is to be allowed. The provision with reference to paying out bills is such that the bank will last pay out the bills issued to it upon its reserve. Half of the reserve is to be kept in gold coin or gold certificates, and half may be in silver coin or certificates.

IN THE SENATE, Mr. Pasco introduced an amendment to the pending Federal Elections Bill. It provides that it shall be

"unlawful for any person to pay or promise to pay money to induce persons to vote or refrain from voting; to promise employment as supervisor of election; to influence a vote; to receive money or an appointment with that object; to endeavor to influence employés in their voting, by the use of pay envelopes, or posted placards or bills threatening dismissal for the expression of political preferences, on penalty of \$500 fine and imprisonment for one year. It also requires the officers of political organizations to file with the clerk of the House itemized statements of receipts and expenditures of political funds; and the same statements are required from candidates for Representatives, under like penalties."

On Dec. 17, the House defeated the amendment to the Apportionment Bill increasing the representation to three hundred and fifty-nine. • The original bill was passed.

On Dec. 18, in the House, Speaker Reed, reversing a previous ruling, ruled that no member not on the committee could call up an appropriation bill, and refused to entertain an appeal. The Shipping Bill was taken up and discussed.

IN THE SENATE a bill was passed terminating the reduction of engineers in the navy. Mr. Sherman introduced a bill providing against a contraction of the currency.

The bill provides for an increase of currency in requiring the purchase of twelve million ounces of silver, in addition to the monthly purchases now required, for which treasury notes are to be issued. The Secretary of the Treasury is also authorized to issue treasury notes on the trade dollars and tradedollar bullion now held in the Treasury, as well as on the abraded and otherwise uncurrent subsidiary coin now in the Treasury. For the relief of the national banking system, the bill proposes to reduce the compulsory requirements of United States bonds to one thousand dollars, not to apply, however, to the requirements for deposits of public money or for the issuing of bank-notes; and the limit to which the latter can be issued is increased to the par value of the bonds deposited. When the amount of national bank-notes outstanding falls below \$180,000,000, the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to issue United States notes in their place. The bill provides for the free coinage of silver when the price of silver bullion has reached par and remained there for one year; and the United States Government is pledged to the policy of endeavoring to fix a ratio for common coinage of both gold and silver between the leading nations, the President being clothed with power necessary to act.

On Dec. 19th, the SENATE passed the Printing Deficiency Bill. Senator Stanford's two per cent loan bill was referred to the Committee on Finance. Resolutions were offered recommending the opening of negotiations with Great Britain and Mexico, whereby the repeal of duties on their leading articles of production may be effected by co-operative legislation.

IN THE HOUSE a bill was introduced providing that no exhibition for which appropriation is made by Congress shall be opened on Sunday. Resolutions were offered protesting againt Russian cruelty to Jews.

Among the bills passed by the Alabama Legislature are: a bill to protect mines in the State, and one prohibiting the selling or giving of cigarettes or tobacco in any form to minors under eighteen years of age. Among the bills introduced are a bill to establish a State school for the education of deaf mutes of the colored race, and one to create an industrial school for the education of white girls in arts and sciences.

An old statute is being revived in the State of Washington which may confiscate real estate worth millions in every town and city. The water fronts are claimed by the State, and wharves, docks, elevators, and other improvements belonging to private owners are to be appropriated by the State under the act of Congress passed in 1858 and known as the "Arkan-

sas Act." That act granted to the State of Arkansas all swamp and overflowed lands unsold at the time, to enable the State to construct levees and drains to reclaim them. A section of the act extended its provisions to all other States in which such swamp and overflowed lands may be situated. The last Washington Legislature, which framed the Constitution of the new State, discovered this old "Arkansas" statute, and incorporated the two following articles into the Constitution:—

"Article XV., Section 1. The Legislature shall provide for the appointment of a commission, whose duty it shall be to locate and establish harbor lines in the navigable waters of all harbors, estuaries, bays, and inlets of this State, wherever such navigable waters lie within or in front of the corporate limits of any city, or within one mile thereof on either side. The State shall never give, sell, or lease to any private person, corporation, or association any rights whatever in the waters beyond such harbor lines, nor shall any of the area lying between any harbor line and the line of ordinary high tide, and within not less than fifty feet nor more than six hundred feet of such harbor line (as the commission shall determine), be sold or granted by the State, nor its rights to control the same relinquished, but such area shall be forever reserved for landings, wharves, streets, and other conveniences of navigation and commerce.

"Article XVII., Section 1. The State of Washington asserts its ownership to the beds and shores of all navigable waters in the State up to and including the line of ordinary high tide in waters where the tide ebbs and flows, and up to and including the line of ordinary high water within the banks of all navigable rivers and lakes: provided, that this section shall not be construed so as to debar any person from asserting his claim to vested rights in the courts of the State."

The claim put forth by the State involves the ownership of almost every part of harbor frontage, and the property owners interested demand immediate relief. The chief complaint is against the provision which disqualifies men residing or having interests on the seaboard from serving on the commission, thus placing the matter in the hands of men lacking all knowledge of the interests of the coast.

According to a ukase of the Emperor Alexander III., no Jew will be henceforth permitted to embrace the Russian religion unless his wife, children, brothers, and parents do so as well. This is to stop the practice, lately pursued by the Jews, of sacrificing one member of a family to the Russian Church, and thereby acquiring the right of earning a livelihood for all the Jewish members acting nominally as employés in a business conducted by the convert. Under the new

edict, either all members of a family are to become pious sons of the Holy Orthodox Church, or they are all to starve together. Under these circumstances, conversions are becoming more frequent. By another special injunction the Jews are prevented from joining the Catholic or Protestant Churches, the Russian Orthodox Establishment being alone considered the right and proper form of faith.

Considering the many cases of scarlet-fever and diphtheria which occur yearly among school children, and the great mortality therefrom, it has recently been suggested that physicians be duly appointed to visit the schools once a day and examine the throats of all the children, and whenever a child is found to present suspicious signs to send it home, with the information that it is sick, and advise to parents to call in the family physician.

These examinations, it is thought, would not occupy much of the time of even the largest schools. The visiting physician would soon become familiar with the peculiarities of his charges, and readily able to detect any variation from the usual state of health. And, aside from being on the lookout for infectious diseases, he could watch their general health, and give in many cases useful hints which would materially improve it.

The Hungarian Government has caused a good deal of grumbling by announcing that it intends to tax the production of mead, a drink made of honey, and a kind of plum brandy known as "Slivovitz." By this course a flourishing home industry will be injured, and the poorer classes, who cannot afford to buy wine at the high prices to which the devastations of the phylloxera have raised it, will be obliged to drink bad liquor. It is strange that a government which is doing its utmost to foster agriculture should thus strike at an industry the staple of which is honey. — Cor. London Times.

So great is the dissatisfaction of the people of Oklahoma with the work of its present Legislature that petitions are being circulated over the State asking Congress to nullify all the legislation by declaring the Legislature not a legalized body.

Owing to the disheartened state of the opposition, the British Government is making rapid progress with its legislative proposals in Parliament.

JUDICIAL.

The question of obstructing the sidewalks for business purposes, with which residents of every city are to a greater or less extent brought in contact, has been passed upon by a New York Supreme Court Justice. Some of the points raised are new and are of more than ordinary importance. In the first place, the Court defines the uses to which the streets are to be put, and declares that the sidewalk was never intended for any such use as that complained of. The sidewalks are constructed and alloted to pedestrians, and should be for the use of pedestrians. It was claimed in the case before the court that the street was narrow and did not afford proper room for the defendants. The justice could find no reason in this for obstructing the sidewalk, but thought that if the defendants had not sufficient room to conduct their business, they should move to more commodious quarters. The New York Board of Aldermen had granted the defendants in this case certain privileges in the erection of a platform and bridge to cross the sidewalk. The justice declared that, to say the least, the authority under which the Board of Aldermen acted was exceedingly doubtful.

A peculiar provision of the Interstate Commerce Act, involving the question of the constitutionality of the act, has been passed upon by a judge of the United States Circuit Court at Chicago. Some time ago, at the instance of the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Federal Grand Jury in Chicago investigated a complaint to the effect that there had been discrimination in favor of certain shippers in fixing railroad rates on lines leading into Chicago. Mr. Counselman, a grain dealer, was called as a witness, and asked if he had not received rebates on consignments over certain roads. He declined to answer the question, on the ground that the answer would incriminate him. The United States district judge held that he must answer the question, but he persisted in his refusal, whereupon he was fined five hundred dollars by the judge and ordered to be imprisoned until the fine was paid. He then had an application made before Circuit Judge Gresham for his release upon a writ of habeas corpus. The petition has just been denied, the judge holding that the witness is fully protected against punishment on his own evidence by the fifth amendment to the Constitution. An appeal will be taken to the United States Supreme Court, it being contended that, while the Interstate Commerce Act empowers the commission to require the attend-

ance of witnesses, providing that the testimony of witnesses shall not be used against them, the provision is not properly applicable to the present case, since the witness was not required to testify before the commission, but before the Federal Grand Jury.

The Louisiana Supreme Court held that, although the State constitution exempts from a license tax those engaged in mercantile pursuit, photographers did not come within the immunity. The Court said:—

"Photography is a science, at least a liberal art. A photographer is an artist who practises an occupation in which the mind is chiefly concerned, the hands and body being less so. Legislative acts are entitled to great respect, and are presumed to be constitutional, and to destroy the presumption they must be shown manifestly to violate the organic law. In this case, the ordinance and statute assailed are constitutional and valid. Those who seek shelter under an exemption law must present a clear case free from all doubt, as such laws, being a derogation of a general rule, must be strictly construed."

A Chambersburg, Penn., justice recently sent a man to jail for eighty days, under the bluelaws, for swearing eighty profane oaths. The penalty is sixty-seven cents for each oath, or one day in jail.

INDUSTRIAL.

The Michigan State Grange, at the last annual meeting adopted resolutions protesting against the sale of intoxicants in the World's Fair grounds, urging the election of United States Senators by popular vote, and asking the Legislature to enact laws requiring cheaper railroad fares. The convention also adopted a report criticising the national grange for indorsing the proposition to make Government loans upon real estate. The report regrets that the national body has allowed itself to be carried away by popular clamor, and says that the adoption of the scheme would create a feeling of helpless dependence upon Government aid by those whom it is designed to benefit, thereby relaxing their individual effort, destroying their energy and self-reliance, and making them helpless mendicants subsisting on Government charity.

It appears from the annual report of the president of the American Federation of Labor, recently in session at Detroit, Mich., that the eight-hour movement inaugurated by the Federation in 1889 has been successful in 137 cities, and has benefited 46,197 workmen in the car-

penter's trade, besides others in the building trade; 1,163 strikes have taken place during the last year: 989 succeeded, 76 failed, and 98 were compromised. Many concessions were gained without resorting to strikes.

The Federation decided to continue the eighthour fight, and that the miners be the next to make the demand, enforcing it by a strike if necessary. The Federation will make an effort to prevent an influx of laborers during the coming World's Fair. The convention instructed the officers to draw up a petition to Congress favoring an amendment to the Constitution giving women the right of suffrage. The convention declared for ballot reform and against child labor. The convention refused to admit the Socialist delegates, regarding the American Socialistic party as a political party not entitled to representation in a purely industrial organization.

A call for a convention to organize the industrial associations as a third political party has been issued at Topeka, Kan. The call is signed by representatives of many States. Also, the editor of each newspaper that has advocated the principles of the St. Louis agreement and supported the candidates nominated therein in 1890, is hereby invited as a delegate.

The delegates are to meet in Cincinnati, Feb. 23, 1891.

The New Hampshire State Grange, at the last session, adopted resolutions declaring that the Government ought to supply a proper amount of sound currency; recommending the Australian voting system; indorsing the Conger Lard Bill; advocating the enforcement of temperance laws; favoring a national union of farmers to oppose capital combination; and criticising adversely the sub-treasury scheme.

The Maine State Grange has adopted resolutions demanding free tuition at the State College, favoring a more equal system of taxations, and insisting on the enforcement of the prohibitory laws.

Twelve hundred miners and laborers at the Rock Springs mines of the Union Pacific Railway Company are on strike, and the mines are idle. The strike was the result of the company's decision to pay the workmen by the hour.

There are now 90,000 unemployed men in London, and municipal workshops are advocated to furnish them employment.

IN GENERAL.

The New York Legislature passed a law last session ordering the Police Commissioners of New York City to appoint matrons to have charge of females under arrest at police-s'ations. It is understood that the police are very much opposed to this law, as it checks their irresponsible control over a certain class of females, whom the police arrest at will. At any rate, the commissioners have long neglected to make the appointments, giving as their excuse the absence of funds for the purpose Now it appears that they have included no item for this purpose in their estimates for the coming year, and this omission debars the Board of Estimate and Apportionment from including the item in the appropriation for the police department.

On the 1st of August, 1889, an original method of governing the railroad traffic was put in operation in Hungary. The result, as shown by the report for the first year, was a marvellous increase of the traffic on the roads.

"The plan adopted was the division of the territory of Hungary into 14. concentric tariff zones, the centre of which is Budapest, the capital. All stations within a circle of 161 of our miles from Budapest are embraced in the first zone; the second includes all points within 25 miles and less than 40, and all the zones, with the exception of the first, the twelfth, and the thirteenth, are about 9 miles wide. The three exceptions are 164 miles wide; while the fourteenth, or last zone, is expanded to embrace all stations more than 150 miles from the centre. The cost of transportation is regulated by the number of zones traversed by the traveller. The fare in American money is fixed at 20 cents per zone for first class, 16 for second, and 10 for thirdclass passengers. For example, the traveller starting from Budapest and crossing three zones traverses about 34 miles. The first-class rate for this distance is, therefore, 60 cents; the second 48 cents and the the third 30 cents. Local traffic within each zone is regulated by special rates. The fare to the nearest station is 12, 6, and 4 cents respectively, while the charge to the second station from the point of departure is 16, 9, and 6 cents, which is increased to the full rates of the zone if the third station is the travellers' destination. The cheapest fares of all are those for long distances. The rate is precisely the same for all stations 150 miles and more from Budapest, up to 442 miles, which latter is the greatest distance from the centre that is embraced in Hungarian territory. The charges on ordinary trains for 150 miles and upward to 442 miles are, respectively, \$3.20, \$2.32, and \$1.60, according to class. The fare for the longest distance is now only one fifth of what it was formerly, while the cost of the journey to all points beyond the 150-mile zone is greatly lessened—a reduction of about 50 per cent from the old rates being apparent where the station verges upon the inner boundary of the fourteenth zone.

The new system simplifies the sale of tickets and in many ways promotes the convenience of travellers. Formerly it was necessary to print about 700 separate tickets, while now the largest number called for is 92. This, of course, saves much expense to the companies for printing. The few tickets required are placed on sale at post-offices, cigar and news stands, hotels, and other places, and the traveller has only to know how many zones he intends to cross in order to reckon up his fare. He has simply to multiply the number of zones that he intends to traverse or enter by the fixed rate per zone, which is 20, 16, and 10 cents for the three classes of passengers. Provision is also made for the sale of family ticket books at modified rates to points within 35 miles of Budapest. These books are transferable to anybody, and thus the interests of the public are generously provided for. The charge for trip tickets by this book system averages 16, 12, and 8 cents for stations about 21 miles from Budapest.

Germany proposes to colonize the newly acquired African possessions with criminals taken from the prisons of the cities. The Reichstag is expected to approve the scheme. The best of the criminal colonists will be allotted a certain quantity of land and the means of cultivating it.

The Russian minister of finance has framed a scheme by which all Russian and foreign insurance companies will in future be placed under the direct control of the government. The companies are forbidden to raise their insurance premiums without the consent of the authorities.

Over one hundred Farmers' Alliance men of Evans Township, Kan.. all masked, removed by force three loan company tenants from farms recently sold by the sheriffs under foreclosure proceedings, and put the original owners in possession. It is believed that the Alliance all over Kansas is preparing to carry out this design in all similar cases.

The Illinois Woman's Alliance passed the following resolution: —

"The State, which reserves the right to place its citizens at the cannon's mouth in its defence, has the right to establish a minimum standard of education for its preservation, and to appoint officers to see that all schools come up to that standard."

TO-DAY, DEC. 25, 1890.

A record of the facts and considerations which show that Individual Liberty is good for the people of the United States, and that, therefore, Legislative Regulation is infurious for them.

J. MORRISON-FULLER, WALTER C. Rose, Editors.

The lack of information and the Farmers' Ignorance. total ignorance of the facts and principles of social movements are painfully apparent to the thoughful reader of the platform adopted by the Farmers' Alliance. The farmers would never demand any laws to prevent dealing in "futures" if they knew of the hopeless failures of such legislation in other countries. A priori reasoning, too, might have led them to recognize the truth that an official is no match for the skilled speculator and gambler. The demand for measures against alien ownership of land cannot be justified by any reference to logical principles. Why are American syndicates preferable to foreign syndicates? What difference does it make to the tenant whether his landlord is American, English, or French? If the objection is directed against absentee-landlordism, then men owning property in one State and residing in another State are equally under the ban as absentees, and legislation against them is equally needful. The farmers' demand for tariff reform might be looked upon as a redeeming trait, and as an encouraging token of a new departure on the part of the proverbially conservative agricultural element; but the incongruity between this single rational demand and the rest of the platform should guard us from building on that slender foundation.

Officials. In a recent issue of the Nation Officials. we learn that there is a pressing need in the city of New York for a "society for the systematic and continuous prodding of delinquent officials." The fact to be assumed by this proposed society is simply to follow up Tammany officials and see that they perform their respective duties. "Newspapers," says the writer, "effect little in this line, their efforts being too spasmodic and too often regarded as mere partisan attacks. Nothing can bring these derelict officials to a sense of their duty but persistent prodding on

the part of a society of individuals organized for that purpose."

While New York, like many other cities, may need a society of this kind, it seems unfortunate indeed that such a state of affairs can exist. It is a striking example of how the popular vote may fail to express the popular will. That any city should elect city officers, and pay them liberal salaries, only to see the work which they were elected to do unperformed, and the public money wasted, must be exasperating, to say the least. A private individual who employed help that required his constant attention and urging would be considered a fit subject for an insane asylum. Instead of expending energy in "prodding," would not the same amount of effort result ultimately in greater good if directed toward ridding the people of "gang rule," and establishing honest government. And if conscientious endeavor in this direction fails in its purpose, may we not justifiably lose respect for this most worshipful State, and bow in reverence before the individual?

Opposition. The St. Louis Globe-Democrat is opposed to the sub-treasury scheme of the Farmers' Alliance, but its opposition cannot truthfully be de-

but its opposition cannot truthfully be described as intelligent. The first objection to the paper is of a legal character. "In order to obtain money for carrying out the subtreasury scheme," says the Globe-Democrat, "it would be necessary to impose taxes; and Congress is authorized to levy and collect taxes only 'to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States.' By no process of reasoning can this be interpreted to justify the policy which the Alliance is advocating." But then the farmers claim that their scheme is absolutely essential to the "general welfare" of the country, and to make their scheme Constitutional they need but to convert the majority of voters to their view and elect a Congressional majority on their platform. Besides, even if it were necessary to amend the Constitution for the purpose of gratifying the farmers' wishes, our politicians could not consistently condemn the proposal. Republicans as well as Democrats have shown themselves ready and eager to amend the Constitution whenever it suited them, to say nothing

of the many flagrant violations of the spirit of the Constitution which might be cited against them.

The other objection urged by the Globe-Democrat is this: —

There is no point better settled than the fact that the business of a government can be safely conducted only by keeping it separated from the business of individuals. The sort of partnership of interests that the sub-treasury plan involves would increase the evil which it is designed to lessen and remove. It would place the financial affairs of the Government at the mercy of influences that are now restrained and controlled in such a measure as to prevent them from causing public disaster.

This objection, which is intrinsically very forcible, has no force at all coming from the Globe-Democrat. All that it says of the Alliance's system is equally applicable to the prevailing national banking system. Government interference with finance "increases the evils which it is designed to lessen and remove." Banking should be "the business of individuals." Has the Globe-Democrat even taken the trouble to define properly the "business of government"? Does it protest against the innumerable attempts of our busy Congress and the several Legislatures to regulate the private business of indivduals? The Globe-Democrat knows that every day legislation widens and extends the sphere of "public business" at the solicitation of all manner of industrial and moral reformers, as well as self-seeking lobbyists. Even if the farmers demanded class legislation they could not decently be repulsed by those who have connived at the special legislation in favor of other classes. A little consistency would save the Globe-Democrat's attitude from the suspicion of partiality.

Mr. Par
mell's

bestowed by the American press
upon Mr. Parnell for his refusal to retire
from public life, at least for a time. The
notion that time is the great healer, which
can not only restore wounded feelings but
can also condone offences against morality,
seems to be a great favorite with newspaper
writers. If, however, the crime Mr. Parnell
has been convicted of proves that he is a bad
man now, unfit to lead a political party, how
would his temporary retirement prove, at the
end of three or four years, that he is a good
man?

"But he ought to have retired from patriotic motives, for the good of the cause he has at heart." This is a very severe demand to make upon a politician in these days. One of the most amusing features of American comment upon this matter is the readiness with which the writers assume that in England party leaders are largely actuated by purely patriotic motives, though such a pretence on the part of politicians in their own country is treated with deserved contempt. Doubtless there is a great deal of devotion to the welfare of Ireland on the part of Irish leaders; men do not work for a cause at the risk of imprisonment and exile, except from high motives; but why a desire to secure the best interests of their country should be supposed by American writers to actuate Liberal or Conservative leaders in England, any more than Republican or Democratic leaders in the United States can be explained only on the supposition that these writers know more about the politics of one country than of the other.

Another assumption which is commonly and ignorantly made in this country, notwithstanding Mr. Parnell's manifesto, is that the measure for home rule brought forward by Mr. Gladstone was well calculated to secure a desirable local self-government for Ireland. similar to that enjoyed by the States of the American Union. Grave objections to that measure might be urged both from the Irish and from the English standpoint. There can be no doubt that a measure could be framed more advantageous to both countries in many respects. Mr. Parnell would, of course, wish to secure as much as possible for his own country, and it is not surprising that he should think he can secure more than any other leader on his side. He has certainly done more in the past to accomplish the reforms needed by Ireland than any other man of his generation.

There are certainly strong reasons for suspecting that Mr. Gladstone's conversion to home rule was largely brought about by party considerations. To be sure, it drove his party from power, but even a man of Mr. Gladstone's penetration might easily have been unable to foresee that such would be the result. It is tolerably certain that the Liberal party as a whole is not strongly in favor of home rule. That cause needs the ablest leaders which can be obtained, and there can be no doubt

that in discretion, in political sagacity and cleverness, in ability to distinguish between those ends which it is and those which it is not wise to strive for, in the power of holding his party in hand and giving it influence upon the greater parties, Mr. Parnell is immensely superior to all the other Irish leaders. It is by no means improbable that, handicapped as he is at present by his entanglement with the divorce suit, he can yet serve his country better by retaining the leadership of his party than by resigning it to less trustworthy and skilful hands. At any rate, it is not surprising that he should have come to this conclusion

THE "FORCE BILL" IN THE SENATE.

It is curious to note the effect of Congressional elections on the tone and policy of the Scnate. Although this body is, in a measure, independent of the people in general, - the Senators being chosen directly by the State Legislatures, - the voice of the people not only manages to monopolize debate on the floor of the Senate but even to direct and control the proposed legislation of that august body. The most recent example of this is the Senate's present attitude to the Force Bill. At the last session of Congress that measure passed the House; popular opinion, however, passed on it unfavorably, and the chances are to-day that a strongly Republican Senate will defeat this thoroughly Republican measure.

While the bill has been a subject of general discussion for the past few months, it is more than probable that its leading provisions are somewhat of a mystery to numerous partisans on both sides of the question. The essence of the bill, as is well known, consists in the proposed transfer of Congressional elections from State to national control; that the officers in charge of such elections shall be chosen and paid by the federal authority, instead of the State or district, as heretofore. The change is sweeping; the idea is simple to grasp; but the machinery by which that idea shall be realized is complicated and difficult to understand.

In the first place, every judicial district is to be placed under the charge of a chief supervisor; each election-precinct and voting-place is to be presided over by three supervisors, with whom are associated the local officers, called in the bill inspectors. In the next

place, the United States District Court serves as a court of appeal and deposit, and above these various branches of the elective machinery is placed a State Board of Canvassers charged with supervision of the "supervisors" and their returns.

The United States Marshal, with deputies appointed for the occasion, is pressed into the service, acting as the constabulatory and general paymaster of the forces.

In this way the State is annihilated as far as Congressional elections are concerned.

The comprehensiveness of the measure is best seen by looking at the above officers in detail. The chief supervisor stands at the head of the official machinery within each and every judicial district. Sect. 22 of the proposed Act provides that, "in case of a district in which there is no supervisor, or in which there is a vacancy after the passage of this Act, it shall be the duty of the Circuit Court therein to appoint from among the Circuit Court Commissioners one of such officers the chief supervisor in and for the judicial district for which he is a commissioner; and each such chief supervisor. . . shall, so long as faithful and capable, hold such office and perform and discharge the duties imposed upon him by any law of the United States."

The chief supervisor thus appointed forwards the names of applicants and other persons eligible for appointment as supervisors in his judicial district. The judge of the Circuit Court selects from this list a number deemed sufficient to aid and abet the supervisor in his official duty. These offices are anything but sinecures. Sect. 8 prescribes their duty in fourteen lengthy paragraphs. Omitting numerous minor charges, the supervisors are to attend to all registration of voters, to make thorough house-to-house canvass of a whole or part of a district if required by the chief supervisor, to ascertain the name, age, nativity, and term of residence of the voters, and to have access to the Court's records of naturalization, and for certain other purposes. In each polling station, three supervisors, only two of whom can belong to the same party, are to take an equal part with the local inspectors in counting the ballots. The measure is ludicrously stringent and precise on this question: the relative positions of the supervisors and inspectors are prescribed at length. A "fair count" is to be secured at all hazards.

When this process is ended, the supervisors send their lists to the chief supervisor and to the clerk of the Circuit Court.

At this stage of proceedings the Board of Canvassers makes its appearance. The Circuit Court is to appoint three residents of the State in which the court is held, to form a United States Congressional Canvassing Board.

The clerk of the court transmits the returns of the election to this body, and, possessed of the papers and information at the disposal of the chief supervisor, the board proceeds to examine the submitted returns, and declares the result of the election. This official and final announcement is transmitted to the clerk of the House of Representatives at Washington.

Certainly, if any error existed in the returns, the board, it would seem, must have scented and sifted it out; at least rational people would think so; but the bill recognizes the frailties of mankind in this, as in many other cases. Sect. 29 reads: "Whenever it shall appear by affidavit that errors have occurred in the determination of any Board of Canvassers . . . the Circuit Court . . . may, by order, require any such board to correct such errors, or show cause why such correction should not be made, and, in the event of the failure of any such board to make such correction or show cause as aforesaid, the said court may compel any such boards, by writ of mandamus, to correct such errors."

Such, with the omission of many subsidiary clauses,—the last twenty-one of which are devoted to punishments and penalties for violation of the act,—is the Force Bill. If passed, would it accomplish any of its objects? A question easier to ask than to answer. It might, to be sure, conciliate some Northern "fire-eaters"; it certainly would alienate the South.

The testimony of Mr. Schurz, founded on personal contact with the South, can leave little doubt as to the ultimate effect of the measure. "I might go on for hours," he said in his address to the Reform Club last October, "quoting the voices of Southern Republicans, politicians, manufacturers, clergymen, aye and of colored men, imploring Congress not to throw this brand of discord into the South, wantonly endangering its peace, fraternal feeling, progress, and prosperity. And what is the answer? 'The negro has the right to vote. He must be protected

in the exercise of it now, cost what it may.' But when you have two ways to attain that end, - one a gradual, safe process, working by the forces of peace, common well-doing, and the other sure violently to disturb a beneficent development, and to endanger what has been gained after so much suffering and such painful struggles, - which of the two will true statesmanship choose? Nay, which will the true patriot, who has a heart for his country, choose? I know the old saying, "Let justice be done though the heavens fall." But I know also that it is the part of statesmanship to see justice done in such a way that the heavens may not fall. I do not hesitate to say that in my long experience I have not seen a measure of legislation which, in view of its inevitable effects, was more unstatesmanlike, more reckless, more mischievous, ave, more wicked, than this Elections Bill."

Will the measure become a law? Congress turn a deaf ear to the warnings, nay, prophesies, of such a voice? If it remains true to the theory of its origin, it will reject the project of the House. It is related that Jefferson, but recently returned from France, breakfasted with Washington. In the course of the conversation Jefferson asked Washington why he ever consented to such an undemocratic institution as the Senate. "Why," said Washington, "did you just now pour that coffee into your saucer before drinking it?" "To cool it," Jefferson replied: "my throat is not made of brass." "Even so," said Washington, "we pour our legislation into the Senatorial saucer to cool it."

It is to be hoped that the present session of the Senate will justify its creation.

A SOUND FINANCIAL SYSTEM.

If a man is seen to fall fainting on the street it is a perfectly admissible explanation to say that his condition is the result of starvation. If, however, when the facts are investigated, it turned out that he had eaten a hearty meal a few hours before, and that for a week he had been taking more than a normal quantity of food, this explanation would completely collapse. The cause assigned might produce the effect to be explained, but if the cause has not acted, the effect must be due to some other cause.

The above case illustrates very well the case of the money market recently. There has undoubtedly been a stringency, and the popular explanation is that there is not enough lawful money in existence. stringency would undoubtedly follow from a lack of money, and the remedy proposed would be effective if there really were a lack; but, unfortunately for the explanation and the remedy, this lack does not exist. As Mr. Edward Atkinson pointed out in his speech before the Boot and Shoe Club last Wednesday, there has been no scarcity of money during the present period of depression. There is, on the contrary, "a huge abundance of lawful money within the limits of the country"; the "volume of current money has lately been considerably increased," and "is now greater per capita than it has been for many years." Nor can it be said that there has always been a scarcity, and that, owing to a few special circumstances, the need for more money is felt more strongly just now; we have had periods of prosperity during which "it was truly said that money was very plenty"; and yet during these periods the volume of currency was less than it is

What, then, has been the cause of the present semi-crisis? The perennial explanation of such periods — over-speculation, over-trading, and inflation - is not sufficient, because not any of these has been indulged in to a great degree. The money market has been disturbed, primarily, by the embarrassment of a great banking-house, and the shock has extended over a large part of the world. Re-equilibration necessitated the transfer of large sums of money. The trouble was not the lack of money in general, but lack of money in the right place. The agencies by which the transfer of money to the right place has to be effected, namely, banks and bankers, have been hampered by restrictive legislation. As so large a share of banking operations (over ninety per cent) rests upon credit, it is easy to see that anything which disturbs credit puts a tremendous strain upon the system; and nothing will disturb credit more than the ill performance of their functions on the part of the banks. Legislation, then, which hampers the banks in the discharge of their functions,—functions which can be performed by no other agency,—must be in the highest degree deleterious to the interests of the country. Consider the results of the recent semi-panic through which we have just passed.

"It has caused a decline in the prices of many important staples; it has reduced the profits of the producers of the crude products of the soil and the mine at a time when the margin of profit was not large; it has rendered a true foresight on the part of buyers of these crude products impracticable by depriving them of advances from banks and bankers with which they would have been enabled to lay in suitable stocks of the crude fibres and half-manufactured fabrics which they may need in the next few months; it has enabled those in possession of very large capital to get an undue advantage in the purchase of materials over those who have but a moderate, and yet sufficient, capital to entitle them to credit sufficient to meet the demands of normal periods; it has deprived the manufacturers of a part of the prices of the goods made from materials which cost more than the semi-panic prices."

All this because Congress in its sublime and immortal ignorance has continually insisted upon tinkering the national banking system, which it could not in the least understand. There is a tolerably wide recognition of the fact that the financial operations of the world, and even of one country, are exceedingly complex; but they are probably no more complex than the movements of the solar system; and yet the latter — some of them at any rate — are taught to children in the grammar schools. Fortunately, the movements of the solar system are secure from legislative interference, otherwise we should be treated to the fall of planets and the crash of worlds; as it is, Congress has to content itself with the ruin of individuals and the crash of institutions. If only the future Congressmen could be taken when they are young and teachable, and given a little instruction in the principles of finance and commerce, at least enough to make clear to them their ignorance, men engaged in those branches of industry would be less harassed by what is now their chief fear, — interference on the part of Congress.

The artificial conditions to which Mr. Atkinson traces the recent pinch in the money market are: first, "the ill adjustment of the sub-treasury system," and, second, "the rigid restriction of the national banking act, compelling national banks to keep their reserve up to twentyfive per cent of their liabilities, no matter what happens." One would naturally suppose that the reserve should be a resource which might be drawn on in time of need; and this result is secured in England by the suspension of the banking act there when the conditions require it; perhaps as simple an expedient as this might be resorted to here in case of necessity after the examples on the part of the British Government become known to our Congress.

Again, "a huge proportion of the lawful money of the country is now kept out of the bank reserves [in consequence of Congressional action], for use in circulation and in exchanges, in which secured bank-notes might be substituted, thus relieving the volume of legal-tender money of a duty which ought not to be put upon it." Mr. Atkinson compares a unit of money in a bank reserve, in its power of sustaining credit and effecting exchanges, to a locomotive, "while the same unit in your pocket or mine, waiting to measure only a single petty transaction when passing from our hands to those of another, is like a wheelbarrow in its usefulness." The case affords another illustration of a legislative body defeating the ends it prescribes by actions which it does not perceive to be incompatible with those ends.

The natural remedy for ills produced by Congressional interference is the cessation of such interference; and this is practically what Mr. Atkinson proposes. "The gold which is now within the limits of the country would suffice to double our present

bank reserve if the right measures were taken to draw it to the place where it would serve its utmost use. All that is needed is confidence and credit incorporated in a sound banking system." To bring about this desideratum he would permit all the banks in districts, the boundaries of which would be determined according to convenience, to organize clearing-houses, which should, for proper consideration, guarantee the redemption of notes issued by the separate banks. Such notes, being guaranteed by the collective banks of a district, say New York or Philadelphia, would possess the strongest possible financial security, and would be readily accepted everywhere in place of gold, leaving that metal free to find its way into the reserves. Such notes would not need to be forced into circulation by legislation.

There is little likelihood that any such scheme will be adopted: it is too simple; and the part the Government would have to play is too subordinate, being little more than the mere enforcement of contracts. Moreover. it has for its recommendation only the fact that it would greatly further the interests of the whole country, and not those of any particular class. But in order to get through Congress a measure must be pushed, and usually only those specially interested in a measure will push it strongly; measures for the benefit of the whole country. unless there is a strong popular demand for them, stand a poor show in that body. It is to be feared that the people at large have no better conception of what is necessary to a sound banking system than members The silver legislation deof Congress. manded by a large section of the country seems to show this. With both Congress and the people too ignorant to be aware that they are in need of instruction, and, probably from lack of training, incapable of profiting by instruction, the immediate prospect for sound financial legislation, or rather relief from unsound legislation, is by no means bright. Nevertheless, after a sufficient experience of evil, we, or our

children, may learn something. As the Saturday Reciew remarks, it is through the suffering of fools that wisdom makes its way in the world.

FORTY-FIVE YEARS OF IRISH LAND LEGISLATION.

From the course of imperial legislation in recent years a simple-minded person might almost be pardoned for considering Parliament as an English legislative body called together in London for strictly Irish purposes. His error would be one of theory rather than of fact, for, since the legislative union of the United Kingdom and Ireland in 1800, Irish questions have absorbed the politician by day and disturbed his rest at night. The first half of the century was in the main devoted to the removal of religious restrictions; the past years have been taken up by questions of a political and agrarian nature. Though progress has been made, there is to-day no satisfactory settlement of the land and its tenures. The difficulty existing in the nature of the subject has been further complicated by the strained, not to say hostile, relations in which the owners of the land and the tenants stand to each other; the habitual opposition of capital and labor has been aggravated by questions of race: the landlord an Englishman, the tenant an Irishman by birth or sympathy, and often both.

The year 1845 practically marks the period from which attempts to reform the systems of land tenure date. Parliament appointed a commission headed by Lord Devon to investigate such matters, the practical result of which appeared in the encumbered estate Act of 1849. The evidence taken before this commission showed that the cottier rent then prevalent was often more than the total produce of the land; the tenants were constantly in arrears, thus giving the landlord the means of appropriating the whole advantage of any unusually good crop. In many cases the landlord was so impoverished that, even if he had wished it, improvement of his estates was out of the question, but, as the estates were entailed, sale was equally impossible. By Act of Parliament landlords were authorized to sell portions of their estates, so that they might thus be enabled to pay off incumbrances and improve what was left, and that in the second place the buyers, being interested in country, would improve the land coming under their control, and make Ireland an agricultural country. The Act was well meant, but it settled nothing, and created many of the disorders, unfortunately so widespread, of the present day. The land fell into the hands of land speculators, popularly known as land-grabbers, rents already high were raised in consequence, and the tenants refused and resisted improvements of the estates as certain to lead to higher rents.

Here the matter rested till 1860, when an Act was passed providing that, in the absence of any agreement between landlord and tenant, the rent should be from year to year, and that a year's notice should be necessary for removal. "The object and intended effect of this Act were to substitute... for the just and equitable principles of common law or custom the hard, commercial principle of contract, and to render any right of the tenant, either as to the duration of tenancy or compensation, dependent on expressed or implied contract." (Mr. Barry O'Brien, quoting from "Finlason's Land Tenures" page 106)

Nothing further was attempted till the ministry of Mr. Gladstone. Not much was to be expected from Lord Palmerston, who, though Irish by birth, scoffed at all proposals about tenant-right. His experiences as a landlord may have convinced him that "tenant-right is landlord's wrong"; but earnest people regarded the expression as a bon mot, rather than a solution of the difficulty.

After disestablishing the Irish Church, Mr. Gladstone turned his attention to devise a simplification of the difficulties and irregularities of the existing land-tenures. The cottier rent, as above stated, was unfortunately common, and differed from the English pack-rent, properly so called, in the fact that the latter arose from the competition of capital for investment, while in the former case the competition was entirely among the laborers for land and existence. The rent offered is thus not only exorbitant but really beyond the ability of the tenant to pay—and the landlord to collect. Arrears and eviction are the result.

In some of the more prosperous parts of Ireland a system known as the Ulster Tenant-right prevailed; but it existed as a matter of custom, not by any legal sanction. Besides the compensation from the landlord for any unexhausted improvements due to the tenant's capital and skill, the outgoing tenant received a sum from the incoming tenant sometimes equal in value to the fee-simple of the land. By the payment of this latter sum the new tenant secured the goodwill of the former. The Act of 1870 legalized these customs wherever they existed, and gave the tenant a right before the law to claim and enforce the advantages of his industry. In addition to this recognition of customary ten-

ures, the Act endeavored to introduce the principle of security against eviction, by providing that the evicted tenant should be compensated for all his improvements, and that he should receive an additional compensation for eviction, provided always such eviction did not arise from non-payment of rent. As eviction was most frequent from the poorer holdings, the rate of compensation was higher for this class, in the hope that pressure might thus be brought to bear on the landlords. For example: the extreme compensation for £10-holdings was not to exceed a seven-years' rent, that is £70. A higher rent paid a lower rate.

To encourage purchase of small holdings, and thus indirectly solve the question of tenancy, the government proposed to advance two thirds of the purchase-money to any tenant desirous of buying his holding, provided the landlord wished to sell.

The Act of 1870 faced the difficulties of the situation in a straightforward manner, but it failed to effect the settlement of this question. The serious objection to the measure was that any improvement of an estate raised the rent, and if the rent were not paid there could be no compensation for eviction. After having lived years on one holding, the small farmer grew attached to the soil, and keenly felt the hardship of starting life again in a new quarter.

With the success of the Liberals at the general election of 1880, Mr. Gladstone again came into power, and proceeded to deal with the question in such a manner as to remedy the short-comings of his previous measure. The Land Act of 1881 was passed, a measure, said the late Mr. Fawcett, "based upon a principle which probably nothing but the exceptional condition of Ireland and the peculiar nature of the tenure which had always obtained there could justify."

The main provisions of this act were popularly called the three F's, from the principal three clauses of the bill: fair rent, fixity of tenure, and free sale.

The fair rent was a judicial matter: If the tenant was dissatisfied with the rent proposed he had access to the Land Court, established for that purpose, and a rent was there settled by an examination of the circumstances of the particular case. When the rent was thus determined, it was to bind both parties for fifteen years, at the end of which period it again be subject to judicial revision. In this manner fixity of tenure was assured and the tenant could not be disturbed except by his own act. The last F was free sale. In this case the outgoing tenant was to enjoy the privilege of selling his interest in his holding to the highest bidder, who would then

succeed to all the rights of the seller. The sale was to be free; but a presumption existed in favor of the landlord, should he wish to purchase.

The previous act advanced, it will be remembered, two thirds of the purchasing money. The present act retained the principle involved and increased the sum advanced to three fourths of the whole purchasing price.

The acts of 1870 and 1881 attempted no solution of the question of arrears of rent, which, unfortunately, was too common, and in reality lay at the bottom of the distress. The "Arrears of Rent Act (1882) proposed a settlement: the arrears of the tenant were to be wiped out, and no landlord was to have any right to claim more than two years rent in any case whatever. To ease matters and set the tenants on their feet again, the government advanced money on easy terms to enable the tenants to satisfy the outstanding claims against them. This question, like the other questions arising from the recent land legislation, was to be intrusted to the Land Court established and specially charged to carry the provisions of the act into force.

Troubles arising from arrears have been and are of frequent occurrence. The action of the government, it was hoped, would do away with the whole question and the consequent difficulties—and for the time being the results answered the expectations. All arrears to 1882 were settled, but since then the tenants have fallen into debt, and much the same state of affairs exists to-day as before the passage of the act.

In 1885, Lord Ashbourne, on behalf of the Conservative Ministry, introduced a bill to provide greater facilities for the sale of land to occupying tenants. There was a block in the Irish land market, and the action of the government was to get rid of this difficulty. By the bill more generous terms were given to those who, under the Act of 1881, borrowed three fourths of the purchase-money. The advance would be made at four per cent, with forty-nine years allowed for repayment. To future borrowers the whole of the purchasing money in question would be advanced. One fifth of this sum would be retained by the commissioners till the purchasers paid a sum equal to one fifth of the whole. The surplus of the Disestablished Church Funds was to be held as a guarantee to secure the State from loss. To accomplish the purpose of the bill advances would be made to the extent of £5,000,000. As in the previous acts, the Irish Land Commission was to take charge of difficulties arising under the measure. The bill passed both Houses without material alteration and became a law. Three years it was

amended, and its sphere of application somewhat extended.

The results of these forty-five years have not been so great nor so encouraging as might have been expected from the evident earnestness with which English ministries have grappled with the questions. Some kind of order has been brought out of disorder, but much remains to be done. England owes Ireland a settlement of the land question, but as the disorder is the result of centuries, it is no wonder if a couple of generations have been unable to redress the grievances under which the tenants of Ireland suffer.

"THE DUTIES OF WEALTH."

The question broached some time since by the author of "Triumphant Democracy" in reference to the use and abuse of wealth by the possessors of large fortunes is receiving considerable attention just now. The question, What shall the rich do with their money, or rather, What ought the rich to do with their surplus wealth, was, it will be remembered, answered by Mr. Carnegie somewhat as follows: The rich ought to regard themselves as trustees, rather than absolute owners of their surplus wealth, and use it. not for private ends of profit or pleasure but for public ends, - for the good of the poor and unfortunate. Mr. Carnegie holds it to be the duty of the rich to devote themselves to the moral and mental improvement of those who. unaided, cannot survive in the present intense struggle for existence or supremacy. Gladstone, while expressing his joy at the spirit and substance of Mr. Carnegie's humanitarian declaration, sought to improve it and render it more fruitful, by suggesting an important amendment. Instead of separate individual efforts, he favors organized and united action, and recommends that all those wealthy persons who share Mr. Carnegie's view of the rights and duties of wealth should form an association, into whose treasury they might contribute annually certain fixed sums, pledged at the start, and which should look after the disposal of the funds.

The fact that such a movement is so earnestly spoken of goes far to vindicate our society from the charges of alarmists and cynical pessimists. Considering that revolutionary communists and socialists are ready to denounce all possessors of wealth as fiends incarnate, destitute of all altruistic feelings and broad ideas, and that the very poor and uneducated working-people are ready to listen to these eager "reformers," and shape their conduct, collective and personal,

on those gloomy conceptions, it is gratifying to find millionaires concerning themselves with the conditions of the poor, and devising means of affording them relief. An association such as Mr. Gladstone proposes could certainly achieve more success than Gen. Booth is likely to meet with; yet Gen. Booth has no difficulty in collecting the enormous amount of money needed for the execution of his scheme.

However, in connection with this doubtless worthy enterprise stands a vital problem to which attention has been called by a writer in the December Nineteenth Century. Are millionaires the natural result of a natural political and industrial state of affairs? Is it true, as Mr. Carnegie frankly assumes, that the natural evolution of industrial relations has brought about a condition characterized by the presence of exceedingly wealthy capitalists on the one hand and an army of under-paid and needy toilers on the other? The writer referred to objects to Mr. Carnegie's assumption, and vigorously argues that the condition which makes millionaires possible is an artificial and violent one. He calls upon the benevolent millionaires to go back of the facts presented to them and inquire into their causes. He assures them that they will find "unrestricted competition and the tariff" to be the causes of the evils they seek partially to redress. And he naturally suggests that the elimination or abolition of those pernicious factors ought to engage the attention of the true lovers of equity, rather than the relatively unimportant question of diminishing the amount of suffering inflicted.

The writer's ascription of industrial ills to " unrestricted competition and the tariff" appears absurd. If the tariff is bad it is bad because it restricts competition; and to abolish it would mean to leave competition by so much freer and more unrestricted. If, on the other hand, unrestricted competition is bad, then the tariff, by restricting competition, can but do good. We take it that the writer is leaning in the direction of State Socialism, which hypothesis makes his statement intelligible enough. He wishes the State, and not private employers, to derive the benefits of restricted competition; while the tariff conduces merely to the advantage of "home While much may be said manufacturers." against State monopoly of industry as an ideal, it is by no means impossible that the restriction of competition by purely voluntary agencies might be a good thing, and that "the future belongs to co-operation," as the phrase is, provided that voluntary co-operation is understood.

But, as the author says, the question of justice is more important than questions arising under

a condition based on injustice. Our thoughtful millionaires, in common with the non-millionaires, should first inquire whether the millions in the hands of the few have not been put there by illegitimate, unjust legislation, and by State interference with industry, trade, and finance. Only such an investigation can teach them how to be serviceable, in the true sense, to social progress.

"THE RIGHT TO PRIVACY."

A remarkable article, with the above title, by Messrs. S. D. Warren and L. D. Brandels, appears in the *Harvard Law Review* for December. The subject is of such interest and importance that we attempt a summary, giving as far as possible the exact words of the authors; but this will be a poor substitute for the original, which is enriched by a wealth of citations and illustrations rare in a magazine article.

The central position is that the common law contains a principle which, if 'properly applied by the courts, is adequate to protect the individual against being dragged into publicity by newspaper enterprise, instantaneous photographs, and other mechanical inventions.

"That the individual shall have full protection in person and in property is a principle as old as the common law; but it has been found necessary from time to time to define anew the exact nature and extent of such protection. Political, social, and economic changes entail the recognition of new rights, and the common law, in its eternal youth, grows to meet the demands of society. Thus in very early times, the law gave a remedy merely for physical interference with life and property, for trespasses vi et armis. Then the "right to life" served only to protect the subject from battery in its various forms; liberty meant freedom from actual restraint; and the right to property secured to the individual his lands and his cattle. Later there came a recognition of man's spiritual nature, of his feelings, and his intellect. Gradually the scope of these legal rights broadened, and now the right to life has come to mean the right to enjoy life, - the right to be let alone. The right to liberty secures the exercise of extensive civil privileges, and the term "property" has grown to comprise every form of possession - intangible as well as tangible.

"Thus, with the recognition of the legal value of sensations, the protection against actual bodily injury was extended to prohibit mere attempts to do such injury; that is, the putting another in fear of such injury. From the action of battery grew that of assault. Much later there

came a qualified protection of the individual against offensive noises and odors, against dust and smoke and excessive vibration. The law of nuisance was developed. So regard for human emotions soon extended the scope of personal immunity beyond the body of the individual. His reputation, the standing among his fellowmen was considered, and the law of slander and libel arose. Man's family relations became a part of the legal conception of his life, and the alienation of a wife's affections was held reme-Occasionally the law halted, - as in its refusal to recognize the intrusion by seduction upon the honor of the family. But even here the demands of society were met. A mean fiction, the action per quod servitium amisit, was resorted to, and by allowing damages for injury to the parents' feelings, an adequate remedy was ordinarily afforded. Similar to the expansion of the right to life was the growth of the legal conception of property. From corporeal property arose the incorporeal rights issuing out of it; and then there opened the wide realm of intangible property, in the products and processes of the mind, as works of literature and art, good-will, trade secrets and trade-marks.

"Recent inventions and business methods call attention to the next step which must be taken for the protection of the person, and for securing to the individual what Judge Cooley calls the right "to be let alone." Instantaneous photographs and newspaper enterprise have invaded the sacred precincts of private and domestic life; and numerous mechanical devices threaten to make good the prediction that "what is whispered in the closet shall be proclaimed from the house-tops." For years there has been a feeling that the law must afford some remedy for the unauthorized circulation of portraits of private persons; and the evil of the invasion of privacy by the newspapers, long keenly felt, has been but recently discussed by an able writer. The alleged facts of a somewhat notorious case brought before an inferior tribunal in New York a few months ago directly involved the consideration of the right of circulating portraits; and the question whether our law will recognize and protect the right to privacy in this and in other respects must soon come before our courts for consideration.

"It is our purpose to consider whether the existing law affords a principle which can properly be invoked to protect the privacy of the individual, and, if it does, what the nature and extent of such protection is.

"The common law secures to each individual the right of determining, ordinarily, to what extent his thoughts, sentiments, and emotions

shall be communicated to others. Under our system of government, he can never be compelled to express them (except when upon the witness stand); and even if he has chosen to give them expression, he generally retains the power of flxing the limits of the publicity which shall be given them.

"What is the nature, the basis, of the right to prevent the publication of manuscripts or works of art? That this protection cannot rest upon the right to literary or artistic property in any exact sense appears clearly when the subject matter as to which protection is invoked is not even in the form of intellectual property, and has the attributes of ordinary tangible property. Suppose a man has a collection of gems or curiosities which he keeps privave: it would hardly be contended that any person obtaining the knowledge could publish a catalogue of them, and yet the articles enumerated are certainly not intellectual property in the legal sense, any more than a collection of stoves or of chairs would be.

"These considerations lead to the conclusion that the protection afforded to thoughts, sentiments, and emotions, expressed through the medium of writing or of the arts, so far as it consists in preventing publication, is merely an instance of the enforcement of the more general right of the individual to be let alone. It is like the right not to be assaulted or beaten, the right not to be imprisoned, the right not to be maliciously prosecuted, the right not to be defamed. In each of these rights, as indeed in all other rights recognized by the law, there inheres the quality of being owned or possessed - and as that is the distinguishing attribute of property there may be some propriety in speakiug of these rights as property. But, obviously, they bear little resemblance to what is ordinarily comprehended under that term. The principle which protects personal writings and all other personal productions, not against theft and physical appropriation but against publication in any form, is in reality not the principle of private property but that of an inviolate personality.

' If we are correct in this conclusion, the existing law affords a principle which may be invoked to protect the privacey of the individual from invasion either by the too enterprising press, the photographer, or the posses-or of any other modern device for recording or reproducing scenes or sounds. For the protection afforded is not confined by the authorities to those cases where any par.icular medium or form of expression has been adopted, nor to products of the intellect. The same protection is afforded to emotions and sensations expressed in a musical composition, or other work of art, as to a literary composition; and words spoken, a pantomime acted, a sonata performed, is no less entitled to protection than if each had been reduced to writing. The circumstance that a thought or emotion has been recorded in a permanent form renders its identification easier, and hence may be important from the point of view of evidence, but it has no significance as a matter of substantive right. If, then, the principles indicate a general right to privacy for thoughts, emotions, and sensations, they should receive the same protection, whether expressed in writing, or in conduct, or in conversation, in attitudes, or in facial expression.

"We must therefore conclude that the rights, so protected, whatever their exact nature, are not rights arising from contract or from special trust, but are rights as against the world; and, as above stated, the principle which has been applied to protect these rights is in reality not the principle of private property, unless that word be used in an extended and unusual sense. The principle which protects personal writings and any other productions of the intellect or of the emotions is the right to privacy, and the law has no new principle to formulate when it extends this protection to the personal appearance, the sayings, the acts, and personal relations, domestic or otherwise.

"If the invasion of privacy constitutes a legal injuria, the elements for demanding redress exist, since already the value of mental suffering caused by an act wrongful in itself is recog-

nized as a basis for compensation. "The right of one who has remained a private

individual to prevent his public protraiture presents the simplest case for such extension; the right to protect one's self from pen portraiture, from a discussion by the press of one's private affairs, would be a more important and far-reaching one. If casual and unimportant statements in a letter, if handiwork however inartistic and valueless, if possessions of all sorts are protected not only against reproduction but against description and enumeration, how much more should the acts and sayings of a man in his social and domestic relations be guarded from ruthless publicity. If you may not reproduce a woman's face photographically without her consent, how much less should be tolerated the reproduction of her face, her form, and her actions, by graphic descriptions colored to suit a gross and depraved imagination."

The article concludes with a discussion on the limits to the right to privacy, and with a few words as to remedies for the infraction of this right. The remedies are:

"1. An action of tort for damages in all cases. Even in the absence of special damages, substantial compensation could be allowed for injury to feelings, as in the action of slander and libel.

"2. An injunction, in perhaps a very limited class of cases.

"It would doubtless be desirable that the privacy of the individual should receive the added protection of the criminal law, but for this legislation would be required '

TO-DAY.

AMERICANA.

Judge J. M. Balderson, of Wichita, Kan., introduced a novel scheme to cause a jury in a murder trial to return a verdict. The jury had been out sixty-two hours in the case of Nellie Mayes, charged with the murder of John Yost. The judge made arrangement with the Rev. N. E. Harmon to give the jury a sermon on the immortality of the soul, at a certain hour, if the jury had not agreed. The jury was out at that time, and the bailiff conducted the pastor to the jury-room, where he held services for over an hour. Within twenty minutes the jury reported having agreed, and the verdict was announced "Guilty of grand larceny." The defence claim they would have won the case if the Court had not interfered, and have filed a petition for a new trial, charging misconduct of the Court, jury, and bailiff.

The passage of any copyright bill protecting foreign authors has been a great surprise. The discussion of the bill has reminded some people of what the late Thomas Carlyle said when asked what he thought of the House of Commons. "I think," said he, "that it is a place where you can hear six hundred gibbering idiots talk." We have not as many in our House of Representatives, to be sure, not even including the "Millionaires' Club" in the Senate; but let us not despair—"we are a growing people."—
Cor. New York Times.

"I don't think I ever saw anything funnier than the last act of that comedy," said a young man to a congressman. "You ought to see 't."

"I don't think I want to. I've seen acts of Congress that struck me as being about as funny as anything I can stand." — Washington Post.

The Cotton Employers' Association met last night and voted to raise the wages of its 150,000 hands ten per cent. This would be a stunning argument for Mr. McKinley and his little bill, but for the unfortunate fact that the concern is located in England. — Chicago Mail.

The Detroit Common Council is not quite as bad as that of Cairo, Ill. One of the members of that body bit another member's nose off, while here they simply confine themselves to profauity, obscenity, and threats, and deserve no greater punishment than three months in the workhouse. We always have something to be thankful for.

Detroit Free Press.

John Ruskin says that there are no ruins in America. With a view to amending this opinion, we respectfully invite him to come over and take a look at the Republican party. — Life.

The Alliance Congressman who, during his canvass, used to remove his cowhide shoes to show that he could not afford to wear stockings, is Jerry Simpson, of the Sixth Kansas district. The other day he received a pair of socks from a Kansas woollen mill, with the following note:

"Now the election is over, cold winter is coming on, and it is not meet that one of the tribunes should appear on the steps of the Capitol without socks; therefore, Jerry, I herewith inclose you a pair of socks; not the patrician stocking of costly silk, but socks made from good, honest wool, wool grown by Kansas farmers on the backs of Kansas sheep, and manufactured at the only successful woollen mill in the State. Take them, Jerry, and wear them. They are good, honest socks, and will do you good service. They are not so fine as some of your compeers will wear in Washington, but they are well befitting a good, straight, honest Kansas American, as I know you to be. And when any one undertakes to claim that Americans cannot compete with the vile stuff made by pauper labor of Europe from old horse-blankets, cast-off undershirts, and refuse of small-pox hospitals, which the very disinterested importers call foreign goods, show them your socks and tell them how they were made from honest Kansas wool."-Independent.

JERRY'S REPLY. — Sir: Our forefathers refused to drink tea because it was taxed three per cent, and held a tea-party in Boston for the purpose of getting rid of the stuff. I have just finished figuring up the tax upon those stockings, and I find that it amounts to seventy per cent. I will wear no socks till the tax is taken off.

Some ladies in Rhineland, have sent a petition to the burgomaster of Mettmann, in the following strain: "We, your petitioners, pray that your police-officers may visit the inns of this place to prevent our husbands and sons from staying there far into the night, while we, your petitioners, are at home anxiously awaiting them from their daily labors. Furthermore, we are of opinion that the money squandered there could be more advantageously spent at home. In the hope that our appeal will meet with your sympathy, we remain, with highest esteem, (Signed) The Wives of Several Mettmann Citizens.

"What!" said the judge, "you here again?"

"Yes, your Honor. When I think of how kind the prison officials are and how cold the world is, I come to the conclusion that it don't pay to be honest." — Munsey's Weekly.

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POLITICS: EVENTS; COMMENTS; LITERATURE.



The conditions under which this paper is published render it impossible to give the weekly record of facts the character of news. This is especially the case with the foreign items for which we shall not hereafter rely on the American newspapers. Nor does it seem feasible to complicate the classification by separating items accordingly as they are or are not "news." Suffice it to say that the facts are, in the main, collected from daily papers; that their importance does not generally depend upon dates; that our record of them cannot have greater authority than the sources have, but is evidently more trustworthy than any single newspaper.

LEGISLATIVE.

In the House, Dec. 22, a resolution was introduced by Mr. Blanchard (La.) asking for the appointment of a committee to inquire into the killing of Sitting Bull, the Indian chief, and the causes leading to his death; also the threatening Indian revolt, and the causes thereof, and whether neglect by the Government of its treaty obligations had anything to do with the outbreak. The committee is directed to sit during the present session and after the final adjournment of the present Congress, and to report by the 1st of December next to the Fifty-Second Congress.

In the Senate, a bill was passed establishing the record and pension office of the War Department. A bill was introduced prohibiting members of the Senate who are stockholders of corporations from serving on the committees on Finance and Commerce.

On Dec. 23, in the Senate, the bill to provide against the contraction of the currency was

reported by Mr. Sherman from the committee, read twice, and placed on the calendar. In one important particular the bill has been amended. In place of Section 4, which provided that when the national-bank circulation falls below \$180,000,000 the deficiency shall be supplied by the issue of Treasury notes based on silver-bullion purchases, or if silver cannot be purchased, by the direct issue of notes, the following section is inserted:—

"That the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized to issue in a sum or sums not exceeding in the aggregate \$200,000,000 coupon and registered bonds of the United States in such a form as he may prescribe, and of denominations of \$50, or some multiple of that sum, redeemable in lawful money at the pleasure of the United States, on and after July 1, 1900, and bearing interest semi-annually at the rate of two per cent per annum. And he is authorized to sell or dispose of any of the bonds issued under this act at not less than their par value for any lawful money of the United States, or for gold or silver certificates, and to apply the proceeds thereof to the redemption or to the purchase of any of the bonds of the United States. And the bonds hereby authorized and the proceeds thereof shall be used for no other purpose whatever. And the sum necessary to pay the expense of issuing and disposing of the said bonds is hereby appropriated out of any sums of money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated."

Mr. Aldrich gave notice of his intention to move an amendment to the Senate rules providing (during the present session) for the closing of debate on any bill under consideration. His resolution was laid on the table and ordered printed.

It is not believed that this long-talked-of cloture rule is offered in good faith. The Democratic Senators regard it as issued for publication merely. Mr. Aldrich's action was not authorized by the committee on rules.

IN THE HOUSE, Mr. Blanchard (La.) offered a resolution that the Committee on Banking and Currency be instructed to bring in a bill providing for such an increase of legal-tender currency as, united with the present supply of money, will increase the volume to an amount equal to fifty dollars per capita of the population. Mr. Burton (Ohio) introduced a bill amending the Interstate Commerce Act by adding a section

requiring railroads doing business partly in the United States and partly in adjacent foreign countries to obtain from the Commission licenses to engage in such business which shall stipulate obedience to the provisions of the Act.

On Dec. 24, in the SENATE, a memorial was presented from the Oregon Chamber of Commerce asking for the passage of the House Torrey Bankrupt Bill. A message from the President was received, returning without approval the bill appropriating \$75,000 for a public building at Bar Harbor, Me.

The attorney-general of Nebraska, in his report to the governor, says that the present system of transportation is a total failure. He favors a law that would strike out all fictitious increase of capital stock of all railroads now in operation. He urges Government control of railroads, recommending the governor to bring the question before the Legislature, so that it could address a memorial to Congress and bring the question to an issue by foreclosing the lien of the Government on the Union Pacific Railroad Company. "Then," the attorney-general concludes, "if the experiment of operating this road was successful here, the means could be provided by the Government to take charge of of all other roads."

The Secretary of the Treasury has asked the House to appropriate \$25,000 for the Lighthouse Board, to enable it to pay duties upon imported articles used in the establishment of lighthouses. The Secretary writes in his letter:—

"The duty on the parts which are mostly of glass is 60 per cent, and on the parts made mostly of metal forty-five per cent. The fourth-order apparatus, the ones which are mostly used, cost, say, 10,000f. in France, or say, \$2,000, the duty upon which will be, say, half that amount. Certain other articles needed in the establishment of lighthouses, and not made in this country, are also imported, and are subject to duty under the new law. Free entry on articles imported for Government use is no longer allowed, and the appropriation will have to be made in order to enable the Government to pay duties to the Government."

The Northwest Cider and Cider-Vinegar Makers' Association have adopted resolutions requesting the several Legislature to enact

laws compelling manufacturers of vinegar to brand or label the package containing the same so as to indicate truthfully from what it was made; second, by allowing of no addition of coloring or flavoring matter to be added that would change the appearance of the same or deceive or mislead the purchaser or consumer; third, by appointing competent persons as inspectors and examiners, whose duty it shall be to test vinegar wherever found and confiscate the spurious.

British printers and publishers are moving actively against the new American Copyright Bill, and the trades-unions' fear is general that unless the British Government takes exceptional measures to protect the interests of its people the bulk of the printing and publishing business will be transferred to New York. The remedy suggested is to grant British copyright only to books printed in England.

The London County Council will introduce a bill in Parliament dealing with "sky signs." The bill provides that no more sky signs are to be put up, and that at the end of six years all the existing sky signs are to come down.

The British Government will not consent to any reciprocity treaty between Canada and the British West India islands unless the arrangement is made general in its application to all of the islands.

It is believed that the English Liberals have decided to drop the Irish Home Rule issue at the next general election and to make the contest on English measures alone.

The people of Newfoundland are indignant over the official announcement that the modus vivendi between England and France is to be continued. They protest against the Imperial Government managing their affairs without the assent of the Newfoundland parliament.

JUDICIAL.

A Catholic physician who had secured a divorce from his wife and married again was denounced from the pulpit by a priest who declared that he should not minister to any one in sickness who was attended by the excommunicated physician. The physician sued the priest for injuring his business, and obtained a judgment against him for damages. The case was carried to the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, and the Court sustained the verdict, saying in the opinion:—

"These words did not merely instruct the congregation that the effect of a second marriage under the circumstances which existed was to excommunicate the plaintiff from the Catholic Church, but they proceeded to impute against the plaintiff that -

such marriage or such excommunication should debar him from being employed as a physician in the parish, and that patients who employed the plaintiff as a physician could not in their sickness have the ministrations of the defendant as their priest. But the jury might well find that the plaintiff was a suitable person to be employed there as a physician, notwithstanding his marriage and its ecclesiastical consequences."

A San Francisco jury acquitted a woman for killing a man because he would not marry her before a priest. The woman's attorney had pleaded for her as a Christian girl victimized by a Jew, and in less than twenty minutes the jury found that she was justfied in killing him.

A peculiar omission in the criminal law was brought to the attention of Judge Andrews of the Supreme Court, recently, when the case of one John Cavanagh was taken up. Cavanagh had been brought into court on a writ of habeas corpus. It appeared that he had been in the Tombs since Oct. 19, and that the sections of the Criminal Code under which he was sent there contained no provision for his ever being released. Cavanagh was sent to the Tombs by a police justice, being unable to furnish a five-hundred-dollar bond to keep the peace. He was charged before the police justice with having threatened to assault his sister.

The sections of the Criminal Code relative to the case were laid before Judge Andrews by Cavanagh's counsel, and Judge Andrews, after examining them, agreed that, while there was adequate provision for the disposal of cases in which the bond was furnished, in cases where the bond was not furnished the person against whom the charge was made was taken as far as jail and there dropped, absolutely no provision being made for his getting out, unless he at some time furnished the bond.

Assistant District Attorney Grosse admitted that the law was harsh, and Judge Andrews discharged Cavanagh.

The Supreme Court of South Dakota, in an "original package" case, rendered a decision, of which the following is a synopsis:—

"The Court holds that, in order for the defendants to receive immunity under the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, they must show that they are foreign importers or the agents of a foreign importer; that as such agents they received an importation of beer or liquor from another State or foreign country; that they are selling their importation by the original unbroken

package in which it was imported, and that they are not making their house of business a tippling concern.

"The failure to establish any of these propositions makes a seller of intoxicating liquors amenable to the State law. The Court further holds that when bottles of whiskey or beer, each sealed up in a paper wrapper, and closely packed together in uncovered wooden boxes furnished by the importer, and these wooden boxes marked to the address of the agent and shipped from one State to another, the wooden boxes, and not the bottles, constitute the original package within the meaning of the decision of the Supreme Court. The Court finds that defendants have failed to establish these facts; the writ of error is denied and decision of the lower court sustained."

The last Michigan Legislature passed a bill which reduced railroad fares, fixing the basis of rates on the amount of passenger earnings per mile. A railroad company refused to comply with the provisions, claiming that the law was unconstitutional. A test case having been carried to the State Supreme Court, that body has unanimously decided that the law is valid.

A man was convicted on a charge of polygamy in Utah, the principal witness being his wife. The federal Supreme Court has just ordered a new trial, saying in its opinion:—

The question presented is not how much the wife feels or suffers, but whether the crime is one against her. Polygamy and adultery may be crimes which involve disloyalty to the marital relation, but they are rather crimes against such relations than against the wife; and as the statute under which the man was convicted speaks of crimes against her, it is simply an affirmation of the old common-law rule. We conclude, therefore, that under this statute the wife was an incompetent witness against her husband.

The last Michigan Legislature passed a law allowing the voter to cast one vote for each of the candidates for Representative, or as many votes for one as there were candidates on the ticket for that office. The Supreme Court has rendered a decision pronouncing this law unconstitutional. The Court says:—

"The Court can see no difference between a law which permits an elector to cast more than one vote for a candidate and the act of the person who stuffs the ballot-box with more votes for a particular candidate than there were electors voting for him. Both alike strike down the safeguards of the people, and are suppressive of a free representative government."

In the Queen's Bench Division, a gentleman recovered £85 from a landlord as damages in respect of expenses and loss incurred by reason of his having been induced to take a house at Forest Hill by a misrepresentation as to its sanitary condition. The plaintiff's family, after residing in the house, had been attacked with scarlatina and then with diphtheria, one of the children having died.

INDUSTRIAL.

In Evanston, Ill., fifty ladies who wish to dispense with their kitchen-girls, and solve the "problem of domestic service," have organized a Co-operative Housekeeping Association. The concern will serve three meals each day, or as many more as are desired, to the subscribers to the Association articles, and will also remove from each subscriber's house the dreaded inconvenience of a wash-day. The Association has temporary quarters at 711 Davis Street; a permanent building will be provided by May 1. The temporary building is a two-story-and-basement affair, and is fitted throughout with the most modern and complete kitchen and laundry utensils. The laundry departm nt is to be operated by persons thoroughly familiar with that branch of the housekeeping art. The kitchen is furnished with a massive and specially manufactured cooking-range and a number of small cooking-stoves, with ice-chest, steaming tables, and all that is needful. The plan of operation is this: The subscribers may order in advance the meals they choose to eat, and then the stuff is cooked at the general kitchen and served to the different houses in "Norwegian kitchens." A Norwegian kitchen is a galvanized iron box divided into four compartments, and capable of holding in an outer compartment enough hot water to keep a meal warm for three quarters of an hour. The laundry will be collected on different days and done up in the best style.

The Knights of Labor of New York will hold their annual State convention in Albany, on Jan. 13th. The circular calling the convention enumerates the following matters among those to be acted upon:—

- 1. The abolition of the contract-labor system in the prisons and reformatories of the State.
- 2. Against the employment of Pinkerton or any other system of armed hirelings by corporations or private parties in cases of strikes.
- 3. To amend the weekly pay law, so as to apply to all railroad corporations in the State.
- 4. That everything in our power shall be done to have the property of the State of New York, now

illegally held by the New York Central Railroad, returned to the State.

- 5. To demand the revocation or amendment of Sect. 168 of the penal code, which defines the conspiracy law.
- 6. To demand the abolition of the contract system on all State work.
- 7. To pass a law to prevent the bribery of State officers by railroad or other corporations by the giving of railroad passes to legislators or other State employees, and the sending of messages of legislators or other State officers free of charge by any telegraph company.
- 8. That all freight cars shall be supplied with automatic air-brakes and safety couplings.
- 9. That taxes shall be equalized.
- 10. To have a ten-hour surface railroad bill passed.
- 11. To demand a system of uniform text-books in the public schools throughout the State.
- 12. To bring about a reduction of the legal rate of interest.

The fifth annual report of the United States Commissioner of Labor shows that

"the number of railway corporations in the United States on the 30th of June, 1889, was approximately 1,718, and the mileage 156,400. The number of employees on all the railroads of the country at this date was 689,912, the 'trainmen' numbering 135,580; switchmen, flagmen, and watchmen, 31,896, and other employees, 522,436. Nearly six hundred of these roads are under twenty miles in length, the shortest road in the country being fourteen one-hundredths of a mile long.

"Three hundred and seventy-seven companies prohibit the use of intoxicating liquors on the roads under their control; twenty-five roads insist on employees living in houses furnished by the company; one hundred and forty-nine roads furnished dwellings to section hands, section masters, road-bed hands, trackmen, watchmen, etc., in remote places; nineteen roads are reported as maintaining beneficiary institutions, and twenty-one contribute to the support of outside hospitals.

"The report states that 64.9 per cent of railroad employees earn \$300 or less per annum, 8.3 per cent of the whole earn from \$301 to \$400, and 8.5 per cent \$401 to \$500. Thus, 81.7 per cent earn \$500 or less per annum."

In 1859, the Iron Moulders' Union of America was organized, having but a few local unions. There are now 250 locals and 28,000 members, of whom fully 20,000 are in benefit. There is a reserve fund at headquarters, that is never allowed to run below \$30,090, and the local treasuries have large sums at their command. The dues are twenty-five cents per month, the burial and strike benefits being taken from this fund. At the time the society was first organized \$12 per week was considered pretty good wages. At the present time \$2.75 per day can be obtained, and ten hours per day is the rule.

The manager of the Adams Express Company, of Jersey City, has given out the following order as an answer to a petition of the men under him for a reduction of hours: "Every man to be at his accustomed place and duty at 5.30 every morning, and remain there until the work is finished at night." Some of the employees are compelled to work till 11 o'clock at night, and they threaten to strike.

The Colorado Miners' Union has purchased land on which it intends to erect a miners' home, at the cost of \$80,000, for disabled and old miners.

The Massachusetts State grange adopted resolutions favoring State support and control of schools, demanding more equal taxation, protesting against appropriations by Congress for the irrigation of arid lands in the West, and opposing free coinage.

The Pennsylvania miners, at their last session, adopted a resolution that after Jan. 1 the price for mining coal shall be fifty cents per ton; also that the check weighman and other assessments shall be collected at the offices of the several companies. A refusal of the demands will probably mean the strike of the sixteen thousand miners represented by the convention.

At the November elections the Spokane County (Wash.) United Labor party, which was organized only about four weeks before the election, elected a superior judge, county auditor, and two county commissioners.

United States letter-carriers are asking to have their pay increased to \$1,200 per year in first-class cities and \$1,050 in second-class cities. They have a national organization numbering seventy-eight branches.

There is an almost entire cessation of freight traffic in Scotland, the railway employees' unions having ordered a general strike. Only a few passenger trains are running. Many of the signal boxes have been deserted, and where the signal men have remained, the signals are worked so as to be misleading, thus delaying trains in a dangerous manner.

The organizer of the Southampton Eng.) dock strike was sentenced to three months' imprisonment at hard labor for intimidation.

A very interesting labor struggle has been going on here for the past ten days. The struggle is really a preliminary trial of strength between the Shipping Federation and the Seamen's and Firemen's Union, and it may be the precursor of a gigantic strike or lockout next spring. Here are the facts of the case:—

On the 3d inst. the United Labor Council of the port of London issued a manifesto, accusing ship-owners of breaking the immemorial custom of engaging crews at specified shipping offices and compelling the men to sign articles on board ship. The accusation has not been disputed, nor do the chip-owners deny that their action was from the first directed against the unions. By engaging men aboard ship, and keeping them there after signing articles, the ship-owners have seriously hampered the operations of the union officials, who find it difficult to keep old members and impossible to obtain recruits. The union decided to limit the struggle as far as possible, the present time of year being unsuitable for strikes, and they therefore attacked only the three leading offenders - the Shaw, Savill and Albion, the British India, and the New Zealand lines, whose firemen and seamen were called out on Dec. 5. The coal laborers in the same service struck work in sympathy, and are still out. The three companies all belong to the Shipping Federation, and that powerful body at once took charge of the fight. It proves to be admirably organized, and up to the present has been victorious all along the line, the ships having been coaled, manned, and despatched with scarcely any delay. The unionists admit that they have been worsted so far, but they will keep the struggle alive until the spring, and then widen the area of battle. Both sides are preparing for the great fight, in which it is believed the existence of all trades-unions connected with shipping and docks will be involved. - London Cor. New York Sun.

The Government of Venezuela has sent a commissioner across the Atlantic to promote emigration from Germany and Italy to its territory by offering certain exceptional inducements. Farmers and farm laborers are especially needed, but craftsmen in various industries are also invited.

The English and Irish, railway unions have issued a joint manifesto asking all railway men not to assist the Scotch railway companies. "If the employers press them to help the companies," says the manifesto, "they must strike rather than comply."

According to official reports for the year 1889, the coal miners of Silesia received about fifty cents a day, the salt miners of Halle about seventy-five cents, and the coal miners of Dortmund less than seventy-five cents. In the Aixla-Chapelle district six thousand four hundred and eighty-nine coal miners received on an average seventy cents a day. The saddlers in the artillery workshop at Spandau for some time received from twenty-five to fifty cents a day. The average pay of book-binders (young and old) throughout Germany was, in 1887, sixty-six cents a day. In February, 1890, the coal miners at Zwickau, in Saxony, demanded eight-hour shifts and seventy-five cents a day, but the demand was considered unreasonable.

The workmen of Dundee, Scotland, have returned two of their candidates to the City Council, and have raised funds to pay them their regular wages for the term of three years, for which they are elected.

The coal-mining companies of Belgium have announced that after Dec. 30 there will be a general reduction in the wages of the miners. The Miners' Federation, in a proclamation, threatens a general strike unless Parliament comes to their rescue.

IN GENERAL.

To prevent concentration of operatives in Poland, the Russian Government has decided that manufactured goods sent from Poland to Russia shall pay 150 per cent more than goods consigned from Russia to Poland.

The opposition to legislative interference with the marriage laws and customs is growing among the Hindoos. The small section which would not resent government interference is composed of such as have ceased to profess Hindoolsm.

The first experiment with universal suffrage has been tried in Spain. The returns show that in forty out of the forty-nine Councils, the Conservatives have obtained a slight majority.

The Chicago Board of Education voted down the proposition, urged by many petitioners that extracts from the Bible should be read daily in the public schools. The Board does not think the practice would conduce to the general welfare of the schools. As a result of the Milwaukee mayor's crusade against "indecent" posters and lithographs, the managers of dramatic companies visiting that city have to undergo a censorship of their printing. The chief of police makes a personal inspection of all the printing before it is posted or distributed. Anything deemed objectionable is not permitted to go before the public.

The San Francisco Grand Jury's report states that the telegraph and electric wires have become a menace to life, and that an ordinance is needed to compel the adoption of the underground system. A provision is favored compelling the companies to consult the property owners in front of whose property poles are to be erected as to their preference with regard to the placing of the electric light or telegraph poles. It is further recommended in the report that in future railroad franchises should either pay a percentage of the income, or should be put up at auction to be taken by the highest bidder. No grants to be made for a longer term than twenty-five years. An enlargement of the powers of the Grand Jury permitting them to employ detectives to ferret out official wrong-doing is urged.

A Citizens Committee of Fifty has been formed in Philadelphia to secure good municipal government and purify elections and local politics generally.

The President of the Brooklyn (N. Y.) Board of Education says that there are 1,262 more seats in the Brooklyn schools than there are pupils, and 10,000 more seats than there are pupils in average attendance, and yet hundreds of children are unable to get into the schools, the surplusage being rendered unavallable by the distance from the points of need. But new schools are being erected very rapidly, and additional funds will be asked for.

The houses for workmen which the German government purposes to build in Berlin will cost \$1,000 each. They will be purchasable on easy terms. A deposit of \$75 will be required and weekly payments of \$1.25.

The co-operative societies of Great Britain number over 900,000 members. For the year 1889 their sales were \$183,500,000, and their profits \$17,000,000.

Ten thousand francs recently left by will to the Archbishop of Paris was intercepted by the government and given to the relatives of the testator.

CLIPPINGS.

In view of the recent legislation for the protection of our "infant industries," the following extract from a well-known writer may be interesting, as well as instructive. "Here, then, is a country in which there was not a settler two hundred and eighty years ago; and now (1889) it has over one sixth of the wealth of the world. It has territory sufficient to accommodate almost any number of people, and the people who inhabit it are, to say the least, as active, as intelligent, and as civilized as any in the world. The sunlight, as it passes every day from the Atlantic to the Pacific, wakes a population of 60,000,000, whose workers labor very hard. They already do one third of all the mining in the world, one fourth of all the manufacturing, and one fifth of all the agriculture. Every night they are stronger by a regiment of fighting men, and richer by two millions of dollars, than the night before. 'It would be impossible,' says Mr. Mulhall, in 1882, 'to find in history a parallel to the progress of the United States in the last ten years." -Alexander Johnston, "A History of the United States for Schools," page 408.

The Texas Lasso, published in Stonewall County, contains advertisements citing some two hundred and thirty defendants to answer in as many cases filed in Stonewall District Court by L. S. Ross, trustee for the State School Fund. The real defendants all appear to be assignees or vendees of purchases of school lands who have for a long term of years failed to pay interest on the purchases. Four or five of the present owners seem to have purchased over one half these lands from the original purchasers - the alleged actual settlers. It appears that the State, through the governor, sues for about \$65,000 defaulted interest, and to foreclose the lien upon the land for some \$165,000 unpaid principal. The General Land Office, it is understood, is preparing the statements upon which like suits, involving probably \$1,000,000, are to be instituted. It appears that 175,000 acres of school lands in Stonewall County are held by some half dozen non-residents, upon no more tangible title than options under the Land law of 1881, which were obtained, no doubt, by purchase, at nominal prices, of the original purchasers' titles. These purchases were made at one dollar an acre, mainly from March, 1882, to March, 1883, by the payment of one twentieth of the principal and one year's interest. During the intervening seven or eight years, the State has permitted these claimants to hold the land on speculation, in the meantime advancing the price of contiguous school lands to two dollars an acre, thus aiding speculators in making sales. Since March, 1883, except in a few instances, no interest has been paid, and it is reported from the General Land Office that 1,000,000 acres more are in the same situation. If to this be added the millions of acres upon which the seven section speculators, under the act of 1883, have defaulted, and the other millions upon which they have kept the interest paid up, some idea may be formed of the extent of the speculation in school lands promoted and sustained by the State in the capacity of landlord. — Galveston News.

The Missouri Legislature has not, within the memory of men now living, passed a criminal law that was not intended to shield criminals and make crime more difficult of punishment. At its last session it enacted a law on the subject of change of venue, compelling the courts to grant a change on the affidavit of any two persons to the effect that there is prejudice against the defendant on the part of the Court or the community. Before this a change of venue could only be obtained by asserting prejudice, and proving it to the satisfaction of the Court. Under the new law ex-State Treasurer Boland has taken his case to an almost inaccessible county, where it will be almost impossible for the State's witnesses to attend. This is only one of many illustrations that might be given to show the pernicious character of the changes that are constantly being made in the criminal laws of the State. In almost every case the work has been done by some country attorney who, having a bad case on his hands, gets himself elected to the Legislature and slips a law through almost unobserved for the benefit of his client. - St. Louis Globe-Democrat.

Dr. George M. Gould, in a recent number of the "Medical News," attacks the wholesale pauperizing of the community by the hospitals and dispensaries which dispense free medical relief. Dr. Gould naturally enlarges upon the injury done the medical profession, whose younger members, to say nothing of its older members, are deprived of their just wage. But even Dr. Gould seems hardly aware how completely the laboring community is pauperized. In spite of the objection to hospitals and the aversion to being treated in them, which is often met, particularly in the case of city hospitals, there are great classes who never make any provision for illness, and trust altegether to the hospital. This tendency steadily increases, and, while the practice is now limited to the unmarried, it cannot be long before the married poor will look to the hospital as a very present help in trouble, against which they should have protected themselves by prudent and careful savings. - Philadelphia Press.

The facts all around are sufficiently critical to call for the most careful legislation in monetary matters just now. Many of those who take part in it are not skilled financiers. They know nothing about the past, and care less for it. Present advantage, without much regard for ultimate consequences, seems to be the guiding star of our statesmen. The difficulties of the Argentines ought to be a warning to our people. But for all that, in more lines than one, there is disposition in some quarters to follow in their footsteps. The strong common-sense of the country is quite sure, however, to assert itself in time. Our resources, when properly handled, render a set-back impossible.—San Francisco Bulletin (Ind.).

TO-DAY, JAN. 1, 1891.

A record of the facts and considerations which show that Individual Liberty is good for the people of the United States, and that, therefore, Legislative Regulation is injurious for them.

J. MOBRISON-FULLER, WALTER C. ROSE, Editors.

Theory Yo. Practice. If there is one thing more than another that the members of labor unions and farmer organizations abhor and condemn, it is the formation of trusts and the practices of the capitalists who create "corners" in commodities. That labor unions are virtually "trusts" aiming at creating "corners" in labor has often been pointed out. But it remained for the Illinois Farmers' Mutual Benefit Association to furnish a striking exemplification of this truth. Here is one of the resolutions adopted by that body at its recent annual meeting:—

"Believing that the farmers' products are far below the average cost of production, and believing that the agriculturists can, through their organizations, control the markets; therefore, be it

"Resolved. That it is the sense of this meeting that the State and national organizations of the Farmers' Mutual Benefit Association, Grange, and Alliance be requested to fix the day and date for taking all cattle, hogs, and grain off the market in this month for twenty days."

Is not this equivalent to a proposition to produce an artificial scarcity of cattle, hogs and grain? Yet these very farmers demand stringent legislation against trusts and corners. The only remedy against corners and objectionable combinations, of labor as well as capital, is free competition,—the cessation of State interference with industrial and commercial relations.

Speaking of municipal affairs brings to mind our Nationalistic friends. It is a matter of doubt whether they are totally incapable of learning from experience, or whether they would carry homœopathy into Government, and teach us that like cures like even there. Not content with seeing public trust abused, heeding not the fact that neither municipal nor legislative bodies yet exist that are capable of fulfilling their duties wisely or well, these hot-headed reformers still persist in demanding more power for Government.

The work they have laid out in Massachusetts during the coming session of its Legislature is a fair sample of their demands.

The Legislature is to be urged, and entreated, yea, implored, to grant cities and towns the right to manufacture and sell gas and electricity for lighting purposes, to make attendance at school compulsory upon children up to seventeen years of age, and to introduce manual training into the public schools. Fearing, apparently, to seem too modest, they will petition still further-for a law "to permit cities to take land in sections which have been rendered undesirable for habitation, either by the bad sanitary conditions of the site or by improper methods of building, to put these localities in proper sanitary condition, and to erect thereon suitable dwellings, to be let at a rental equal to an adequate interest on the outlay."

It needs but a glance at the present cost of electric street lights in Boston to show the utter absurdity of allowing the city to manufacture electricity for lighting purposes. Boston is now paying an annual rate of \$180 per light, while Yonkers, N. Y., is paying \$60, and the city of New York, with its curse of Tammany Hall, only \$90 for the same article. To suppose that a city government which can make no better bargain than these prices indicate would deal any more honestly or economically if given more authority, is an example of invincible stupidity which really deserves to become famous through the ages.

And, then, the idea of allowing a city to purchase and improve land as set forth in the petition! Does it occur to any of our readers what an excellent opportunity for speculators such a demand, if granted, would afford? What a grand chance for holders of such property! It would only be necessary to "stand in with the gang," divide the profits, perhaps, and behold! the city has assumed another burden, and the former land-poor owner has filled his purse, that he may buy more of the same kind. The taxpayers would be obliged to add only a little more to their present burden; the ward politician would get his usual consideration, and the wheels of government would spin on merrier than ever. By all means, let the good work go on. "'T is a consummation devoutly to be wished."

The Tariff Commission which to Do It. is to be established for the benefit of the too-busy and too-ignorant Congressmen has been referred to in this paper. Now comes a proposition to establish

a "monetary commission" to study the currency problem and make suggestions to Congress. The Treasury officials, it appears, are pleased with the proposition, while the mem-Bers of Congress are reticent and doubtful. Yet it cannot be doubted that the financial questions with which Congress seems to feel called upon to meddle unceasingly are more complex and involved than those entering into the tariff issue. If Congress needs a Tariff commission it certainly cannot get along without a monetary commission. But the real question is whether it is right and proper for Congress to appoint such commissions and to hire teachers for themselves with the public funds. Referring to Pennsylvania affairs, the Philadelphia Press says: -

"Senator Robbins has taken a very sensible position against the growing tendency of the Legislature to throw some of its most important duties into the hands of commissions, through which almost nothing has been accomplished. This is particularly true regarding revenue questions, and the State has been put to a great deal of expense on account of commissions whose work has never come to anything.

"One of the worst features of the commission business is the ready and easy opportunity thus given the Legislature to shirk responsibilities and duties which belong only to it. . . . The presumption has been, and is, that the Legislature was created to legislate and meet these questions. It is composed of men in every walk of life, and coming from every part of the State. If they do not know what is wanted, then the people have made an unpardonable mistake in sending them to do the work. It is as grotesque as it is weak to elect men to do certain things which they must ultimately confess they are incompetent to, or do not care to take the responsibility for, and so turn them over to commissions to struggle with and present to another Legislature to ignore. That policy has done nothing heretofore but consume time and waste money."

What the *Press* says with reference to State Legislatures applies, of course, with still greater force to Congress. The fact that commissions are appointed must be taken to argue either that Congressmen are too absorbed in private affairs and political intrigues to be in a position to devote time to the study of the relations and factors they seek to regulate and control, or that they are too ignorant and dull-headed to derive any benefit from such study. In either case, they are unfit for the parts they assume.

And then there is another consideration: It is absurd to think that the commissions can

ever accomplish any useful result. The questions which they are appointed to "investigate" are usually questions on which hundreds of volumes have been written by specialists and trained intellects: can the commission settle that which such superior bodies - superior in every respect - competency, numbers, conditions - have left unsettled? Plainly, these commissions are as useless as they are improper. There is only one thing which Congressmen might do without any trouble to themselves and expense and other costs to the people, and that is, to cultivate the science of "how not to do it." Let them learn to let alone the things which are Runic enigmas to them; large as the number of such things may turn out to be, the people will be grateful for "masterly inactivity."

Among the more moderate Profit schemes for improving the rela-Sharing. tions between employers and employed, one of the most praiseworthy, and apparently the most feasible, is profit sharing, or industrial partnership. To the Socialist, deeply impressed with the evil, the injustice, as he calls it, of the present order, the plan seems totally inadequate; but things which at first seem very small frequently produce great results, and it may be that profit sharing is destined to extricate the industrial world from its present difficulties, and thus deliver us from the danger of falling irretrievably into the insanities of socialism.

Mr. Nicholas Paine Gilman, author of perhaps the best book which has been written on the subject, has lately issued A Word to the Employer, in which he strongly calls attention to the matter on the part of those who manage industrial enterprises. First, industrial partnership or profit sharing is distinguished from co-operative production, by the fact that, in the former, the workmen have no voice in the management and do not share the losses if there are any; it is an industrial and not a commercial partnership. The workman does his best in his own department, stimulated by the hope of the bonus he will receive if the profits of the year are large; but has no access to the accounts, and the employer retains absolute control of the business. A superficial argument has been urged against the scheme, that the workman should, in fairness, share the losses as

well as the profits; but that this objection is only superficial is easily seen. Profits depend upon skill in management no less than upon the faithfulness with which the mechanical labor is performed. If the workman performs his work well, that is all that can be expected of him, and he certainly should not be held responsible for errors of management.

The chief advantage to be hoped from the scheme is the promotion of more cordial relations between capitalists and laborers. It is doubtful whether wages would be raised much by it; workmen can probably be hired for a smaller rate of pay if they have a chance for a bonus at the end of the year. But they would have an interest in the business as well as the owners, and this would tend to diminish the antagonism between the two classes. If laborers see that they are getting as much as their employers can afford to pay, they will be much more likely to be content. Moreover, as it is for their interest that the product for the year shall be as large and of as good quality as possible, if their proportionate shares of the product is no larger than now, the absolute amount they receive may be larger.

The two reasons why profit sharing has not had a wider extension have been stated by Mr. Francis A. Walker. They are: "First, the indifference of employers, content with such profits as they can win under the old wage system; and second, the indifference of the working classes themselves to what seem to them to be the comparatively small gains of profit sharing." To these might perhaps be added as a reason that the imagination of the workmen is filled with more dazzling schemes of Socialists, by which they hope to obtain eventually nearly the whole product. Nevertheless, the method of profit sharing has won many adherents in America. Among the firms mentioned by Mr. Gilman as employing the method, are the Pillsbury flour mills, the Springfield foundry, the Ara Cushman Boot and Shoe Company, the Globe Tobacco Company, the Yale and Towne Lock Company, the Century Magazine Company, and the Riverside Press. "Their names are enough to show that no employer of labor should any longer risk his reputation for common sense by calling industrial partnership impossible, as the fashion has been." A system followed by so many firms of such character must have some soundness in it to recommend it.

The recent revolt in Honduras A Mild View illustrates anew that change that is taking place in the treatment of offences against the majesty of the State. Formerly treason was regarded as one of the most heinous crimes, and the severest penalties were inflicted for its commission. In pardoning the two sons of Gen. Sanchez, the leader of the revolt, President Bogran used the following remarkable language:—

"They were faithful to their father, even in the error which he expiated with his own hand. I do not believe they should be punished for being true to a duty even higher than patriotism. . . . Wrath can add no new terror, no greater disgrace, to treason. The killing of traitors in cold blood, even by process of law, is not necessary to the safety of society. It can give no grace or glory to the sovereignty of the people."

The revolt in question was not of sufficient magnitude seriously to shake the power of the government; still, fighting and bloodshed were required in order to quell it. The words of the president may not represent accurately the sentiment of the country; but if this feeling had been very strongly opposed to him in the matter he would have been obliged to take a different course. The case calls to mind the course persued by this country at the close of the Civil War; though here, as was natural after four years of severe fighting, there was a good deal of sentiment in favor of executing some of the leaders. It may be remarked that both these cases occurred in republics. It is probable that, aside from the greater gentleness that characterizes the modern spirit, governments of the people are more inclined than others to treat leniently crimes directly aiming at their subversion.

The words of President Bogran in italics call to mind by contrast the resolution of the Illinois Woman's Alliance, recorded in To-DAY last week:—

"The State which reserves the right to place its citizens at the cannon's mouth in its defence has the right to establish a minimum standard of education for its preservation, and to appoint officers to see that all schools come up to that standard."

The resolution is interesting because it is typical of a thought, or lack of thought, very rife among us at present. Instead of speaking of the king's highway, the king's peace, the king's subjects, we fall down in adoration before that mysterious and abstract entity, the

STATE. By reasoning similar to the above, it may be shown that the State has the right to prescribe to the citizen what he shall eat, what he shall drink, wherewithal he shall be clothed, what his occupation shall be, to what religion he shall give his allegiance, at least in outward observance - in short, that the citizen belongs wholly to the State and not at all to himself. Rights of course imply duties, and so far has this sort of reasoning been carried that it is thought by a large number to be the duty of the State to provide for the citizen food to eat, a place to sleep, tasks to perform, as well as lessons to be learned. But it is only when the question is kept in the abstract that such a belief can be entertained. As soon as it is brought down to a personal test, as soon as any man interrogates his own consciousness, he is aware that he has no real claim upon the State for food, or shelter, or work, and that the State has no right to say how long he shall work, or on what days, or to compel him to send his children to school. Very little selfexamination is enough to show almost any one that the individual has certain rights which the State ought not to transgress, and the President of Honduras is right in asserting that the family has claims which must take precedence of the claims of the State. .

British printers and publishers British Ingratitude, are disturbed by the passage of the American Copyright Bill, fearing that the result will be to transfer the bulk of Euglish printing and publishing from London to New York. The Lancet, as quoted in the New York Sun, says: "The Americans have long practised and reduced to a system the art of literary piracy. The bill is the fetich of protection under a new guise, and no complaint need be made if the gift is accepted by us without any feeling of goodwill." There can be little doubt that Congress in passing this bill acted entirely from "patriotic" motives, and that justice to foreign authors was the least of the motives which influenced it. Indeed, there is a widespread belief that no wrong is done a foreign author by stealing his works. The most prominent exponent of this idea is Mr. James Russell Lowell.

"The only thing that divides us on the ques-

tion of copyright seems to be a question as to how much property there is in books; but that is a question we may be well content to waive till we have decided that there is any property at all in them. I think that, in order that the two sides may come together, nothing more is necessary than that both should understand clearly that property, whether in books, in land, or in anything else, is artificial, that it is purely a creature of law, and, more than that, of local and municipal law."

On this view, the terms literary theft and piracy are merely metaphorical expressions, which cannot properly be applied to the course we have pursued in reprinting foreign books. If foreign authors have no right of property in their works here till we give it to them by law, then the American reprinter cannot possibly violate any right of theirs in appropriating their works. Any rights we permit them are a pure gift, and they have no just ground of complaint if no gift is bestowed upon them. Whether, then, we shall accord them any rights will depend chiefly upon whether we think it profitable to do so. So, as might have been expected, the arguments brought forward in Congress in favor of the present bill and those urged by the American Copyright League and other societies with a like object, aimed chiefly to show that the measure would be expedient. The Lancet is right in regarding the measure as protective in spirit. What was said to give the impression that it would not make books in general any dearer was very ingenious, and one of the chief arguments was that it did not apply to books already in existence.

Still, even taking the other view, that what is called literary piracy is really wrong, the severity of British comment upon the bill seems uncalled for. That we should, albeit tardily and from selfish motives, accord some measure of justice to foreign authors does not seem to warrant such a degree of abuse. And even if it is more advantageous to England that we should act unjustly than justly in this matter, she is not really wronged by our taking the latter course. The case recalls her course during our Civil War. Before 1861, no censure of this country for permitting slavery was too severe in the eyes of a Briton. But when we were engaged in the struggle to abolish the practice, England's sympathies were with the side that supplied her with cotton.

INDIVIDUALISM AND ANARCHISM.

A correspondent writes: -

"A great many find it very difficult to see other than minor differences between Anarchism and Individualism, which a little clear reasoning on both sides ought to dispose of. The great basic principles are the same; the ultimatum is the same: it is upon the question of means that they do not agree.

"Instance a difference: The Individualists insist that where it is necessary to the existence of a community to defend itself from its antagonists the majority of the community may coerce the minority, forcing them to help in the defence. They reason that the liberty of the community is necessary to the liberty of the individual, and that to preserve the liberty of the whole, coercion of the part is legitimate. To use a short phrase: If they have to either sit upon or be sat upon, they much prefer to be seated. But the Anarchists object to this. In case a community was in danger from external enemies, they would still insist that it was the right of the individual members of the community to rally to its defence or not as they pleased. In either case, it would be the effective majority, as Wordsworth Donisthorpe would say, which would survive. If in a community the minority found that by joining the invaders the whole would form an effective majority, it is obvious that they would not submit to coercion. The fact that they do not rally to the defence of the community shows that it is not to their interest to have it survive.

"The Anarchistic plan would be to let each individual act for himself. They claim that this would lead to a natural grouping, purely voluntary, of those whose interests were in common, for their mutual benefit and defence. It follows, of course, that the community which was best adapted to its environment would survive. While the Individualists claim that coercion is legitimate when necessary to sustain the life of the community, the Anarchists say that if the community cannot live without coercion then it should give place to one that can. The Anarchistic idea seems to me the more natural, — a free fight for survival, the Individualistic ideal nvolving the artificial barrier of coercion."

The criterion suggested, namely, which of the two courses tends most to further survival of the society? must be regarded as the fundamental one. Now in a military contest between two nations there can be little doubt that, other things equal, the nation which acts most completely as a unit will be the one to survive. There are in history instances enough to make this morally certain. The question then resolves itself into whether a certain amount of internal coercion will not tend to make a nation act as a unit, and on this point the answer of the past seems conclusive. The very extensive experience which the world has had in war shows that an army

can be held together by inflicting very severe punishment for desertion, while an army in which desertion was permitted would suffer greatly from the practice. Similarly, the army must be supported - if fighting on its own territory, wholly, and if on a foreign territory, partly - by the rest of the nation; and in an extreme case it may be necessary to coerce a large part of the nation into contributing. An army dependent for its subsistence upon voluntary contributions would be in a precarious position. If, then, our correspondent's criterion as to what is justifiable be adopted, there seems no escape from the conclusion that, in so far as the activities of a vation are militant, a considerable degree of coercion is absolutely essential. If the nature of men were different, if there were a much greater repugnance to submitting to coercion, any attempt at exercising coercion would defeat its own ends by reason of the resistance which it would excite. It may be that in the future the nature of men will be so changed that any considerable amount of coercion will be impracticable; when we consider how large a part of the human race has lived in slavery almost up to the present time, such a hope hardly appears visionary; certainly Individualists would rejoice at such a change hardly less than Anarchists.

But in order that the nature of men may change it is necessary that their pursuits change. There is, in the course of time, an adaptation established between feelings and activities, and as long as war continues to be one of the chief occupations of men the readiness to submit to coercion, which is essential to carrying on war, will continue. It may be said that war is no longer the chief business with civilized nations, that men's occupations have changed earlier than their natures; and this is true. But the change of nature will follow; that is, provided that the new occupations are such as do not require submission to coercion for carrying them on successfully.

This is really the great question of the present, and in answering it Anarchists and Individualists are at one. Happily a great multitude who do not call themselves either Anarchists or Individualists unite with these in giving what every one who has not the soul of a slave must hope is the correct answer. Undoubtedly industry can be carried on by means of political organization — a system implying authority on the one side and sub-

ordination on the other. In fact this is the only way in which industry has been carried on almost up to the present day. Certain persons with socialistic leanings, who perceive that organization of some kind is necessary, and are not aware that any kind of organization other than political is possible, are in favor of bringing all industry under the control of the State. A comparison of industries under the management of the Government with those under private management is enough to show which of the two methods is the true one. Not only is the latter conspicuous for its greater efficiency, but the indirect evils of the other are no less conspicuous. The Government transports mail matter almost as rapidly and at not much greater expense than private companies would charge for the same service; but for the increased corruption which exists among us, because the Government carries the mail, there is no compensating advantage.

There is still another consideration to encourage those who hope to see industry carried on by an organization better fitted for it than the political organization. Men have tasted of freedom in industry, and they will never again be contented with slavery. They may for a time go back, but as soon as they feel what many are unable to see — that State control of industry means arbitrary control of the individual — progress along the right road will begin again.

BOOKS.

Principles of Political Economy. By Arthur Latham Perry, LL. D. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1891.

The Veto Power. Its Origin, Development, and Function in the Government of the United States. By Edward Campbell Mason. Boston: Ginn & Co. 1890.

Just a quarter of a century has elapsed since Prof. Perry published his first work on the subject of the present volume. Two points are noteworthy in this, as in former works: the first is the author's discarding the use of the word "wealth," though what serious objection there could be to using it as synonomous with "objects of value," except that arising from the associations of the word and its former employment in a vague and unscientific sence, does not appear.

The other point - of much more importanceis the prominence given the proposition, every sale is a purchase, every purchase a sale; or, as the author puts it, A market for Products is products in Market. No writer has analyzed more thoroughly the transactions buying and selling. The influence of trade, and especially of foreign trade, upon the development of national intelligence is also traced very fully. "Trade is usually, if not always, the initial step in the mental development of individuals, and nations." The articles exchanged must be compared, and their values, or at any rate their respective desirability, estimated. The advancement of intelligence proceeds in nearly all cases by making more and more exact quantitative comparisons. Prof. Perry seeks by this fact to vindicate trade from the charge that it tends to materialism; but, inasmuch as materialism is itself a habit of thought, the vindication cannot be regarded as perfect.

The most interesting chapters are those on Foreign Trade and Taxation, though the one on Value is perhaps the most original. In dealing with taxation, the author quotes some statistics from Sir Richard Temple, which differ from those commonly received in this country. According to these, the average yearly earnings per capita of different countries are as follows:—

Great Britain	and	Irela	ınd		\$ 171	28
Continent of	Eur	оре			87	82
Canada .					126	80
Australia .					190	20
United States					132	36

"According to the same unimpeachable authority in the same paper, the annual income from investments is, in Great Britain and the United States, as nearly as possible one seventh of the aggregate property in each (all kinds), or fourteen per cent. In Canada and Australia eighteen and twenty-two per cent respectively. Undoubtedly the most profitable country at present is Australia, and Great Britain stands next. The only apparent reason why the United States, whose natural resources of every kind are vastly superior to either, takes the third rank is, that profitable exchanges are forcefully suppressed by law, and that to an enormous extent, neutralizing natural resources and glorious opportunities for easily acquired and widespread gains. This violent suppression of commerce by national legislation makes it just so much the harder for any man to pay his taxes, whether these be due to Nation, State, or Municipality. If the reservoir be diminished, the flow from it through every pipe becomes feebler."

This book was written, Prof. Perry tells us, partly "to leave behind me one book . . . devoted

exclusively to the principles of the Science, using history only incidentally to illustrate each topic as it came under review," and partly "to provide for myself a fresh text-book to teach from." It seems to us that not any one work can serve adequately as a text-book for instruction as advanced as this contemplates; but for the general reader the present volume will prove valuable. There is always something attractive in the fresh handling of a subject by one who has devoted his life to it; and this book will, we think, prove readable and interesting to those who wish to attain a knowledge of the subject. Just at this time sound economic teaching is needed, and it is to be hoped that many are ready to receive it.

Mr. Mason's study of the Veto Power forms the first of a series of historical monographs by instructors in Harvard University. The next promised is an Introduction to the Study of Federal Government, by Prof. A. B. Hart. Mr. Mason traces the origin of the veto power to the German tribes in the time of Tacitus; though, as it was known to the Romans, there seems no reason why it should not be traced to them, except that we did not derive it from them, and did derive it from the Germans.

About a third of the book is taken up with a descriptive list of all the measures vetoed since the foundation of the Government. From this list it appears that there had been, in all, four hundred and thirty-three vetoes up to March 2, 1889. Except during Johnson's administration, the number of measures passed over a veto has been very small. When we consider the vast number of bad bills that have got through Congress, it seems a pity that the veto power has not been exercised much more freely.

Mr. Mason's classification and statement of facts are admirable, and his discussions of questions connected with his subject judicious. On the nature of the veto power, he takes the only sane view, - that it is a legislative power. How the opposite idea could ever have arisen is a marvel; yet Dr. Von Holst holds that the veto is not a part of legislative power, because all legislative power is vested by the Constitution in Congress. The reason is worthy of a German metaphysician. To be sure, the veto is, in intention, a purely negative power, equivalent to one sixth the votes of each House, and has always been so used. It might, however, be used so as to secure positive legislation by means of making a bargain. For instance, it is conceivable that President Harrison might, by agreeing to sign a certain financial measure, secure the passage of the Force Bill.

This is, we believe, the only treatise on the

subject, and is a very complete one. The most interesting chapter is the sixth, on the "Political Development of the Veto Power." "The veto power has not followed the course marked out for it by the Federal Convention, but has worked out for itself a path different both in direction and extent from that prophesied. . . . The difference between the veto in 1789 and in 1889 is not a difference in nature but in exercise. Then it was used sparingly and in a cumbrous manner as a weapon of Constitutional warfare; to-day it is used frequently and easily as a means of preventing mistakes in the administration of the business of the Government."

POLITICS IN THE MAGAZINES.

THE ARENA (January). Mr. Wilbur Larremore, in writing of Popular Leaders, pays a glowing tribute to Grover Cleveland. Indeed, the writer's devotion to the noted Ex-President carries him to the extreme of comparing Cleveland with Gladstone and Lincoln. If such a comparison voiced the true popular feeling, surely Mr. Cleveland could feel that ambition had been fairly well satisfied. The article in reality is a good statement of the most prominent features of Mr. Cleveland's political career, his character as a public man, and his claims upon national favor to be classed as a statesman of the first rank. It acknowledges that there is some truth in the statement so often made, that happy chance has contributed at times to Mr. Cleveland's advancement, but argues that this has been true of almost all great men, citing Lincoln as a notable example.

A NEW DECLARATION OF RIGHTS, by Hamlin Garland, treats quite at length of the ideas and tenets of the followers of Henry George in his "Single Tax" theories. According to Mr. Garland, single tax equals liberty. "We mean by liberty, perfect freedom of action, so long as the equal rights of others are maintained.... We are individualists, mainly. . . . We believe in fewer laws, and juster interpretations thereof. We believe in less interference with individual liberty, less protection of the rapacious demands of the few, and more freedom of action on the part of the many. . . . There will never be so much paternalism again." All this is certainly encouraging. If only single tax could be trusted to make these beliefs realities, possibly the great teacher of single-tax doctrine might make rapid additions to his list of followers. By far the most comforting sentence which the article contains is the assurance that "The age of socialism is not coming on, but departing."

May Mr. Garland prove a true prophet, instead of a Greely.

It is further stated that single tax is not a fiscal reform only. "Beginning on the solid earth, it mounts through Free Trade, Free Production, Free Land, Free Men, to the highest conception of truth and right." "As fiscal reformers we denounce the present system of taxation as cumbrous, inexpedient, unequal, unjust, and iniquitous." These and other declarations of principles, with arguments in support thereof, constitute the main part of the article; but it would have been far more interesting to the average reader if the writer's too frequent indulgence in gush could have been omitted. When seeking facts, one does not enjoy so much Fourth of July sentiment.

Briefly, but quite to the point, Mr. E. D. Stark endeavors to answer the numerous fallacies, which, in his opinion, are now much too current in financial circles in regard to Silver Coinage. Stability in value is the excellence most to be desired in money of whatever kind. Silver, he maintains, has been more stable than gold; and he loses all patience with those so befogged in intellect as to wish us to believe that there is no proof that gold has increased in value since 1873, while in reality it has increased from forty to fifty per cent. The true meaning of value is not generally understood. "The value of a thing is unthinkable except as some other thing is implied in the terms of which, or by reference to which, its value is to be estimated." In conclusion, Mr. Stark summarizes his views, and his reasons for his advocacy of free coinage as follows: -

"I hold constancy in value to be the desideratum in monetary legislation. Constancy in the value of money is precisely the same fact as stability in the general range of prices."

"The great fall of prices in gold-standard countries is proof that money constituted on it alone is unstable, and therefore bad money, from the standpoint of statesmanship. Normal prices in silver-standard countries prove the superiority of silver money for the equities and beneficiencies of business. If our money were all brought to equivalence with silver bullion, as it would be by free coinage, and gold itself again anchored to silver, the superior valuing metal, and compelled to come down to a ratio of 1.16 with it, on peril of dismissal from the valuing office in our commerce (though restraining its minting right at that ratio), our money would be more honest and efficient, both in its office of measuring goods for transfer and as a mode of loanable capital, - which is the free-coinage argument in a nutshell."

POPULAR SCIENCE MONTHLY (January).—
The series of articles on American Industries since Columbus, begun in the December number, is continued. This number deals with Iron Mills and Puddling Furnaces, and is written by Wm. F. Durfee, Engineer. The excellence of the series as judged by the first number is in no way diminished by this second instalment.

Prof. Amos N. Currier furnishes some interesting facts on The Decline of Rural New England which are well worth considering. He considers the outlook for the rural districts very unsatisfactory. The land is held in fewer hands, and rented out from year to year; many farms are without resident cultivators; the area of cultivated land is decreasing, and the land growing poor; while the colleges and town schools have as a rule improved, the educational facilities in the rural districts have decreased.

Country churches also "have dwindled into insignificance, or have been blotted out altogether." And as a crowing effect of all these deteriorating influences, "there is a decline in public spirit, and a visible growing away from the pure democracy characteristic of primitive New England."

THE NINETERNTH CENTURY for December contains two articles of political interest: one by Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, Shall we Americanize our Institutions?; and England and the McKinley Bill: The Trade League against England, by Mr. Louis J. Jennings, M. P.

Mr. Chamberlain looks with some favor upon the drastic measures adopted in the House of Representatives last winter for cutting off debate.

"No serious purpose, no national object, is served by these discussions, which really prevent careful examination of the estimates and criticism of the policy on which they are based. The experts and economists who might bring real knowledge to the consideration of the question, retire disheartened from a discussion which is being carried on for factious purposes. The House is wearied by the irrelevance of speeches and the ignorance of speakers, with no special acquaintance with their subject, and the whole debate degenerates into a physical contest of endurance between the overworked Ministers on one side and the free lances of the Opposition on the other."

Mr. Jennings sees, in the McKinley Act, in the "efforts which are being made by Mr. Blaine to bring the South American States and Canada into a commercial federation with the Republic," in the "Retaliation Act," and in a variety of other measures, indications of a great league against the commercial interests of Great Britain. It really is not surprising that foreign observers should be misled by the appeals to ignorance made by leaders of the dominant party, and particularly by the President in his Message, by which the impression is sought to be conveyed that the spirit of our national policy is to benefit ourselves at the expense of other nations, instead of, as is really the case, benefiting certain classes of our citizens at the expense of the rest. Mr. Jennings is inclined to urge upon his country the policy of fighting fire with fire; though how England would get any advantage from voluntarily restricting her trade still further, when, by his own admission, the chief injury the McKinley Act can do her is to diminish her trade, he does not explain very clearly. He looks with longing towards a customs union - a sort of reciprocity - between England and her colonies. Inasmuch as most of the colonies interpose customs barriers between themselves and the mother country, this might be a good thing for the latter, unless she had to relinquish more trade in one direction than she gained in the other.

In the Fortnightly Review for December, Mr. W. R. Lawson speaks of the recent Averted Crash in the City. Severe censure is visited upon the financial conduct of the Barings, but little is said as to the general fact that the failure of a single house was able to shake the financial system of a whole country, and, one might almost say, of the world. In the same magazine, Mr. H. J. Wilson discusses English Bankers and the Bank of England Reserve. The late crisis has caused questioning as to the integrity of the English banking system. Since, in time of need, aid was received from the Bank of France, some have been disposed to contrast favorably the French with the English system.

The Bank of France "endured the devastation produced by the 'copper crash,' and the foundering of the Comptoir d'Escompte, without once putting its rate of interest above four and one half per cent." Moreover, "in England the small trader rarely or ever obtains the use of bankers' capital for less than five per cent, and in times like the present he pays six, seven, or even eight per cent. All the time the Bank of France is discounting to its humbler customers throughout the Republic at three per cent, or a little more." The chief explanation of this is, that the Bank of France is much more of a State institution than the Bank of England. "It is not only the supreme dispenser of credit; it is the sole issuer of bank notes." Nevertheiess, there are grave disadvantages in the French system; its adoption by England would necessarily involve surrendering the absolute convertibility of the bank-note into gold. "It cannot be too often reiterated that London is the bankers' clearing-house of the world, solely because gold can always be had here at a fixed price, plus the current rate of discount, 'on demand.' Our frequent changes in the market rates of discount and occasional spasms of high rates are neither more nor less than the prices the business of the country has to pay for the maintenance of the free-gold market." On the whole, there can be no doubt that such a market is worth more than the price paid for it.

Certain defects of the English banking system are considered, and remedies are proposed; but probably much more radical changes are necessary before the system will become anywhere near perfect.

IN THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW, Mr. Harold Cox (Rehousing the Poor in London) maintains that "the provision of cheap houses at the public expense, though it would be a relief to the families lucky enough to obtain admission to the new tenements, would not solve the housing of the poor problem: that the same evil with which we are now face to face would repeat itself in each generation; and that ultimately the thing would reduce itself to an absurdity, for each family would be paying in rates the full amount it saved in rent." The magnitude of the evil of having one hundred thousand families in one city in need of homes is not blinked at; but the remedy proposed is conclusively shown to be ill-advised, as it seems to us. The upshot would be simply shifting the duty of housing the laborer from the employer to the rate-payer; that is, rent would be paid from rates instead of from wages. The article affords a fine illustration of acuteness in one direction, and of something which certainly is not acuteness in another. The ideal remedy, according to Mr. Cox, would be a rise of wages.

"But it will be said neither the County Council nor Parliament can raise the wages of the working classes of London. That is not altogether true. In the first place, the County Council and the vestries are very large employers of labor. By raising the wages of all their employees slightly above the present market rate of wages for each class of work, they would improve the price of labor generally."

When a man is so far gone as to speak this way, it is utterly useless to reason with him on the subject; there is no hope for him in this world or in the world to come. It probably would be unavailing even to bring him to this country, and show him the effects on our politics of paying more for services in public positions than the same services could command elsewhere.

- "How'd you get into this man's place?" asked Justice White.
 - " Side door."
 - "What'd you see?"
 - "This man ahind the bar."
 - "D'ye see anything?"
 - " No."
 - "See any one drinking?"
 - " No."
 - " Discharged:"

Three cases exactly similar followed, and a new court reporter asked one of the court officers:—

- "Why do the policemen arrest these saloon keepers when they know they have no case against them?"
- "Well, you see, if a policeman went into a saloon, and came out without making an arrest, some one might see him, and think he had been in drinking, and make a complaint against him; so for their own protection they arrest the barkeeper. New York Sun.

Tearful Wife. — Judge, he ain't a bad husband when he 's sober. Can't you make his fine a little less?

Judge. — No, my good woman. When a man flogs his wife I give him the full extent of the law.

Tearful Wife. — Well, the fine has got to be paid, I s'pose. Would your honor mind giving me the job of scrubbing the floors of this building? — Philadelphia Times.

Bronson. — Did you hear of the sad fate of poor Offaloffski, the Russian?

Johnson. No: what is it?

Bronson. — He got into an altercation with a fellow-countryman, and the other fellow pulled out a revolver and made Offaloffski eat his words. It killed him. — Light.

It would be well to make the Indian work, as Gen. Sherman says; but it would require two white men to each Indian, and a third to watch them and see that they didn't steal his earnings and his hide. — Judge.

The number of misplaced parentheses that have been discovered in the McKinley bill suggests that something ought to be done to promote the industry of punctuation in Congress. The raw material needs developing. — Boston Herald.

Russian Official. — You cannot stay in this country, sir.

Traveller. - Then I'll leave it.

Official. — Have you a permit to leave?

Traveller. - No, sir.

Official. — Then you cannot go. I leave you twenty-four hours to make up your mind as to what you shall do. — New York Sun.

The recall of Mizner failed to partake of the nature of an encore, perhaps because it was too late to get somebody to continue the performance by killing another man. — Judge.

The Newark's second trial trip has failed on account of a broken bolt. Bolts are nasty things. Ask Quay. - Philadelphia Times.

Nobody makes a lie out of the whole cloth nowadays: the tariff is too heavy. — Philadelphia Times.

Stranger in Washington. — What has happened — what is all that noise about?

Resident. — Oh, that's Gen. Greely celebrating: one of his weather forecasts has come true. — New York Sun.

In a Montreal court, a number of men and women from a house of "ill fame" were called up to answer to their names. The male portion pleaded guilty and were fined the usual V, which they paid. The females, however, objected to such a summary mode of procedure, and had their cases continued until Monday afternoon, but not without a censure from the worthy recorder, who remarked,—

"I want all you women to listen. You are most of you young, and have time to repent of your bad deeds; 'tis bad you know, but you must see me Monday. Meantime,

"Go, be innocent and live,
And though the tongues of men may wound thee sore,
I in pity may forgive
And bid thee go and sin no more."

A court in the staid old German town of Gotha has been called upon to decide a novel question. A gentleman, while playing cards with a party of friends in a beer hall, was assaulted by a pretty waiter girl with malice aforethought and with a smacking kiss upon his manly cheek. The matter was at first treated as a joke, but turned out to be a rather serious affair for the kissee, when his wife heard about it. His irate spouse would not believe that the kiss was an unprovoked affair, so far as her liege lord was concerned, and in order to vindicate himself he has brought a suit against the girl for damages, on the ground that the kiss has injured his reputation for morality. — Boston Journal.

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POLITIES: EVENTS; COMMENTS; LITERATURE.



The conditions under which this paper is published render it impossible to give the weekly record of facts the character of news. This is especially the case with the foreign items for which we shall not hereafter rely on the American newspapers. Nor does it seem feasible to complicate the classification by separating items accordingly as they are or are not "news." Suffice it to say that the facts are, in the main, collected from daily papers; that their importance does not generally depend upon dates; that our record of them cannot have greater authority than the sources have, but is evidently more trustworthy than any single newspaper.

LEGISLATIVE.

In Congress, nothing of importance was done during the week ending January 8. Among the new bills and resolutions introduced are: a bill by M. Herbert (Ala.), in the House, providing that the arid and semi-arid lands still belonging to the public domain shall be turned over to the respective States and Territories in which they are located when certain specified conditions shall have been complied with by the several Legislatures; a bill, in the Senate, authorizing the construction of a railroad in Alaska (the bill grants to the Alaska Coal Mining and Development Company the right to construct a railroad and telegraph line on the most eligible route from Portage Bay to Henderson Bay); and a joint resolution by Senator Carlisle authorizing the President to appoint three commissioners, and to invite Canada to appoint the same number, to consider questions affecting the commercial relations of the two countries under existing treaties, and to recommend reciprocal

legislation with a view to promote the growth of commerce between them. Senator Regan (Dem., Tex.) gave notice of several important amendments to the Aldrich cloture resolution, to be proposed when that resolution is taken up. The general effect of the amendments is to enlarge the opportunities of the minority to prevent abrupt cloture. Senator Paddock, from the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, reported, with unimportant amendments, the bill known as the Pure Food Bill, for preventing adulteration and misbranding of food and drugs. The bill establishes a bureau under the Department of Agriculture, and provides for the appointment of a chief to examine samples of food and drugs sold in the United States or intended for foreign shipment. This chief is also to provide regulations under which the samples are to be subjected, and he is also to cause to have published in bulletins the results of the various analyses for distribution throughout the country. Harmful or deceptive adulteration of food or drugs is made punishable by fine and imprisonment.

The committee appointed by the last Kansas Legislature to revise the laws of the State have made their report. Following are some of the changes proposed: Providing for free public works, the election of rallroad commissioners. a State Board of Charity, a reduction in official salaries, taxing of actual values of property, reduction of prison expenses, reduction in the number of judicial districts, and limiting the privileges of State Banks. The last measure provides for the incorporation of banks with a capital stock of not less than ten thousand dollars, of which fifty per cent. must be paid in at the start, prohibits the banks from loaning money on real estate and engaging in commerce. imposes heavy penalties for receiving deposits when the bank is in an insolvent condition, prohibits the declaring of dividends when the capital has become impaired, and provides for a safe cash reserve to be always on hand. The measure also provides for the appointment of a bank commissioner to examine the banks at least once each year, and to whom banks must report at least four times each year, and oftener if required,

The Wyoming Legislature has forwarded to Congress a memorial on irrigation. The Legislature believes that national control of irrigation is impracticable, and urges the granting to the several States the arid belt of the public domain. Under State control, it is held, laws can be promptly enacted to meet emergencies, while Congress lacks the familiarity with the needs of the country. The memorial further states that already, even without a systematic distribution of the waters, a great deal has been achieved by private enterprise. Over one hundred miles of ditches have been built and operated, and a vast area rendered productive.

A serious proposition has been made in the Georgia Legislature to tax bachelors for the support of the branch colleges in the State. The bill to that effect is carefully drawn, with a graduated scale of taxes. Bachelors over thirty and under thirty-five years of age are to pay an annual tax of twenty-five dollars. From this beginning the figures gradually rise, until a tax of two hundred dollars a year is imposed upon bachelors over sixty years of age.

It is now certain that in Minnesota, at the late elections, the Constitutional amendment, allowing ten members, or five sixths of a jury, to render a verdict in civil cases, was carried.

In April last, the New York Legislature passed a bill empowering the governor to appoint a commission to promote uniformity of legislation in this country upon the subject of divorce. The commission was authorized to consider the expediency of holding a general conference of representatives from all the States on this matter, and, if it deemed such a convention expedient, it was authorized to invite the States to send representatives to consult with New York and draft a uniform divorce law to be submitted to the approval and adoption of the several Legislatures

The New York commission was appointed, and has been in session for some months past, studying the divorce laws of the several States and collecting divorce statistics. As a result of its examination, it has decided to avail itself of the permission granted by the Legislature, and it will send communications to the governor of every State in the Union, requesting him to appoint a like commission, to meet in convention and determine the practicability of a uniform divorce law.

The New York commission finds that the present diversity of the divorce laws is almost beyond belief. The laws of no two States are the same on this important matter, ranging from those of Rhode Island, where a divorce can be obtained for incompatibility of temper, or for almost any cause, to South Carolina, where it cannot be procured for any cause whatever.

The South Carolina Legislature passed a bill prohibiting the employment of minors under sixteen over eleven hours a day.

The St. Louis Bar Association has prepared a bill which will be presented to the Legislature, authorizing the governor to appoint commissioners to meet in national convention with delegates from other States and devise a system whereby the laws relative to negotiable paper and the administration of estates shall be uniform in all the States. The delegates sent to the convention, after agreeing to a draft of the measures proposed, will report the same to the Legislatures of the respective States.

The New York Grand Jury for December calls attention in its report to a law, passed by the Legislature in 1886, providing for the establishment of municipal lodging-houses in New York City, and authorizing the Commissioners of Charities to acquire buildings for the shelter at night of such people as are obliged to seek accommodation in police station-houses, — a law which has not been carried into effect. The report says:—

"The Grand Jury, through a committee of its members, has visited many of the precinct stationhouses, and has found the accommodations there afforded to be wholly unsuited to the proper shelter of the unfortunate class for whose use they are intended. Two rooms in each of the station-houses are set aside for this purpose, one for men and the other for women. Floors and walls are of brick and stone, and each room is thoroughly washed every morning at an early hour, immediately after the occupants are turned out. The rooms are as clean as water can make them. The accommodations, however, are crude and primitive. For each one, man or woman, a board is provided, and nothing more. This board is laid upon an iron frame raised a little distance from the floor. Upon these boards the lodgers pass the night in their filth and vermin. During the cold weather a stove or furnace contributes heat, and, the ventilation being insufficient, soon renders the air, already foul and sickening by the herding together of these unclean creatures, insufferably vile.

"The act of 1886 provides that the persons seeking shelter in the municipal lodging-house therein provided for shall be compelled to take a warm and cleansing bath on entering the house, and that in the morning a simple meal shall be given them, and in return they shall be required, as compensation, to do a reasonable amount of work before leaving. Their clothing is taken from them and thoroughly disinfected before it is returned to them. The act further authorizes the Commissioner of Charities and Correction to make suitable rules and regulations for admission to and for the government of the municipal lodging-house and to determine the kinds and amounts of labor or employment to be exacted of the persons receiving accommodations and lodgings therein, and to provide for their necessary superintendence and attention until such labor shall be performed; all revenue resulting from such labor to be paid into the city treasury.

The Washington correspondent of the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, who was the first to charge that Congressmen were in the "silver pool," and benefited by the rise of silver brought about by legislation, and whose charge has not yet been investigated (though there is a resolution demanding such an investigation before the House), now writes to the Globe-Democrat that

"the proposed financial legislation is likely to fail at this session, because the President has discovered that the 12,000,000 ounces of silver, the purchase of which was recommended by Secretary Windom, and provided for in the original draft of the Senate Caucus Bill, was 'held by a pool, which would be enriched to the amount of several millions of dollars if the bill to buy the surplus became the law." 'Some of these gentlemen,' he says, 'are in public life; others of them have made frequent trips to Washington from New York of late, to urge upon the Administration the necessity of financial legislation."

A problem has arisen under the pension law of last June. The act grants pensions to soldiers who served ninety days and are now disabled from supporting themselves, provided they were honorably discharged. The Pension Office officials were of the opinion that the act did not include soldiers who had been in the Confederate service. But the assistant secretary has decided that claimants who served in the Confederate army prior to enlistment in the United States service are entitled to pensions. There is uncertainty with regard to those who were wounded while in the Confederate service.

The Boston International Copyright Association is disturbed by the report that a certain Senator proposes to offer an amendment to the Copyright Bill, which has passed the House, and it was decided to send to every Senator a copy of the following resolution:—

"The International Copyright Association, consisting of upward of three hundred members, at its annual meeting, urgently requests all members of

the United States Senate to use their best efforts to pass the Copyright Bill now pending as it was passed in the House of Representatives, deeming it more important to recognize the principle than to endanger the passage of any bill by attempting to amend the present one."

The new Federal Constitution of the Brazilian Republic guarantees to citizens the following rights:—

"First, they may do or cease to do what they think best so long as they respect the rights of others. Secondly, profess freely their religion. Thirdly, express their opinion freely. Fourthly, teach and learn what they choose. Fifthly, select the mode of living that suits them. Sixthly, meet publicly without interference of the police. Seventhly, come into, remain in, or quit Brazil, as suits their interests. Eighthly, ask for anything they require. Ninthly, the house of a citizen is an inviolable asylum. Tenthly, all are equal before the law. The republic will abolish special privileges, titles, and other class distinctions."

The Bureau of American Republics has received information of the organization of a corporation with a capital of \$25,000,000, whose object is the establishment of twenty agricultural settlements upon the public lands of Brazil, which are given by the Government free of cost to aid the enterprise, and the construction of railways to place the settlements in communica tion with each other, and with their markets, aswell the carrying out of engineering works, mining operation, and the manufacture of sugar, bricks, tiles, and lime. The company will select thousands of families of skilled mechanics and agriculturists and transport them to Brazil, where houses and tools will be ready for their use. These colonists will be divided into villages, each village to form a nucleus for immigrants to be brought over later. The Federal and State governments of Brazil have offered a guaranty of five per cent interest on one third of the capital invested in the enterprise.

JUDICIAL.

The Kentucky Legislature of 1880 passed a law imposing a tax of one-half cent on each \$100 in value of taxable property in the State for the benefit of the Agricultural and Mechanical College of the State. The validity of this act was contested, and the Court of Appeals declared the act constitutional.

Judge Reed, of Philadelphia, has decided that the State law forbidding the sale of oleomargarine in original packages is unconstitutional. The Judge's conclusions are as follows:—



"First — The right of a State to enact police laws, at least when such laws prohibit the sale of articles which, without prohibition, would be legitimate subjects of commercial interchange, is subordinate to the power of the United States to regulate commerce between the States.

"Second — The right to sell in the original package goods imported from another State, if the latter are merchantable and legitimate subjects of trade and commerce, is guaranteed by the United States, and, though it can be regulated, it cannot be prohibited by any State.

"7hird - The United States has the paramount right to declare what goods are merchantable and what regulations of their sale are reasonable.

"Fourth—By an act of Congress the United States has declared oleomargarine to be a merchantable article, and has regulated its sale.

"Fifth — The act of Assembly of Pennsylvania of May 21, 1885, does not regulate but prohibits the sale of oleomargarine, therefore such act cannot apply to the goods described in the special verdict, and the defendant is not guilty as he stands indicted."

Judge Mavey, of Texas, has overruled the Treasury Department in the matter of returning Chinese immigrants to China at the Government's expense, even when the immigrants did not come direct from China. The judge's decision is that the Government has no right to send to China Chinese laborers who enter the United States from contingent countries, and that the language of the law authorizing their return to the country whence they came should in such cases be construed to mean the contiguous country, and not China. This construction affords no relief whatever against the Chinese coming from Mexico and other countries, as they may, after expulsion, come back at the first opportunity.

While travelling in Europe, a Minnesota woman learned that her husband had secured a divorce on the ground of desertion and that her attorney had transferred her real estate to her ex-husband. She returned, and instituted proceedings; charging conspiracy. At the trial the charge of conspiracy was fully proved, and the woman obtained an order of the court setting aside the divorce and ordering an accounting. The Supreme Court of Minnesota has reversed the decision. While not denying that there was a conspiracy to swindle the woman out of her husband and property, the Court affirms that the fact being admitted that the attorney had the power to transact business for her, the Court cannot go behind the acts to discover whether or not there was a criminal collusion in bringing them about.

A decision which will have important consequences for cities along the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, which secure their coal supply from Pittsburg, has just been rendered by Judge Acheson, in the United States Circuit Court at Pittsburg. A long time ago the Monongahela Navigation Company constructed a series of dams on the Monongahela River in order to render the stream navigable at all seasons. As the result of a popular demand that the river be made free of toll, a Congressional committee secured an appropriation to buy one of the dams of the company and make it free. The company declined to sell at the price offered, and a price in excess of the same was fixed by appraisers, which, after an appeal by the company, has been substantially confirmed by Judge Acheson. This price does not allow anything for the company's franchise. the Court merely considering the cost and carrying capacity of the dam, holding that the river is a navigable river of the United States, and that such rivers are public and not private highways.

The Supreme Court of Minnesota held that after a "round-trip" or "excursion" railroad ticket has been used by the holder in going one way over the route, it is good in the hands of a purchaser from the original holder for the return trip, there being no condition in the contract to the contrary.

Judge Horton, of the Circuit Court at Chicago, decided that an ordinance passed by the city government granting a franchise for an elevated railroad was illegal; the consent of the property-owners along the proposed line not having been secured.

INDUSTRIAL.

Co-operative Building Associations, whose purpose is to furnish cheap and comfortable homes for those who can save something out of their incomes, are multiplying rapidly in this country. The members are mostly telegraph operators and newspaper men. There are thirty-five associations in New York city, and ninety in the adjoining counties. Some of them have accumulated as much as \$2,000,000 in small savings.

Five years ago the Nelson Manufacturing Company, of St. Louis, Mo., adopted the plan of sharing profits with the employees. At the fifth annual meeting, the president of the company made the following statement in reference to the success of the policy:—

"Five years ago we began sharing profits between capital and wages. There had never been any trouble between us. The house has been prosperous since its foundation. Its policy was satisfactory to you and us. We had therefore no business reasons for adopting the co-operative system. We did not then nor have we since imposed any conditions or restrictions. We have not asked longer hours nor harder work. We never inquired whether you belonged to unions or favored protection or free-trade.

"We pay regular wages, just as any other manufacturing house. Both to salaried men and to factory men we aim to pay the best of wages, so that we may get the best of men. Our foremen are under standing instructions to pay at least as much as is paid for like work in similar establishments. All capital invested is allowed six per cent, as if wages.

"Having ascertained what the net earnings of the year are, we set aside one tenth for a surplus fund to meet losses in unprofitable years. From one tenth to one twentieth goes to the provident fund, which is under the control of a committee elected by yourselves. We then make an equal dividend upon capital and the total amount paid for wages and salaries. Each man gets the same dividend on his wages that he would on a similar amount of stock. When his dividend is converted into stock it receives its interest and dividend, just as the capital owned by the original proprietors.

"During the five years in which the system has been in operation, we have paid forty-three per cent in dividends on wages besides the considerable amounts paid out by the Provident Committee and the amount of surplus fund accumulated to meet further contingencies. Those of you who have taken all your dividends in stock have received, as interest and dividends thereon, sixty-four per cent on the first year's amount, forty-seven per cent on the second, thirty-two per cent on the third, sixteen per cent on the fourth, besides compound dividends on the first three.

"Nine hours constitutes a day's work in this house, with full pay. Believing that ten hours is too long a day's work, we shortened the time, first to fifty-seven hours a week, and later to fifty-four hours. During the past busy season—for about four months—the hours were, by unanimous consent, made sixty a week. When orders were pressing, it seemed sound policy to try to meet them. The dividend of the past year, as verified by your representative, is ten per cent, for which stock certificates will be handed you in due time."

The building trades-unions of Memphis, Neb., have agreed to decline to work on any buildings where non-union men are employed, or with members of unions who fail to produce, when called upon, a paid-up working card.

The superintendent of the telegraph of the Lake Shore and Michigan Southern Railway has

issued an order to members of the Telegraphers' Union in his employ requesting them to withdraw from the order or to resign their positions. The reason is said to be the opposition of the Union to taking young men into the offices as apprentices.

From the report of the Minnesota Bureau of Labor Statistics it appears that the average number of months employed is 10.54, the average rate per day while employed \$2.10, and the average income per day for 312 days, \$1.85. From the tables on child labor, it appears that less than thirteen per cent are under twelve years of age, and that fifty cents per day is the average wages. 29,024 children, or 10 6 per cent attend school one month or less, 24.4 per cent attend two months or less, and 41.2 per cent attend three months or less.

The following is a general summary of the report of the Indian Factory Commission: —

First, the limitation of the hours of work for women to eleven daily is proper and sufficient. Female operatives do not desire the present hours shortened; on the contrary, many have expressed themselves strongly against any interference which may lead to their losing their means of livelihood. Secondly, that no separate class should be recognized by law as young persons, and that the difficulty should be met by raising the minimum age of children to fourteen. Thirdly, regarding children, the Commission is of opinion that, except under the shift system, nine hours is too long; that any change would lead to the reduction of wages; and that in mills outside the Bengal shift system, half-time is the only solution of the question, and children should not work over six and three quarters hours daily. Fourthly, women and children should have one holiday in every seven days, preferably Sunday, as should also male adults, except where continuous production is necessary. Fifthly, operatives desire that the present working-day -- that is from daylight to dusk - should be continued. Sixthly, factories may work on a Sunday following a native festival holiday; but if two such holidays occur in one week the two following Sundays should not be working-days. Seventhly, there should be a compulsory stoppage of work for thirty minutes about mid-day for male operatives not employed on the shift system. Eightly, Bombay mill-hands should be paid monthly wages. Ninthly, the Commission having found that most of the mills round about Calcutta, and some in Bombay, Ahmedabad, and Cawnpore, provide medical advice and treatment for their operatives, they bring this subject to the favorable consideration of employers who have not yet adopted the dispensary system, and they also recommend the starting of provident funds for operatives disabled by accident or disease, and the provision of instruction for chil-

IN GENERAL.

Some of the justices and constables who have grown fat on the methods employed to enforce the prohibitory law in this (Polk) county have at last come to grief. The Grand Jury yesterday returned bills against a number of them. The charges are conspiracy to defraud the county, threats to extort money, blackmail, and making false returns of warrants. Justice Collender and Constables Kellar, Burdick, West, Hamilton, and Cleggett were indicted for conspiracy to defraud; Constables Pierce, West, and Hamilton, for blackmail, and Cleggett was also indicted for making false warrants.

Some idea of the extent of the operations of these justices, constables, searchers, and spotters may be obtained from the statement of their fee bills rendered against the county during ten months of the present year in criminal cases. nearly all of which relate to the prohibitory law. amounting to considerably over \$50,000. The probability is that for the year they will exceed \$60,000. When the present officers were defeated for renomination in September last they became incensed and greatly increased their activity. The pace at which costs accumulated was not generally known, however, until the transcripts were filed with the Board of Supervisors in November. So exorbitant were they that the board refused to allow any of them, and passed a resolution asking the Grand Jury to investigate the matter and report their findings to the district court. It is probable that the other justices, three in number, and the constables serving them will also be indicted.

The Grand Jury also returned a joint indictment for conspiracy against Aldermen Smith and Sheldon and ex-Aldermen Drady, Morris, Macy, and Reynolds. — Associated Press Despatch from Des Moines, Iowa.

Some of the Philadelphia manufacturers refused to give to the collectors of the manufacturers' census detailed accounts of their business as to cost of production and profits. The law requires them to do so, and the matter will be looked into by the proper authorities.

Three fourths of the inhabitants of Oklahoma are said to suffer from hunger and cold. No employment is to be had, and no means to leave the territory.

On Christmas eve, by the bursting of a waterpipe in the Chicago post-office, caused by the sinking of a wall, five hundred sacks of mall were injured, a considerable portion beyond repair.

The Russian Government, desirous of an excuse for closing Polish Roman Catholic churches, has been forbidding the repair of these buildings and has shut up a considerable number of them, on the ground that they were unsafe. Before the prohibitory decree was issued a priest in the government of Kieff, M. Pietrowski, received permission to execute certain repairs in his church, and raised the money for this purpose by collections among his parishioners. While the work was in progress it was stopped by order of the governor-general of Kieff, and M. Pietrowski was commanded to betake himself to a village several hundreds of miles distant, "as a punishment for having extorted money from his parishioners by false pretences." M. Pietrowski demanded an investigation into these charges; a commission of Russian officials was appointed to try him, and they felt bound to report that he was quite blameless. The governor of Kieff has now issued a new order, in which he removes M. Pietrowski from his cure, for the reason that " this priest is a dangerous person, who evidently knows how to exercise his wiles even over Orthodox Russians."

The so-called Gothenburg liquor-licensing system is now in operation in all the centres of population of Sweden. The plan, introduced in 1874, at Gothenburg, has proved very successful. It is this: The entire monopoly of the liquor trade in a municipality is granted to a single company. The terms of the franchise compel the reduction of the number of saloons to the lowest practicable point as well as the keeping of them in sanitary and orderly condition. After the expenses are paid and a small stipulated profit on the capital deducted, all receipts are handed over to the city government for public purposes. Drunkenness is said to have been materially reduced under this system.

A large number of Sicilian peasants, in want of the necessaries of life, have revolted against the authorities and plundered a nobleman's estates and many farms to obtain provisions.

In Paris, the applications for municipal appointments are nearly a thousand for each position, although the salaries are very small, ranging from \$250 to \$400 per annum.

It is claimed that the cooperative house-keeping scheme inaugurated some time ago by the Evanston (Ill.) ladies has proved a success.

Of the 11,900,000 square miles which the continent of Africa, with its islands, is estimated to contain, 7,590,406 are European possessions.

TO-DAY, JAN. 8, 1891.

A record of the facts and considerations which show that Individual Liberty is good for the people of the United States, and that, therefore, Legislative Regulation is injurious for them.

J. MORRISON-FULLER, WALTER C. Rose, Editors.

State Inter For a long time the railway conference with nections between Boston and New York have been inferior to those which would be produced by free competition among different roads. As pointed recently by the New York Times, all through trains between the two cities have to pass over one road, the New York, New Haven & Hartford, and this road can so regulate their speed that no one of the three connecting lines from Boston can make any better speed But something besides than the others. money is requisite to preserve the monopoly, namely, a State Legislature. The New York, New Haven & Hartford has for years been able to control the Connecticut Legislature, so as to prevent the Housatonic road from getting a franchise to extend its tracks some forty miles to New York City, as it would be glad to do, and thus furnish the travelling public quicker accommodations. Considerable animosity is felt towards the road having the monopoly, but the question whether more ill-feeling should properly be excited against a railroad for owning a State Legislature than contempt and disgust towards the Legislature for being owned admits of only one answer.

A report comes from Peru that Reciprocity a movement is making in that country towards reciprocal trade with the United States in the articles lard and The Peruvians manufacture more sugar than they require for home consumption, while they have to import lard, and in this country the case is reversed. It has, accordingly, occurred to them that they could get more lard for their surplus sugar if the duty on those articles were removed. The advantage to the United States would lie in getting more sugar for our lard; that is, sugar would be cheaper here, and lard in Peru, with respect to consumers, but the revenues of the governments would be diminished.

An arrangement such as is desired would amount to free trade in lard and sugar, but

only between the United States and Peru. This would give sugar from the latter an advantage in our markets over sugar from other countries, and the same might be said of our lard in the markets of Peru. To many, such an arrangement seems better than free trade with all the world in those articles, but this results from looking at only one side of the question. As long as we consider only the advantage of having the Peruvian market for lard all to ourselves, the matter seems clear; but if reciprocal trade with Peru would be a good thing, why not make a treaty with another country, too, and obtain another market for our lard and more cheap sugar. Eventually, perhaps, the advantage of having the widest possible market for lard and as many nations as possible competing to supply us with sugar might dawn upon us. Moreover, lard is not the only thing we have to sell, nor is sugar the only thing we wish to buy. It may be that the way to sensible commercial relations between the nations of the world lies through reciprocity; free trade with special nations in special articles is better than trade hampered at all points by legislative stupidity, but the freedom of each individual to buy where he can buy cheapest, and to sell where he can get most, would secure the greatest advantage for every coun-

The State department at Wash-The Bureau
-and after? ington has issued a circular letter stating that, in pursuance of the recommendations of the international American conference, a "bureau of the American republics" has been established at Washington, having for its object the dissemination of authentic and useful information concerning the commercial conditions and advantages of the several American republics, for the benefit of manufacturers, merchants, and others who may be interested in the extension Among its other functions the bureau will prepare, print, and issue, from time to time, for free distribution, bulletins containing particulars concerning existing customs tariffs of the several countries, and such changes in them as may occur, the official regulations affecting the entrance and clearance of vessels, and the importation and exportation of merchandise at the ports of the several countries; also quotations from commercial and parcel port treaties between

any of these republics, with the statistics of commerce, and other information of special interest. "The bureau," says the Secretary of State, "will at all times be available as a medium of communication and correspondence to persons applying for reasonable information pertaining to the customs tariffs and regulations, and to the commerce and navigation of the American republics; and any suggestions as to the character of information that may be found useful will receive careful attention."

Will some one of the large number of those who have expressed their gratification at this step of the Secretary's be good enough to answer one or two pertinent questions? In the first place, what are the Government's grounds for depriving private enterprise of this part of its legitimate field? Why cannot the parties concerned be left to attend to their own needs? The number of trade papers, commercial organs, and special periodical publications is certainly very large in this country. If more are required, they are bound to appear sooner or later, and the Government has no call to interest itself in this purely private business. The merchants and manufacturers are sure to find ways of gathering the information they want, and there is absolutely no reason to suppose that such a bureau as has been established by the State department would not have been established by a private agency. Is it supposed that the information to be gathered is of such a nature that no private agency can successfully engage in its collection and dissemination? If so, let it be shown that officials have stronger motives for the display of skill and perseverance and executive ability. Let it also be explained why the Government does not establish bureaus to aid merchants and manufacturers in determining the purchase and sale of materials and commodities - which people seriously err in considering very simple matters.

The other question which ought to be answered is, what right has the Government to spend the public funds for the benefit of a special class of business men? Why should the farmer, the laborer, the artist, the professional man be compelled to maint in a bureau in the interest of the manufacturer and merchant? Suppose the laborer, seeing that the merchant is thus accommodated, comes next, and demands a bureau to furnish

him information about wages, strikes, labor organizations, and co-operative enterprises. Can the Government deny his request? Surely he is much less competent to take care of himself than the manufacturer is; and if the laborer is to be indulged, why not the farmer, the literary man, the naturalist? Will some one volunteer to furnish satisfactory answers to these queries?

The American Historical Associal Associal Associal Association held its seventh annual meeting at Washington, on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday of the week. Papers of interest to the special student and the general reader were enjoyed by the body of listeners that attended the proceedings of the association. The studies presented were of a practical nature, and often it might have been difficult to tell whether a paper really belonged to history proper or to the practically unlimited field of politics, theoretical or applied. The most interesting paper bearing on the question of political government — both from its contents and from the discussion it aroused — was read by Dr. J. G. Bourinot, clerk of the Canadian House of Commons. It was entitled "Responsible Government in Canada," but was really a close comparison of the English Parliamentary system with the Congressional plan in force at Washington. Dr. Bourinot explained the Canadian system which only difers from the government of England as a part necessarily differs from the whole.

The conclusions of Dr. Bourinot were unfavorable to the American system in the main. Responsible government, he argued, made the people as complete disposers of the affairs of the nation as if the people themselves were actually on the floor of Parliament. Any cabinet that refused or even hesitated to carry into effect the wishes of the people as expressed in a constitutional way was replaced instantly by one pledged to their cause. In the United States, on the other hand, change is slow; amendments to the Constitution are few in number and difficult to carry through; but above all, a cabinet and administration opposed to the wishes of the people as expressed at recent elections, and independent of the actions of either or both houses of Congress, shapes the policy of our country. In other words, the Canadian or Parliamentary system of government is more

truly popular than the government at Washington.

In the discussion that followed, the leading objections to the Parliamentary plan were clearly brought out. Prof. Cohn, for example, argued that such a system would, under ordinary circumstances, give undue prominence to mere debating power as such, without regard to administrative ability, and instanced the present position of France as an illustration. Another gentleman called attention to the fact that the English system was only possible where two parties were in the field. A third party holding the balance of power might make or unmake administrations at its pleasure; at any rate, greatly complicate parliamentary legislation. The present eighty Irish representatives hold at present, or but recently, such a balance of power. Senator Hoar, however, answered in greatest detail the objections of Mr. Bourinot to the American system. He maintained that the framers of the Constitution, conscious of the previous failures of republican experiments, laid the foundations of republican institutions on conservative principles. The Constitution is capable of amendment, and itself provides a plan for amendment, but the process is purp sely complicated, that plenty of time may be given to think before any decisive step is taken. Hasty and ill-famed amendments are thus defeated. Out of the thirteen hundred propositions and the seventeen hundred resolutions of amendment to the Constitution but fifteen have been engrafted on the original instrument. From which it follows that if the American people are in earnest amendments can be carried, but that this conservative tendency of the Constitution to let well enough alone has maintained the simplicity and perfection of the original plan of government. Passing to the question that congressional government is not popular government, and that parlimentary, i. e., Canadian, is, Mr. Hoar showed that only a member of the ministry can introduce a motion for taxation or appropriation; that after the Houses have passed on the question the governor-general has the right of veto. Nor is this all: the English Crown possesses the right of control before an act becomes thoroughly operative. Then, again, the Canadian Senate is far from popular. The number of members is limited, and they sit for life; if more members are needed to aid the ministry to carry through its

policy, permission may be obtained from the English Government to increase the number by new creations. If the American system is not truly popular government, Dr. Bourinot's Canadian substitute is still less so.

The fact that a nation generates and develops a government in harmony with and in consequence of its national characteristics was clearly stated by Mr. Eggleston. The English Parliamentary system grew in response to the needs of centuries; the American Constitution embodied the experience of the Colonial Government, and from this fact alone—that it grew, and grew slowly, and was not a sudden creation, as Mr. Gladstone supposes—is due this fact that so few changes have been made in the text and scope of the Constitution.

From the above considerations of Mr. Eggleston it follows that, even granting that the Canadian or parliamentary system was best suited to the genius of the British people as a whole, it does not at all follow, as Dr. Bourinot reasoned, that it would be equally successful if installed in Washington.

An Instance of In his recently published Municipal Tyranny. autobiography, Mr. Joseph Jefferson, the celebrated comedian, relates with much pith and humor the experience of a company of pioneer actors seeking their fortunes in the "Far West" of 1839. In 1839 the description of "Far West" belonged to Illinois and the adjacent territories. Chicago was a new village of two thousand inhabitants when, in this year, Jefferson's parents arrived there in time to "open" in the newer theatre, the paint of whose curtain and scenery was scarcely dried. The theatrical public of such a Western village is not large. Before long the Jeffersons, accompanied by a meagre retinue of equally enterprising and impecunious actors, had to seek their audiences in the still smaller towns of Quincy, Pekin, Springfield, etc. This was before the Wabash railroad began to create cities, by the simple expedient of repeating one vowel thrice in connection with as many alternating consonants and nailing the names to dark-brown freight depots, so the towns visited by the strolling players were comparatively few and far between. Most of the villages had no theatre buildings at all. (A Western town, by the way, never has anything less than an opera house.) In one place

the court-house, in another a warehouse were fitted with wings and dressing-rooms, while the anxious managers watched the seating of the few patrons on the improvised benches. Scenery, wardrobe, and actors were transported from town to town in wagons; and as Studebaker and turnpikes were as unknown as railroads, the locomotion could not have been either pleasant or rapid. Actors and accessories were not infrequently deposited at their night's lodgings somewhat the worse from the effects of careless river fording and subsequent contact with Illinois mud. The pursuit of Thespian glory under these circumstances may not have been up the steep and stony path said to lead to fame and fortune, but the journey was muddy, perhaps by way of compensation. The company finally arrived at Springfield, one hundred and ninety-five miles south of Chicago. In spite of all the drawbacks, the managers, of whom one was Mr. Jefferson's father, had not been wholly unsuccessful, and their expectations ran high for the coming season in Springfield, where the Legislature would shortly meet. This village had been selected as the capital of the State in 1837, a couple of years before the arrival of the Jeffersons, having been "laid out" about fifteen years earlier. The population in 1850 was 4,500; it may have been half as great in 1839 or 1840. The town was therefore one of the most important on the route of the company, and in the capacity of capital seemed to promise a better reward than the others for their labors. Success was confidently anticipated and preparations were made for a longer stop.

The episode to which I have prefixed this introduction may be best related in the words of Mr. Joseph Jefferson:—

"Having made money for several weeks previous to our arrival here, the management resolved to hire a lot and build a theatre. This sounds like a large undertaking, and perhaps, with their limited means, it was a rash step. I fancy that my father rather shrunk from this bold enterprise, but the senior partner (McKenzie) was made of sterner stuff, and his energy being quite equal to his ambition, the ground was broken and the temple erected. . . . The new theatre, when completed, was about ninety feet deep and forty wide. No attempt was made at ornamentation; and as it was unpainted, the simple lines of architecture upon which it was constructed gave it the appearance of a large dry-goods box with a roof. I do not think my father or McKenzie ever owned anything with a roof until now, so they were naturally proud of their possession.

In the midst of our rising fortunes a heavy blow fell upon us. A religious revival was in progress at the time, and the fathers of the church not only launched forth against us in their sermons, but by some political manœuvre got the city to pass a new law enjoining a heavy license against our "unholy" calling; I forget the amount, but it was large enough to be prohibitory. Here was a terrible condition of affairs: all our available funds invested, the Legislature in session, the town full of people, and we, by a heavy license, denied the privilege of opening the new theatre!"

This is probably as striking an instance of the outrageous abuse of power by town authorities as the pages of American history contain. Not but that abuses equally outrageous have occurred elsewhere: -- as every one knows they are of daily occurrence throughout the land; but this is a striking instance: it throws into strong light and sharp outline the injustice and injury, amounting to ruin, distress, and despair, which are the constant and inevitable consequences of tyranny, - otherwise abuse of power. I say nothing of the religious intolerance and animosity which inspired this outrage. The particular motive which may lie back of tyranny, whether it be religious or other, is a quite distinct consideration. Leave the motive altogether to one side: the act remains. Mr. Jefferson does not state the exact date of the Springfield adventure. If it happened as late as 1840, this ex post facto tax must have heen one of the first acts of the new city government, for Springfield did not assume this dignity (?) until that year. This seems to be the fact, as the company was in Chicago during the season of 1839. The license was, to all intents and purposes, an ex post facto imposition. It was the notorious presence of the actors and the building of the theatre which moved the villagers to assert their despotic power. Here were the pioneers of art in the West, having overcome all the other vicissitudes which had beset their adventure, only to fall victims to the tyranny of their fellows, and see the very bread snatched from the mouths of their children, because, forsooth, certain men, not content with staying away from the theatre themselves, determined to force others to observe their likes and dislikes. I have commented on this incident because it affords so simple an illustration of the real effects of tyranny. Individuals are pressed back and trodden down in their struggle for life and success

— immolated on the altar of an imaginary "good of the community." Let the community beware: its victims will sit ghostly at every feast.

The sequel of the story should be given, because it shows the utter recklessness with which the city had voted away the livelihood of the strangers within its gates. Mr. Jefferson says:—

In the midst of their trouble a young lawyer called on the managers. He had heard of the injustice, and offered, if they would place the matter in his hands, to have the license taken off, declaring that he only desired to see fair play. . . .

The case was brought up before the council. The young lawyer began his harangue... He illustrated his speech with a number of anecdotes, and kept the council in a roar of laughter; his good-humor prevailed, and the exorbitant tax was taken off.

So it appears that the much-vaunted right of American citizens to liberty and the pursuit of happiness depends upon the chance of every village containing a young Lincoln! Such is freedom under democracy.

PUBLIC DEFALCATIONS.

The American system of rotation of office has exercised an extremely damaging influence on the moral development of the government; but indirectly as well as directly it has drained the public purse in a way not ordinarily borne in mind. The system of apprenticeship, so common in commercial circles, has long since given way under a system of freer competition and industrial progress; but it nevertheless had many points in its favor. It rested upon the fundamental principle, that, other things being equal, a greenhorn was not worth as much to himself or to society as the man of training and experience; and that until an arbitrary degree of proficiency had been acquired by the workman, his wages should be somewhat less than the remuneration received by an older hand, the journeyman. The great advantage of the division of labor, so clearly pointed out by and applied since the time of Adam Smith, increases manifold the industrial capacity of the nation.

The same principle was eminently suited for callings and professions where the head ruled rather than the hand; for the brain, no less than the members of the body, is developed — oftentimes warped — by a particular

line of work. Apply this simple generalization to the civil service, and what is the result? Rotation of office, by placing the tenure of any position on the whim of party feeling, dismissed a man after initiating him into the intricacies of his calling. That is to say, the same rate of wages is paid for less efficient service, and is a source of considerable loss to any government where the tenure of office is based on no surer foundation than the rise and fall of the political spoilers of a community. Take a special example: a clerk taken from private life and given a government appointment, requires considerable time to learn the ins and outs of his new business; he makes many mistakes, for none of which he pays. By the end of a year or two he may be an excellent man for the position; but two years later his party loses at the polls, and his place is wanted for some new man. result of this is that the government loses, rather wantonly wastes, and that such action is based on anything but sound business principles. This may roughly be called an indirect Now consider another case.

There are few people, if any, that can afford to give their services to the government; the compensation expected is the great and controlling motive. If the tenure of office is precarious, self-interest unfortunately urges the incumbent to make the most of opportunities. "Man wants but little here below, but wants that little long," and if he cannot get it extended through the poetic period, i. e., a long time, he is content to take it in a lump. Nor is he only content to take it, he makes strenuous efforts to get his hands on it, and in very many cases he succeeds only too well.

This is not mere theory; it is human nature, and as history unfortunately shows, the experience of our own government.

The question of public defalcations came up in the Senate in February, 1876, and in reply to a resolution of that body, the Secretary of the Treasury submitted a statement well deserving of careful attention. From it the casual reader can get some idea of the practical workings of "these domestic spoilers that make us slaves and tell us 't is our charter.' Of course, no account could be taken in this list of losses of an indirect nature, viz., the loss of moral character, and the enormous decrease of efficiency in public appointments.

In the very first administration of the country, it would not be surprising if the losses were considerable, as from the mere nature of the circumstances the government would be greatly hampered. The indirect loss must have been considerable, too, owing to the newness of the offices and the consequent inexperience of the appointees. However this may be, the total amount handled by the first administration in a period of eight years, was \$112,560,554, on which there was a total loss of \$250,970, or \$222 on every thousand dollars. The term of the first Adams. was stormy, very stormy. There were dangers of hostilities with England, and blows passed between this country and France. Diplomatic negotiations were numerous and complicated, yet the sums lost to the government were inconsiderable. On \$90,733,612, not more than \$235,412 was unaccounted for, making the average loss per thousand dollars, two dollars and fifty-nine cents.

In Jefferson's administration there was the faintest suggestion of the "spoils system." This is indicated somewhat roughly by the average loss on the thousand, which was two and three quarters dollars. So far the country had enjoyed comparative peace; the military operations of Madison's presidency gave numerous opportunities for private persons to appropriate the public revenue. The average rate for these years was almost double that of Washington's two terms, being four dollars and sixteen cents on every thousand dollars involved.

A war does offer, to be sure, numerous opportunities for speculation, but the spirit of patriotism usually keeps it within certain undefined but substantial limits; it is generally after the active hostilities have ceased that the domestic harpies prey on the exhausted carcass of the nation. For this reason, Monroe's terms stand out in rather unfortunate boldness; the rate of losses on an expenditure of less than three millions was eight dollars and fifty-eight cents on the thousand. This it will be seen is double Madison's rate, and almost quadruple Washington's. Affairs settled down under the second Adams, - the last of the statesmen, - and the losses averaged four dollars and thirty-nine cents.

With Jackson the traditions of the past were discarded; the government was thoroughly purged and reformed, according to the programme of the Spoilers. The reform re-

sulted in increasing the rate of loss to seven dollars and fifty-two cents on the thousand. The Custom House of New York, in the hands of a defaulter, but otherwise a spotless partisan of the new state of things, took its place as a leading element in corruption of the new dispensation.

Jackson's administration only prepared the way for the defalcation or losses of the next few years. The seed was sown: it only needed a fertile soil and a genial climate to ripen into something surprising. Mr. Van Buren's four years lost to the country the large average of eleven dollars and seventy-one cents on every thousand dollars passing through the national machinery.

It is needless to go into detail for the other administrations; the average falls somewhat, as was natural, for the periods of Jackson and Van Buren represent the lowest and most revolting scenes of our civil polity. From an average of six dollars and forty cents under Tyler, the rate fell to three dollars and eighty-one cents on the thousand at the outbreak of the Civil War.

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Prior to this period, the government lost some twenty-four and a half millions on an aggregate of little less than four billions eight hundred millions of dollars involved. That is to say, the average loss was five dollars and seventeen cents for each thousand dollars.

The period since the war has not been as corrupt; the losses have been considerable, but the sums involved have been so enormous that the loss of fourteen millions from 1861, to 1879, inclusive has seemed a small fraction. Still, it has been sufficient to make thoughtful people hope for better things, and the establishment of a pure civil service that shall do away with the temptation to public pilfering.

SOCIALISM VS. ETHICS.

In one of his letters to the London Times, upon Gen. Booth's "scheme," Prof. Huxley states his conviction that "there is an immense amount of remediable misery among us; that in addition to the poverty, disease, and degradation, which are the consequences of causes beyond human control, there is a vast, probably a much larger, quantity of misery which is the result of individual ignorance or misconduct, and of

Further, I faulty social arrangements. think it is not to be doubted that, unless this remediable misery is effectually dealt with, the hordes of vice and pauperism will destroy modern civilization as effectually as uncivilized tribes of another kind destroyed the great social organizations which preceded ours." It seems to us also that there is a very real danger here, and further, that many of the efforts made to meet it are admirably calculated to intensify it. For how is this vice, pauperism, and crime to destroy modern civilization? Evidently by spreading, by enveloping and overwhelming what there is good and sound in it. And what is so likely to produce this result as assisting the worthless and the vicious to survive and multiply? Compelling the honest, the industrious, and the thrifty to assist the shiftless and the criminal to live and have children, is making life hard for the former class and easy for the The aim of philanthropists, of course, is to make the weak strong, the lazy industrious, the vicious virtuous, and in so far as they succeed in this they are in the highest degree benefiting society; but in those cases where they fail their efforts are by no means harmless. It is no light thing to make a bad man strong for evil, or to make two paupers live where only one lived before.

Prof. Huxley goes on to remark that efforts to reform the social arrangements are not sufficient; to be effective they must be addressed to the nature of individual "Honest, industrious, and self-restraining men will make a very bad social organization prosper; while vicious, idle, and reckless citizens will bring ruin to the best that ever was, or ever will be invented." In these sentences the fact seems to be lost sight of that social organization is very largely a product of individual character, and that therefore a nation of good citizens will make for themselves good social arrangements, and bad citizens the reverse. Nevertheless the point previously made holds good, and perhaps the best way to improve

social organization is to improve the individuals who compose it.

Still the instincts of men, even of good men, collectively, are not certain to lead them right; any more than their individual instincts are a perfectly safe guide for their individual actions. Just now, when the activities and mode of life of men are changing very rapidly, it is not at all impossible that some of their most praiseworthy qualities will lead them astray. It is so easy to attribute a large part of the evil we see around us to "bad social arrangements"; and in representing to ourselves what good social arrangement would be, the imagination is overpowered by the magnitude of the object it attempts to grasp and the fancy runs riot. The impossibility of following out in detail even a slight change makes men ready to guess carelessly at the results of sweeping changes. When, during the reign of Henry VIII., the giving of alms was prohibited by statute, and collections for the relief of the poor were required to be made in each parish, it was not supposed that this act would be the parent of a succession of acts which in a few centuries would come near bringing about universal pauperism of the lower classes. Notwithstanding countless instances similiar to this, showing that the power for good of legislators is confined within very narrow limits, while their power for evil is almost unlimited, men advocate the most radical changes, amounting to a reconstruction of society, in the most light-hearted way, as if they could foretell exactly what would be the result. The belief that whatever misery is due to bad social arrangements can be cured off hand, by altering such arrangements, seems likely to be responsible for bringing more than one nation to the verge of ruin.

That there is some sort of relationship between ethics and economics was recognized long ago, and the early speculations as to what this relationship is, though vague and unsatisfactory, were at least not distinctly in the wrong direction. Later speculations on this point, however, are of a kind to leave the mental and moral perceptions utterly dazed and confounded old saying, "The world owes me a living and a living I will have," was usually regarded as the sentiment of a semi-criminal, or at any rate, of a somewhat unscrupulous man. Now a whole school of thinkers on social questions - fast becoming the leading school - assumes as an axiom that the mere fact that a man is a human being, a member of society, gives him a right to live, and this is interpreted as meaning a claim upon society for a comfortable support. The whole ethics of socialism seems to rest upon the absolute negation of what must be regarded as the fundamental requirement of justice - that each man shall reap the benefits and suffer the penalties of his own nature and his own actions. To many there seems no justice at all in this, and it certainly does involve a great deal of hardship in particular cases; but in what else can justice consist? To be sure, it is neither just nor unjust that a man should be born halt or blind or simple; but, having been born so, the question is whether he shall himself endure the consequences, or whether he shall be enabled to compel other men to bear part of them. No injustice is done if other men voluntarily render him assistance in bearing his infirmities; but as soon as some one is constrained to help him, there is a case of injustice which cannot but prove mischievous.

It must be admitted that justice as thus defined is not wholly a pleasant thing to contemplate, and if one looks continually at the dark side, the life of a people strictly conforming to its dictates will not seem a blessed thing. But neither is nature, especially animate nature, wholly a pleasant thing to contemplate; there is much in her which, if looked at persistently, cannot fail to lead one into pessimism. The whole evolution of living organisms has proceeded by the extinction of those ill fitted to cope with their circumstances, and this, in the case of sentient organisms, has involved an inconceivable amount of suffering. It is not sur-

prising that men of quick sympathies, who do not clearly see the conditions under which life is maintained, should be eager to evade this law. But laws of nature are not to be trifled with or evaded, and the attempt to evade this one in the way proposed by socialists will have as its penalty the lowering of the current of national life and a vast increase of the suffering sought to be avoided. This prediction is no mere guess, nor is it wholly an inference drawn from a generalization of enormously complex phenomena. Many socialistic laws, like the poor laws mentioned above, have been enacted, especially in England, and their main effects have been traced with tolerable certainty. What is their result? A great Serbonian bog of vice and pauperism, to use the words of Prof. Huxley, which seriously threatens to swallow up the upper crust of civilization. Nor is England the only country where socialistic legislation has produced evil results. Most civilized nations are suffering from this together with other causes.

Nevertheless it is not necessary that those who are unforunate but deserving should be left to ills which they could not by a proper exertion escape. Justice tempered by sympathy and benevolence is better than justice alone. The co-operation which men find beneficial in winning a subsistance from nature can very well be extended to mitigating for one another some of the ills inflicted by nature. There is evidence that such practice tends to the health of society, provided that no injustice is done — that is, provided that benefits earned by some are not forcibly taken from them and bestowed upon others, as is the case with compulsory charity and with the distribution of products advocated by socialist leaders. Least of all should nature be assisted in making way with those unable to meet her requirements. The Greek practice of exposing children who seemed unlikely to develop into sound and healthy citizens may have had something to do with producing one of the finest races physically that the world has ever seen.

How much it had to do with causing that defect in the moral nature which led to the downfall of Greece there is no means of determining. But this can be said: the practice prevailed, the race was very deficient in morality, and did not spread widely.

The fundamental ethical questions raised by socialism, as pointed out by Mr. Giddings in the International Journal of Ethics, are, one as to the rights of minorities and one as to the distribution of products. Has a majority any right to compel a minority to join in a socialistic plan of production, and submit to dictation as to kinds of work performed and methods pursued? And what, if there is any, is an ethical distribution of product among the workers who create it? With regard to the first question, the answers are more and more in the affimative; if it is to be decided by counting heads, there are already enough on one side. But this is a question of fact, and majorities have usually been wrong on questions of fact. Two answers are given to the second question: First, that ethical requirements are satisfied when, in the distribution of wealth, each receives according to what he has contributed to production; the second, that each should receive according to his needs. Both these answers are too vague for practical purposes. In the first place, it is obviously impossible, under the present method of production, to determine how much each has contributed to the wealth produced. Nevertheless it is useful to have this as an ideal. The second answer has all the vagueness of the first how are we to find out how much each man really needs? Moreover, the total product might very well be too small to supply the actual needs of every one; or it might be more than sufficient, in which case the formula affords no light as to the division of the excess. Certainly the maximum of happiness would not be secured by dividing the excess equally. Mr. Giddings, in the article referred to, maintains that the two answers are not necessarily incompatible with each other; that " normal needs are of repair or restoration of the energies and utilities expended in useful performance, and of upbuilding and of development for future useful peformance," and therefore, "in a normal, well-balanced state of things, need and performance must correspond." A little further knowledge of physiological dynamics would have shown him that in general only about one sixth of the energy evolved from combustion of the food can be applied to work, and that there are great variations in this amount between different individuals; so that, even making the assumption that each one applies as much energy as possible to useful performance, need and performance cannot nearly correspond. Again, in discussing the dictum that each should receive according to his performance, he says: "To give men more than they now earn, as a means of developing a greater earning power for the future, may be an ethical obligation." A little thought is sufficient to show that society as a whole is under no ethical obligation to produce as much as possible, any more than is an individual to work an extra hour each day in order to produce more. The course recommended may be wise, but it can derive no support from ethics.

The quarrel of socialism with ethics seems to be fundamental; with respect to minorities, denying man's right of property in himself and his right to control his own actions; with respect to the distribution of products, substituting for the true ethical principle a principle which directly contravenes it. And the results of socialism, as far as it has been tried, have been similiar to the results of unrighteousness in other matters - that is, evil. Still the opinion of the most competent observers is that the present movement of the civilized world is towards socialism. The experiments that men have tried in that direction and the evils they have suffered have not been sufficient to convince them. It may be that a natural selection of ideas must take place; that those nations in which the most egregiously false views of social organization prevail will disappear before those holding sounder views. The history of the next few centuries may lend support to the present fashionable theory in biology that effects produced upon the organism during the lifetime of the individual are not inherited.

POLITICS IN THE MAGAZINES.

FORUM (January). The Division of Africa, by Emile de Laveleye, is a review of the colonization and division of Africa down to date. The long and difficult negotiations that have been necessary to an amicable and just division among the interested European powers are here faithfully recorded, and the reader is further aided to a good understanding of the situation by a map showing the territory thus divided and the powers to whom it has been assigned. In the closing paragraph the writer says:—

" At the present time the whole of the vast African continent, except the central portion surrounding Lake Tchad, has been divided up, and six states have allotted themselves immense dependencies. However unprecedented the proceedings attending this partition have been, all friends of humanity can but rejoice at the result. In the first place, the most admirable principles have been admitted to govern all the central zone, including free-trade, liberty of worship, equality for all alike, and peace based on neutrality. Even on soil where the states pursue their own interests will arise centres of civilization and progress. . . . In point of fact, an entire continent has just taken its place in the economic and social world, precisely as if it had just been discovered. No one can as yet forsee what will be the consequences of these great changes."

"The history of civilization, whatever else it may be, is certainly the history of the gradual growth of personal liberty and of the private party." So writes W. S. Libby in his article entitled The Shibboleth of Liberty. In the moral order, freedom is not independence of law; and political freedom is living under the law of right." "The stupidest of superstitions," says Mr. Libby, "is the belief that liberty, in the public order, is the necessary product of any constitutional machinery, or of any form of government; and, in particular, that it is the inevitable result of government by numbers." And further on, we are admonished "that it is high time now for the world to learn the lesson that representative institutions, even if they are a reality, and not, as too often happens, an imposture, can do no more than express the mind of the represented."

Does the Negro Seek Social Equality? is answered in the negative, and very intelligently, by the Rev. J. C. Price, president of Livingston College, N. C. Inasmuch as he is himself a colored man, it is reasonable to suppose that he echoes, to a great extent, the opinion of the intelligent portion of his race. In a direct, matter-of-fact way, he argues that to seek or expect social equality through legislation would be futile and absurd. This thought is emphasized in the following:—

"I desire to emphasize the fact that the Negro, in demanding the full exercise of his Constitutional claims to citizenship, does not thereby seek social equality with white men or with colored men. The Negro has common-sense enough—not to speak of intelligence and education—to know that legislation in neither church nor state can give him arbitrary admission into the best society—white or colored—and that no Congressional enactments can regulate the affections."

Thom is G. Shearman shows how, under the present system of taxation, The Coming Billionaire is sure to appear within forty years; but he also prophesies that a change to some form of direct taxation is inevitable, and that such form of taxation would preclude all possibility of a billionaire. Mr. Shearman has faith in the efficacy of direct taxation to remedy the numerous evils of the present system.

THE COSMOPOLITAN (January). People who see a field for labor among their fellowmen outside the hospital, the almshouse, or the prison, and who still have faith to believe that a great work of reform can exist without the aid of government, will read of The People's Palace, as described by Elizabeth Bisland, with no small degree of pleasure. This palace is located in East London, and its existence is due to the influence of Walter Besant's novel, "All Sorts and Conditions of Men," which appeared a few years ago. The institution strives to aid "the young, the healthy, the self-supporting, and the moral," who had been "left to content themselves as best they could, with the dull round of labor, and cheap, coarse amusements."

A reading-room, gymnasium, swimming-bath, concert and assembly hall are among the general features of the palace, while the schools connected with it afford instruction in all branches of knowledge, from tailoring to electrical engineering, from cooking to music. All these helps to brighten the lives of the East Londoners, and render them more useful as well, are not free; on the contrary, the poorest pay tuition; and this fact is not less reassuring than to know that the funds that built and equipped this palace were donated by individuals, and not lobbied for in the halls of parliament. In this age of paternalism, such private undertakings for the public good come like an unexpected gleam of sunshine during an equinoctial

The Review of Current Events concerns itself principally with finance. France is held up as a model country for dealing with questions of money, and that the French are able to deal with silver without "free coinage" is urged upon the American people as a lesson in finance.

AMERICANA.

A remarkable pension case has come to light recently. It appears that the Union camp was threatened by a night attack, and that considerable alarm and excitement prevailed in consequence. The alarm, however, proved unfounded. During this confusion, a non-commissioned officer behaved in such a peculiar manner that he was tried on the next day and lowered to the ranks for cowardice. The officer presented the plea of nervousness, but it was disregarded. But to-day, twenty five years after the war, he claims that his failure in life is due to nervousness brought on by a night attack that never came off! That he is nervous and unsuccessful there can be no doubt, and the physicians do not positively affirm that such nervousness might not have been caused by the excitement of the threatened attack. The application for a pension has been approved and another "worthy veteran" is supported at the public expense.

A resident of Detroit recently imported several artificial eyes, and after paying the duty thereon, discovered that they were defective. He thereupon returned them to the manufacturer abroad, and received good ones in their place, but was again required to pay the duty. On protesting to the Treasury Department against the double duty, he was informed that it was not a case for relief, the law prescribing that "no return of the duties shall be allowed on the export of any merchandise after it has been removed from the custody and control of the Government."

The drag-net of the tariff tangles in its meshes some very queer catches. It has just been discovered in the Treasury Department that natural gas brought in pipes across the Niagara River to Buffalo must be taxed, as an "unenumerated unmanufactured article," at ten per cent ad valorem. This would seem sufficiently absurd. from the point of view of the American consumer, but it is still more so when we reflect on the difficulties of applying such a decision. What is the value on which the duty is to be levied? How is it to be ascertained? Can it be calculated on the "cost of manufacture"? Plainly not, for the gas is to be taxed as "unmanufactured." Can it be levied on the market price at the place of export? Hardly, for it has no market price there, its value depending wholly on the demand. for it on this side the line. Suppose the company importing the gas neglect to pay the duty. how is the Government to collect it? By seizing the goods and selling them? But there will be

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no sale for them at the point of seizure, and since the Government cannot very well seize the pipe, which is not imported, imagine the collector trying to take legal possession of the gas itself. It is a delightful detail in this preposterous decision that the gas, which is said to be dutiable because it is "illuminating," is not illuminating at all, but fuel gas.—N. Y. Times.

The United States Board on Geographic Names has issued its first bulletin. The board was formed to bring uniformity of nomenclature into the work of Government bureaus charged with the production of charts and maps. This first bulletin explains the general principles that have been adopted as to the choice of one out of several varying names, spelling and pronunciation. It also contains a list of two hundred and twentysix names already decided, each followed by the name or names previously in use. For instance, the name Bering Sea is ad pted in place of the former Behring, Behrings, or Kamchatka. Among the changes noted are these: Chile for Chili. Fiji for Feejee, Haiti for Hayti, Kongo for Congo, and Punjab for Panjob, Punjaub or Pand-Hartford Courant

Official Red Tape. — She walked timidly up to the stamp window, where the clerk was standing in awful dignity, and laid a copper before him.

- "Stamp, if you please."
- "How many?"
- "One, please."
- "Two-cent or a one-cent?"
- "A one-cent, please,"

The Government was satisfied and the stamp was produced. — Lowell Citizen.

BIFFER.—Did you hear, Boothby, that our good friend Pilsner had been appointed a consul by Mr. Harrison?

BOOTHBY.—Is that so? Poor Pilsner! How steadily he has gone downhill!

BIFFER. - How so?

BOOTHBY — He began life as a ditch-digger, then he became a book-agent, then a lecturer, then a politician, and now he is an office-holder under Harrison.— Chicago Times.

VETERAN (to pension attorney).—"I want you to prosecute my claim for a pension. I was injured during the late war."

Attorney.— "Indeed! How, may I inquire?" VEFERAN.—"I purchased a pie of an army sutler—and ate it."—Kate Field's Washington.

An ignorant voter unaided by political influence would be as liable to vote right as wrong, hence it would be better to be right half the time rather than wrong all the time -- The Sturdy Oak.

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Thursday, January 15, 1891.

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INDUSTRIAL. — Rochester Boot and Shoe Manufacturers' Association; Two Strikes in Pennsylvania; Demands of Illinois Miners; Drunkenness among Working Girls; Plans of German Socialists; Condition of Italian Workmen; The Scotch Railway Strike; German Railways and Tariff on Iron; Meetings of the Unemployed in London; An Experiment with Trami in Germany.

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POLITICS: EVENTS; COMMENTS; LITERA-TURE.

The conditions under which this paper is published render it impossible to give the weekly record of facts the character of news, especially in the case of the foreign items. The facts are, in the main, collected from daily papers. Their importance does not generally depend upon dates. Our record of them cannot have greater authority than the sources have, but is evidently more trustworthy than any single newspaper.

LEGISLATIVE.

Congress. - Among the bills introduced in Congress during the week ending Jan. 10 are the following: a bill, in the House, by Mr. Post, to convert United States legal-tender promisesto-pay into legal-tender promises-to-receive, and to restore to circulation the gold held in the Treasury for the redemption of United States notes; a bill, in the Senate, at the request of a colored men's association, directing the Secretary of the Treasury to pay \$50,000,000 to certain agents to secure land in Lower California for the settlement of such colored citizens as might wish to avail themselves of the opportunity, the money to be restored, with interest, in forty years; a bill to regulate the rights and privileges of pleasure vessels and yachts of foreign build and ownership (providing that such vessels remaining in this country longer than six months shall become subject to duties at the rate of \$20 per gross ton, and if navigated here, to a tonnage of \$1 per ton at every port at which (they may arrive; and an amendment making it lawful for citizens of this country engaged in foreign trade, but residing abroad, to have vessels registered as vessels of the United States, and making it lawful for foreigners connected in business with citizens of this country to own in vessels of foreign trade one-quarter share, the active management in the United States to devolve on the home owner.

Among the bills passed by the House are: one to limit and govern the changing of vessels'

names; one requiring vessels to display their names on both sides of their bows; and one repealing the law authorizing the President to suspend tonnage dues.

In the Senate, on Jan. 5, the Democrats and Republican free-coinage men succeeded in displacing the Elections Bill, and in taking up the Sherman Financial Bill. General debate on the Financial Bill will close Jan. 13, and the final vote on the bill and amendment will be taken on the day following. It is believed that the Stewart free-coinage amendment will then pass. The "Force" Bill may be called up again, but the opponents of the measure are determined to push the Copyright Bill and other matters.

The Shipping Subsidy Bill was discussed in the House most of the time, evening sessions having been renewed for the consideration of private bills.

The introduction in the Senate of a resolution appropriating \$100,000 for the acquirement from the German Government of the method of preparing Koch's lymph has directed attention to the fact that no national body exists at present in this country capable of carrying out the provisions of the resolution. Legally the National Board of Health is still in existence, but practically the board is powerless, Congress having failed to recognize it, and make the requisite appropriations. An effort is to be made to revive the powers of the National Board, which, it is claimed, is necessary for the protection of the country, the State boards being unable to secure unity of purpose and action.

The Tariff Act of 1883 provided certain rates for silk fabrics and certain lower rates for hat materials, which include silk fabrics. The law was plain enough to the common understanding, but the Treasury Department enacted that silk fabrics should pay the higher rates, even if they were hat materials. Importers paid the higher rates under protest and appealed to the courts. It took the courts a long time to reach a final decision, but in the course of five or six years they decided that the act of the Department was void and the act of Congress valid. It then became necessary to refund to the importers the excess of duties paid, with interest from the date of protest to the date of reliquidation.

The payment of excessive rates had been going on for five or six years, and the total was known to be a pretty large sum. It is now estimated at about fifteen million dollars. Meantime the goods have been sold at prices to correspond with the higher rates, and consumers cannot get the benefit of the refund to the extent of one cent. All this money goes into the pockets of the importers and the happy lawyers who took the cases of the importers on shares.

Secretary Windom has just issued an order to the New York collector of customs instructing him to suspend until further orders all action in the reliquidation of entries of merchandise claimed to be hat materials under the Act of 1883. Is this new legislation by the Treasury Department? What does the order mean? The New York customs officials do not understand it, but conjecture that Mr. Windom is alarmed at the prospect of having to pay out so enormous a sum. If that is it, he can only make matters worse by putting off the payment, because interest will go on accumulating while payments are suspended.— Chicago Herald.

Illinois. — Among the bills introduced in the Illinois Legislature are: one making Labor Day a legal holiday; one providing for weekly payments to employees; and one repealing the compulsory education law, and providing for an attendance of at least sixteen weeks per annum of every child between the ages of seven and fourteen years at "some public or private school."

New York.—Among the bills introduced in the New York Legislature are: a bill giving the Board of Excise power to grant special licenses to keepers of public halls and assembly rooms, permitting them to sell wines and liquors after one o'clock in the morning; one providing for submitting to the people a proposition to borrow \$10,000,000 at three per cent interest for the construction of State roads; one providing for the compilation and printing of uniform textbooks for the schools; and one giving resident aliens the power to hold and convey real estate.

In 1889 the New York Legislature passed an amendment to the Code of Civil Procedure providing that the corporation counsel shall every three months furnish to the mayor of New York a detailed list of the number of fines collected from those who failed to do jury duty, together with the reason why any fine previously imposed upon a delinquent should be remitted. This amendment was intended to remedy the abuses of the jury service in New York City. The following figures are from a report of the corporation counsel:—

Fines imposed on delinquents.		\$63,150
Fines remitted by judges		60,880
Fines not remitted		2,270
Fines actually collected		None.

The Nebraska Legislature convened Jan. 8. The Speaker and the Alliance members, who form a majority, declined to canvass the returns of the last election or to recognize the officers elected. After great confusion and a general fight the majority passed a resolution that the last election was void. The executive office is guarded by militia and police, the governor-elect being denied admission, on the ground that he is not a citizen of the United States.

Among the bills proposed by the Farmers' Alliance for introduction in the Kansas Legislature are the following:—

"A redemption law giving the mortgager three gears in which to redeem land, not exceeding three hundred and twenty acres, sold under foreclosure; revision of the chattel-mortgage law; a law requiring the mortgager to pay his proportionate part of taxes; a reduction of the rate of interest to six per cent, with penalty of forfeiture of principal and interest for its violation; a revision of assessment and taxation laws; a reduction of the salaries of public officers; a reduction of State printer's expenses; school text-books to be published by the State and furnished to the people at cost; revision of court officers' fee bills; adoption of the Australian system of voting and the Crawford County system of primaries; a law requiring railroad commissioners to be elected by the people; a law requiring land sold under foreclosure to bring the amount of judgment and costs; a law suppressing the Pinkerton detective or similar organizations in the State; such a reduction of railroad tariffs as will yield an annual income not exceeding six per cent on the actual investment."

The city of Boston is compelled to pay, on the average, about \$15,000 per annum on account of injuries sustained by people who meet with accidents on the sidewalks, though the city is authorized to require abutters to keep them in a safe condition.

The Russian Minister of Finance will shortly issue new edicts on joint-stock companies. In future there will be two kinds of licenses: the first provisional for six months, during which time the company which it is proposed to form must get its capital fully subscribed and furnish a list of the shareholders, with their signatures, and also documents proving that the directors have all paid up their qualifying shares. On the

expiration of the six months the Minister of Finance will decide whether the provisional license shall be made permanent.

JUDICIAL.

An Illinois judge recently rendered an insurance decision of importance:—

The plaintiff is the mother of an engineer whom a policeman took for a fleeing burglar, shot and killed. Dove had a policy in the Employees' Liability Insurance Company, of Chicago, and his mother brought the suit to recover the insurance. The policy provides that it is void in case the holder meets an intentional death, and the jury was instructed to return a verdict for the company if it found from the evidence that the officer shot at Dove intending to hit him. The jury found for the defendant. The plaintiff made a motion for a new trial, claiming that the shooting was accidental, and not intentional. In his opinion, Judge Smith held to the opposite view. He maintained that the killing was within the meaning of the word "intentional" in the policy. He illustrated by saying that Dove's death would have been accidental had the policeman fired at a robber and hit Dove instead. If a policy-holder in an accident company were shot while trying to escape from a thief at night and killed, the killing would be intentional, and the insurance could not be recovered. "Or," said he, "if a boy should purposely drop a brick on a man's head, and death result, there could be no recovery of insurance. If a person should shoot into a crowd indiscriminately and kill a man, the death of the latter would be an accident. If, on the other hand, he should fire at a man wearing a white hat and a white coat, the killing would be intentional." The judge claimed that what the victim may be doing, or whether known to the assailant or not, does not enter into the case. He therefore overruled the motion.

In the case of the Pittsburg (Pa.) Law and Order Society against a firm charged with desecrating the Sabbath by pumping oil wells on Sunday, Judge Stow rendered the following decision:—

"The testimony shows indisputably that if the pumping of the several wells involved was entirely stopped on Sunday they would not get back to the amount of their previous Saturday production till Wednesday. The controlling question is whether the work done by the appellants is, under our Sunday statutes, a work of necessity.

"It has never been pretended that the term, 'works of necessity,' was intended to mean works of absolute necessity. Lowry, C. J., says the law regards that as necessary which the .common-sense of the country in its ordinary modes of doing business regards as necessary. It does not condemn those employments which society regards as necessary, even when they encroach on the Sabbath, if, 'according to the ordinary skill and science, it is necessary to do so.

"I am clearly of the opinion that the defendants are entitled to operate the wells to the extent necessary to prevent the accumulation of salt-water in the wells. In none of these cases does it appear that unnecessary work has been done by the defendant, and, therefore, judgment must be entered for the defendant in each case."

In a case recently passed upon by the North Carolina Supreme Court it appeared that a telegraph company received a message notifying a man that his wife was at the point of death, but failed to deliver it for eight days, though the receiver's place of business was well known and within a short distance of the office of the company in the town in which he resided. He was thereby prevented from being present at his wife's death or attending her funeral. The Court held that the receiver was entitled to maintain an action and to recover compensation for the mental suffering inflicted on him by the gross negligence of the company.

The Supreme Court of Pennsylvania held that a passenger railway corporation which had failed to obtain the consent of the local authorities to the construction of its road could not be said to be injured, within the meaning of the law, by a subsequent ordinance, which authorized another company to build on the same route, and could not complain of the illegality of the ordinance.

A Dartford (Eng.) newspaper denounced in strong language a sentence of the local magistrates in a case of petty larceny. The publishers of the paper were proceeded against criminally and found guilty. In passing sentence, Justice Stephen commented on the recklessness with which sentences are discussed in the press, and, regarding this to be a serious evil, imposed a fine of £100 on each of the offenders, or imprisonment until the fine be paid.

The Queen's Bench Division (England) recently held that a contract by which members of a mineral water association bound themselves not to sell the waters at a less price than the committee might from time to time direct was a contract in restraint of trade which could not be enforced in a court of law.

The Montreal (Can.) Federal Telephone Company was sued by a workman for damages, the workman charging that he was forced to work when the rain rendered it dangerous to climb trees and when no appliances were furnished to neutralize the danger. The evidence showed

that he had been ordered by a foreman to work, and that other workmen had been threatened with dismissal if they did not work on the day in question. The plaintiff, injured by the work, was confined to his house for fifty-two days, and was compelled to pay \$10 for doctor's services. The Court ordered that he be paid at the rate of \$1.50 per day, \$10 for doctor's fees, and \$100 damages.

A revival of a play at a Paris theatre was condemned by the well-known critic of the *Temps*, Sarcey. The author claims damages according to the Civil Code of France, on the ground that his property has been injured, and a writ has been issued by a Paris judge on Sarcey.

INDUSTRIAL.

At a meeting of the shoe manufacturers composing the Rochester Boot and Shoe Manufacturers' Association a set of rules governing the employment of help in the factories of the association was adopted. The right of the manufacturers to employ or discharge is to be acknowledged, as well as their right to introduce and operate any machines, and to employ help to run them by the week or piece. In case of a disagreement on prices, the matter is to be submitted to arbitration, pending which there shall be no lockout or cessation of work, either by employer or employees. The manufacturers resolved to open their factories for work.

The Monongahela River (Pa.) miners are out on a strike, their demand for an advance in rates having been refused. Ten thousand men are involved. The advance asked is from three to three and one half cents per bushel. The operators claim that they are unable to pay it, and they will let the mines remain idle.

The strike of the Hungarian furnace men at the Carnegie Edgar Thomson Steel Works, in Braddock, Pa., resulted in a serious riot. The strikers, armed with weapons of all kinds, made an attack on the men who had declined to join them, and wounded many of them. Some of the leaders have been arrested.

The miners of Sangamon County, Ill., have instructed the local members-elect of the Legislature to secure the following legislation: A bill to enforce weekly payments of miners' wages; a bill to compel mine inspectors to enforce the mining laws more rigidly; a gross-weight bill;

a compulsory arbitration bill, and a bill subjecting mine inspectors and pit bosses to examination.

The Wageworkers' Political Alliance of the District of Columbia has petitioned Congress to permit their delegate to have a seat in the National House. They claim to have elected a delegate by 48,406 votes, and they claim that since they vastly outnumber their employers, and since the district has no representation, their delegate is entitled to a seat.

Dr. Lucy M. Hall, in a recent lecture, reported that she has found drunkenness to be very frequent among women. Drinking habits are especially extending among the girls employed in factories and workshops, who have to work long hours for small pay.

The Boston West End Street Railway Company has increased the wages of motor men and conductors on the electric cars.

The Boston furnace manufacturers have refused to grant a nine-hour day to their employees.

The socialists' leaders in Germany have determined to carry the propaganda of State socialism into the villages and agricultural districts. Arrangements have been made for lecture tours, the dissemination of popular literature on socialism, and the formation of rural branches. The German emperor, to whom the matter was referred, instructed the authorities to make no attempt to suppress this new phase of the socialist movement.

The Roman Statistical Institute states that in Italy 200,000 workmen live in absolutely unsanitary cellars and 9,000 dwell in caves scooped out of rocks; in 1,700 parishes people eat bread only on holidays, and in 4,965 parishes no meat is eaten. According to a report of the United States consul at Rome, day wages in that city are as follows: Stone-masons, from fifty-four to fifty-eight cents; carpenters, from fifty-six to seventy-eight cents; day-laborers, thirty cents; workers on statuary (in the rough), from one dollar to one dollar and a quarter; statuary (finishers), two dollars to three dollars. Beef, according to quality, costs from fifteen to thirty cents a pound; butter, thirty cents; sugar, granulated, fifteen cents; coffee, forty cents; wheat flour, five and a half cents. The day's labor ranges from ten to twelve hours in cities, according to

seasons, and rises to fourteen hours in the country. During the past year many strikes have taken place among the silk workers and the agricultural laborers, most of them being successful.

The Scotch railway strike is practically at an end. The men have been replaced, and travel has been resumed. The Scotch roads were assisted by English companies, who sent their surplus men to take the strikers' places, and the English unionists seem not to have opposed this interference.

The German Railway minister has declared war against the iron barons. The latter, having by high tariffs succeeded to a certain extent in getting rid of foreign competition, next set to work to dictate exorbitant prices to the German government, while they sold to foreign countries at comparatively cheap rates. It has now been decreed that in all purchases of material for the Prussian railroads the lowest tender is in future to be accepted, irrespective of the nationality of the contractor, and that German material is only to be preferred where the prises asked are the same.

The managers of the Bavarian State railways have had to complain of a similar tendency to extortion on the part of the coal contractors. They have now decreed that in future coal is to be bought at the lowest tender; and this has enabled the Bohemian mine owners to obtain large orders, to the detriment of their Rhenish We tphalian competitors.

Meetings of unemployed laborers are being held in various parts of London, and street parades are organized. The banners carried by the men bear such inscriptions as, "We demand the right to live; we don't intend to starve." The severe weather, making outdoor work impossible, is partly responsible for the acuteness of the distress among the laborers.

An experiment in the solution of the tramp question was begun in Germany by a benevolent clergyman in 1882. It was to give relief to those vagrants in exchange for work. He established stations styled labor colonies, and last year twenty-one of them admitted 6,231 persons. If a tramp refuses the work provided for him at a colony, he is turned over to the civil authorities and disposed of according to law. The system has already reduced vagrancy and mendicancy in the empire, it is reported, and has diminished indiscriminate almsgiving. The work supplied

at the colonies is farm labor, reclamation of wastes, forestry or trades. The stations are supported solely by private subscriptions. After fourteen days the tramp is paid moderate wages, and from them is deducted the cost of clothing and other articles he may use. Besides the colonies, there are a thousand "stations" where wanderers have temporary relief, always in return for work.

IN GENERAL.

The great falling off in the recruiting returns suggests a growing dislike to the army. A singular feature about the present returns is that the army is falling off physically as well as numerically. — Manchester, England, Times.

The new United States Treasury notes, especially the ones, twos, and fives, are being severely criticised by business men, and there is a demand for the name of the contractor who furnished the paper to the Government. The paper is of the poorest quality, easily catches dirt, and tears when counted.

A monster trial of all the members of a servants' society for the facilitating of theft was held in the Fourth Criminal Court of Berlin, Germany, about three weeks ago. The thirtyfive prisoners organized ten years ago, according to the conclusive testimony of one hundred and fifty witnesses, an association of house servants for the purpose of theft. All the plunder of the members was brought to the meeting-rooms of the association, in the Chaussee Strasse, was there sorted and appraised, and then classified. so that it might be pawned without exciting suspicion. The profits were divided according to the president's judgment of the respective merits of the members. The result was that all the prisoners got sentences varying from one to five years in prison.

A Russian court has sentenced an Austrian to imprisonment for one year for the crime of encouraging Russian peasants to emigrate to Brazil.

The physicians of Berlin claim that their practice has fallen off twenty-five per cent since Koch began his operations, and they demand from the government free lymph.

The speaker and members of the Kansas City Council, and an attorney for a corporation, have been indicted for offering to accept or to give a bribe. Since the Paris Municipal Council dismissed the Sisters of Charity from the city hospitals, they have been replaced by nurses who cost seven hundred francs each, instead of two hundred, and are generally servants who cannot get places elsewhere.

The treasurer and three judges of Boone County, Mo., have been placed under bonds, on a charge of malfeasance in office. The sheriff of the county has been indicted on a charge of complicity with counterfeiters.

The District Assembly of Moscow has for the last few years made it its business to send out the best-improved agricultural machines to the villages, and allow the peasants to use them free of charge. This has popularized the modern improved implements among the peasants, and many of them began to buy their own machines. But it was found that in many instances well-todo peasants, who could afford to purchase their own machines, made use of the bounty of the Assembly. They took the implements of the Assembly not only to use them free of charge, but also to rent them out for use to poor peasants. The Assembly has therefore decided to charge a small rental for the use of their machines, and to see to it that none but poor peasants have the benefit of them.

The Rapides superintendent of public education writes as follows about the condition of Louisiana public schools:—

"Many of these schoolhouses are cheap, rude buildings, badly arranged for educational work, but they are much better than none.

"Some have been so constructed as to seriously injure the pupils' eyes, on account of not having sufficient light, which has been done more from the lack of correct information, from knowledge of what is needed, than from any other cause.

"A few are without windows of any kind, others not enough, while the majority are without glass.

"The first two are always too dark for children to see to study without holding the book too close to the eyes; the last on cold days have the shutters closed, and then they are like the first ones, entirely too dark."

The body of a man who was killed at Boylston Station, near Boston, by falling from the carplatform, was let lie, horribly mangled, exposed to the view of chance passers-by for several hours. The law prescribes this shocking neglect.

In the case of Mrs. Catharine Meramble, of Woodbury, Conn., the coroner found that death had resulted in consequence of compulsory

transportation to the hospital. She was conveyed to New Haven by order of the selectmen of Woodbury. The journey was one of thirty miles; the temperature was at zero; the woman lay on some hay in a "beach" wagon — presumably one without springs. Her hip was broken and her feet frozen.

The Personal Rights Journal reports two similar cases in England. At a meeting held on the 22d ult., in the Ark Mission Hall, Rotherhithe, a petition to the House of Commons was adopted:—

"That some time since a young man residing in Rotherhithe, who was suffering from a very mild attack of small-pox, lost his life solely through the exposure consequent upon his removal to a small-pox hospital. That a woman residing in Rotherhithe was dragged from her home a few months since and taken to a small-pox hospital, in spite of her entreaties and the entreaties of her friends. That these two cases are but specimens of the dangers and cruelties to which the sick poor are exposed by the state of the law at the present time, etc."

CLIPPINGS.

THE SWEET REASONABLENESS OF THE LAW.

At Enfield Petty Sessions, a little time ago, Mr. Bassett, of Fore Street, Upper Edmonton, was fined for having his wife and child with him in his trade-cart. The following remarkable conversation took place:—

Defendant: I have taken out a licence since. — Mr. Bowles (Chairman of the Bench): Even if you had had a licence when the officer saw you driving, you had no right to have a female and child with you. - Defendant: The female is my wife, and the child is ours. - Mr. Bowles: That don't matter. You must not have anything in your cart but your trade goods. - Defendant: Not even my wife? - Mr. Bowles: No. - Defendant: I was going to Waltham Market to sell things, and took my wife with me to mind the pony. What harm is there in that? - Mr. Bowles: Well, it is opposed to the law. A tradesman is only allowed to convey the goods in which he deals in his cart. - Defendant: Well, I always understood that a man and his wife were one, and that there could be no harm in their riding out together. -Mr. Bowles: In this instance the law will not permit it. You must not drive your wife or children about in your trade cart. You can only take with you a person to deliver your goods. - Defendant: It seems a strange law. - Mr. Bowles: We cannot help that. You have broken it, and must pay 5s. and costs, or go to prison. The money was paid.

The last report on Swiss trade from the British Legation at Berne refers to the subject of protection in that country. Swiss industries

have of late years had a hard battle against what M. Droz has termed the influenza of protection prevalent in the neighboring countries, and the government has, in consequence, gradually found itself forced to abandon the principles of free-trade formerly professed by the majority of the nation. The existing general tariff dates from December, 1887, when it was deemed expedient to furnish the Federal Government with efficient weapons for negotiating fresh commercial treaties with Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy. The conventions subsequently concluded with those countries will lapse on Feb. 1, 1892, and it is considered that still stronger weapons will then be required for the protection of Swiss commercial interests. As regards Germany, Italy, and Austria-Hungary, the conclusion of fresh commercial treaties will not, it is thought, encounter any insuperable difficulties. France, on the other hand, is protectionist, and averse to the renewal of commercial treaties. is, therefore, chiefly against her that a tarif de combat is required, if the government is to attempt, with any prospect of success, to obtain a favorable treatment of Swiss imports. The object of the new general tariff, which the Federal Council submitted to the two Chambers at their recent summer session, is threefold: to protect native industries, to serve as an efficient weapon for commercial negotiations, and to raise £160,000 extra revenue wherewith to cover the ordinary deficit on the year. The step which the government thus proposes to take in the direction of protection is far from meeting with universal approval, more especially in the frontier cantons, such as Tessin and Geneva, where the effects of the increased duties will be more severely felt. The class of consumers generally throughout the country are naturally opposed to a policy which cannot fail to render living more expensive, and they base their opposition to it on the 29th article of the Federal Constitution, which lays down the principle that "articles necessary for native industry and agriculture, as well as the necessaries of life, shall be taxed at the lowest possible rate, while objects of luxury shall be subject to a higher A further objection is, moreover, raised by those who, while ready to furnish the government with efficient weapons to negotiate commercial concessions on the expiration of the present treaties, are unwilling that these weapons should be used for purely fiscal and protective purposes. The new tariff may, indeed, serve in certain respects to exercise pressure on the neighboring countries, but it will rather, they consider, have the effect of rendering existence at home more difficult than of obtaining concessions from abroad. This will especially be the case as regards to France. Her vulnerable point, the silk trade, has been left almost entirely unnoticed in the new tariff. — London Times.

The value of the quantity of carpet wool imported from Russia annually is from \$1,500,000 to \$2,000,000. Four years ago the Department gave notice that our consular officers in Russia had been instructed to authenticate all invoices of merchandise which were expressed in "paper rubles, the currency in which all purchases and sales are made in that country, and upon which all commercial transactions are based, and also to attach to such invoices certificates showing the value of the paper ruble at the time of shipment, estimated in United States gold dollars, as indicated by the latest quotations at St. Petersburg of sight drafts in sterling on London." Since that time the dutiable value of wool imported from Russia has been calculated upon the basis of the value of the paper ruble, a depreciated currency of fluctuating value, with which the purchases are made. But the Department ruled on Dec. 1, 1890, that "the value of the ruble as estimated by the director of the mint should be taken for the purpose of assessing duty." And on Dec. 8 the Department gave notice that this value was sixty-eight cents. At that time the paper ruble was worth only fifty-eight cents. Thereupon the carpet manufacturers made protest. To assume that the rubles with which they had bought wool were worth sixty-eight cents when in fact they were worth only fifty-eight would increase the duty to be paid, even if thereby the wool should not be transferred from the lower class to the higher. It appears that the calculation of values on the new basis does, in fact, with respect to considerable quantities of the wool, transfer the imported staple from the class on which the duty is thirty-two per cent to the class on which fifty per cent must be paid. The Department was asked to revoke its decision and "return to the customs which have been in usage for nearly one hundred years." The Department replies that it "cannot withdraw its instructions." - New York Times.

The politician will soon be known, as, I think, a pest of another kind is known, under the title of vastator communis. The issue is getting nearer in time for all honest-going people, "Are we to set our foot on the politician, or the politician his foot on us?"—Free Life.

In this country the question is not one of emigration, but of immigration. Ideas penetrate the masses of the people slowly, and when once accepted retain their hold long after changed conditions have made them dangerous. — The Economist.

TO-DAY, JAN. 15, 1891.

A record of the facts and considerations which show that Individual Liberty is good for the people of the United States, and that, therefore, Legislative Regulation is injurious for them.

J. Morrison-Fuller, Walter C. Rose, Editors.

"Italy has had to learn the The Price of lesson that union and liberty are expensive articles. In most of the despotic States of former days, taxation was low, and the public debt insignificant." So begins an article on the "Economic Condition of Italy." The writer immediately goes on to say that after unity and independence had been established, the rulers had undertaken "to provide for the education of the people, to give an impulse to agriculture, industry, and commerce, and to amalgamate, politically and socially, the different parts of the new kingdom." And yet, notwithstanding all the efforts of the Government for nearly thirty years, the economic condition of Italy is most discouraging, and it looks as if these efforts would have to cease from the impossibility of collecting by taxation money enough to make them with. Not liberty and union, but the blunders of its rulers, are costly to a nation.

An ex-convict was recently Liberty and arraigned before a Chicago justice for peddling without a license a little volume of rhyme in which he relates the story of his own life. The story seems to have been well told, for the justice, after reading a portion, discharged the prisoner. The Chicago Heruld, after calling attention to the incident, wishes that the author may get his license and meet with success in his sales. No perception is evinced of the tyranny involved in arresting a man for such a cause. And still nine men out of ten, probably, if they could be induced to think about it a moment, would agree that a man has a right to write poetry or even doggerel, and to sell it, if he is able, without interference. The practice of licensing for a nominal fee those engaged in certain trades brings in very little money as a mode of taxation; as a means of protecting the public against annoyance and being imposed upon by worthless wares, it is a stupid farce; while, with respect to the persons engaged in the trades, it is a tyranny which ought to be intolerable to a free people. The custom has extended greatly in this country during the last quarter of a century,— even the newsboys being required in many cities to get a license for selling papers on the street,— and is one illustration among many of the curtailment of individual liberty among us.

It is interesting to note in this connection the training in submission which the State gives its prospective citizens in the public schools, as well as when they are trying to do something towards a livelihood. Rarely has the animus of State control in education been expressed more baldly and plainly than by Mr. Andrew S. Draper in the Educational Review for January. " Education by the State necessarily extends so far as to effect discipline, exact obedience, and inspire respect for authority. The great importance of this is very commonly overlooked. The Government must develop a feeling of loyalty, and a spirit of patriotism, and it can do it more effectually in connection with educational work than in any other way." Immediately before, he speaks of history as an "exemplification of the world's struggles for freedom and liberty, with the accompanying examples of heroic deeds and ennobling thoughts." Now what can "freedom and liberty" mean to a man capable of writing the sentences first quoted? Mr. Draper's may be a case of a seventeenthcentury mind dealing with nineteenth-century problems, and if it were an isolated case it would deserve no notice except as a curiosity. But the thought he expresses is the common thought of the day upon this subject. It is a waste of time to reason with men of this stamp; but, happily, not quite all are in such a psychological condition, and to the latter it may be permissible to put the following question: If the course of training advocated by Mr. Draper and those who agree with him, with its "loyalty to Government," "discipline," " exact obedience," and "respect for authority," — if such a training is proper for those who are to become citizens under freedom and liberty, what in the world would be the sort of training proper to those who were to become subjects under slavery?

The Downfall of the
Republican
Party. guage was used at the Republican
conference at Indianapolis:—

"Gentlemen, you can talk about harmony, and more cheap newspapers and organizations, but that will not restore us to power in Indiana. It is no use to deceive ourselves. There are more Democrats in this State than Republicans.

"The only way we can win is by inducing Democrats to vote our ticket. Can we induce them to vote the Republican ticket with Republican news_papers and lots of harmony? No! But boodle will do it. Boodle did it in 1880 and 1888, and boodle can do it in 1892.

"Gentlemen, if you can, devise some scheme to evade the Australian election law, which the Democrats adopted to protect themselves against our effective methods."

"What is the use of denying it, gentlemen? You all know that Indiana was carried for Harrison by boodle." This was received with great applause.
"Yes, gentlemen, if we cannot beat this new Australian law we cannot expect to win."

The Nation of last week devoted two and a half columns to a labored editorial seeking to show that Senator Hoar uttered a truth when he exclaimed, in a moment of chagrin, that the shelving of the "Force Bill" presaged the death of the Republican party. Let it be granted, etc., that the work which that party was organized to perform has been done; that the two measures, the Blair Bill and the Elections Bill, which it brought forward as final achievements of its mission, have been decisively rejected by the people. Still it does not by any means follow that the organization ought to disband — much less that it will. There is yet much work to be done in American politics, and it makes little difference what party performs it.

With respect to the second question, whether the Republican party is really on the point of dissolution, - a tolerably satisfactory answer is furnished by the above quotation from the Indiana politican to any one needing an answer. The Republican party is perhaps the most powerful and efficient political party organization the world has ever seen. Whether or not it represents the intellect and culture of the country, it certainly represents the wealth, — and money is the sinews of political as well as military warfare. Neither the rejection of two measures which many of its leaders deem vital nor such a reverse as it suffered at the elections last November can in the least portend its destruction. Even if no more bills should be passed by the present Congress, the achievements to which it can point with pride are by no means inconsiderable. Is it nothing to have saddled upon the country for some years the McKinley Bill, the Customs Administrative Bill, the Dependent Pension Bill, and how many thousand private pension bills,—to say nothing of bringing two Western pocket boroughs into the Union as States? (Though, on second thought, since Monday week, perhaps there is not much cause for congratulation in the last.)

What the November elections do show is one of two things: either that more " boodle" must be put into campaigns in the future, or that the Republican leaders grasped at a little too much during the first session of the Fifty-first Congress. Either of these mistakes can easily be remedied. Probably giving up the "Force Bill" was a wise move towards repairing the latter. At present. probably not more than one in four or five votes is purchasable at any reasonable figure. (In Indiana the ratio may be somewhat higher.) As long as this remains true the party is confined within rather narrow limits in its power of enacting sectional and class legislation. But there is no serious cause for discouragement; the ratio of purchasable votes is constantly growing greater. In order to show that the Republican party is near death, the Nation must first prove that the country is on the point of growing honest.

Any and every communistic The Pilgrims scheme supposes an ideal state of Socialism. affairs; if not really ideal, at least so changed from the present as to be scarcely recognizable. The repeated failures of attempts to establish societies of that kind may be partly accounted for by the absence of these necessary conditions. The failure of one conspicuous, but little-known, case cannot possibly be attributed to such a lack; for the members of the society composing the community were men and women of known honesty of purpose, purity of life, and wonderful endurance. These people were no other than the Pilgrim Fathers.

Every schoolboy knows why the Pilgrims left England to find shelter among a strange people, the Dutch; and why, a few years later, they sailed for the then unknown New England. The people were poor—too poor indeed to manage their own expedition, and so they entered into arrangements with a body of London merchants, commonly known in history as the Merchant Adventurers.

These merchants agreed to supply the Pilgrims with the necessaries for their undertaking on certain valuable considerations, the most important of which were the following five:—

- 1. Colonists sixteen years old and upwards and persons contributing £10 were each to be owners of one share. (The settlement was regarded in the light of a joint-stock company.)
- 3. The partnership was to continue for seven years, at the end of which time "all profits and benefits that are gotten by trade, traffic, trucking, working, fishing, or by any other means" were to remain as common stock.
- 4. The settlers, having landed, were to be divided into parties, to be employed in boatbuilding, fishing, carpentry, cultivation, and manufactures for the use of the colony.
- 5. At the end of seven years the capital and profits were to be divided among the stockholders in proportion to their respective shares in the investment.
- 10. Till the division, all colonists were to be provided with food, clothing, and other necessities from the common stock.

There can be no doubt that the Pilgrims meant, if possible, to maintain the agreement in all its parts, but in less than three years it was broken. The reason for this is simple: the good people had no heart in the work, because they had no share in the profits, or rather no immediate and adequate return for their labor. Within three years, i. e., in 1628, the contract was so far violated that parcels of land in proportion to numbers were assigned for tillage, though there was no provision for inheritance or actual possession of the land so cultivated. The mere change, however, worked wonders. Bradford quaintly remarks "that even women and children went into the field to work," where the land laid uncultivated before. This step was regarded as a mere tentative: the year following the small colony determined to acquire absolute ownership. For the sum of £1,800, payable in nine annual instalments, the Merchant Adventures were to convey to the planters, as Bradford quaintly phrases it, " even their stocks, shares, land, merchandise, and chattels." The speculation was bold and hazardous. "They knew not well," he continues, "how to raise the payment and discharge their other engagements, and supply

their yearly wants, seeing they were forced for their necessities to take up moneys or goods at such high interest. Yet they undertook it, and seven or eight of the chief of the place became jointly bound for the payment of this eighteen hundred pounds, in the behalf of the rest, at the several days; in which they ran a great adventure, as their present stock stood, having many other heavy burdens already upon them, and all things in an uncertain condition."

In the reorganized system a sort of jointstock company was formed, in which every freeman was to have a share and "every father of a family" was "allowed to purchase a share for his wife, and a share for every child that he had living with him. After allotting the animals, "they agreed," says Gov. Bradford, "that every person or share should have twenty acres of land divided unto them, beside the single acres they already had." That is to say, the principle of private property and absolute ownership was adopted, without which the settlers were either unwilling or unable to work. After this revolution, the old difficulties and hardships disappeared, the colony prospered at home, and started and successfully established trading stations on the Kennebec River in Maine.

Here then is a case under exceptionably favorable circumstances in which a fair trial was given the system of communism, and after the comparatively short period of three or four years, the system, unable to maintain itself, gives way. It may be said, "True; but this is not the final verdict." It may not indeed be the final word on the subject, but until society progresses beyond the social state of the Pilgrims, it is to be doubted whether the experiment can be successful even on a small scale. This period, however, seems to be as far distant from the immediate present "as the east is from the west."

A LITTLE ZOOLOGY AND OTHER MATTERS.

CARL VOGT is said to have once remarked that he wondered how any one could question the Simian descent of man after observing the conduct of Germans in foreign lands, their capacity for aping the language, manners, and methods of others was so marvellous. The aptness of the illustration may be dis-

puted; its derivation may be traced to the patriotic spleen of the learned paleontologist rather than to the pale and colorless abstract of objective reality; and irreverent Genevese students have been known to suggest that the doctor's physiognomy bore better testimony to the common ancestry than did the fickleness or pliability of his compatriots. Be this as it may, is must be remembered that DR. VOOT was unacquainted with American anglomania, and that he did not have the inestimable advantage of the entrée to Washington Society. So that if the evidence he offered of our family likeness to other Primates be deemed comparatively trivial, the impropriety should be ascribed to those limitations of space which confine our personal observation within such narrow bounds. the evidence of relationship drawn from Tentonic mimicry be discarded as insufficient, the social antics of Americans, freed from the restraints of industrial competition, will more than supply its place. The testimony of comparative osteology even, though unfolded by Huxley himself, will not speak more strongly for the fact than the grotesque contortions of the freed American. Americans, as every one knows, even they themselves, are born free. But these are the herd who inherit, along with their imaginary freedom, a perfectly real equality. It is the social superiors of these who display, by partial reversion, those qualities which so plainly proclaim the monkey.

The American may be freed from industrial competition in either of several ways. In the first place, he may be born rich. The number of those thus emancipated from human fetters is constantly and rapidly increasing. They do not form a class. In spite of the pretensions of New York, its apes still form only one of many tribes. All the cities, and even smaller towns, have their groups of freedmen, each with its own quality and measure of anglomania. There is visible, perhaps, a slight tendency on the part of the others to regard the New York tribe as an available imitation, which, on account of its proximity, may serve as a pattern in place of the London anthropoids, after whom they have sought to fashion their exterior. Of this variety of American, - it is as yet inaccurate to call it a breed, - the individual specimens which at present receive the greatest share of public attention are the sons, - commonly known as dudes. But it is quite possible that the daughters deserve at least an equal scrutiny; for, although the belief is still prevalent that American girls have some common-sense, the faith is fast becoming a myth; and as to this class of freedwomen, if they exhibit a smaller capacity for monkeyshines, they do their best to balance the account with their brothers, by their liberal cultivation of arrogance.

I do not aspire, nor is it within my power, to write a commentary on Anglomania and I am surprised to find to what length of digression a mere allusion may carry one. I spoke of this interesting case of reversion merely in order to put it to one side more effectually than if it were passed over in silence. We have here a curiosity indeed, such as we meet with all through zoology, but not a phenomenon of any importance. It is undoubtedly diverting to discover that Americans whose ancestors, in the single line which may sometimes be traced for a few generations, were as surely butchers, bakers, and candlestick-makers as the illustrious trio who jumped, and continue to jump, out of the Irish potato, now and then crossing with the lineage of a scrapegrace second son, should assume as their special mark of distinction an air of family pride. It is generally safe to say that the wealth on which this bubble floats does not owe its accumulation to that branch of the family whose genealogy is proudly set forth: for these illusions never show themselves in the American self-made man, whose industry has freed the family from the immediate scrutiny of natural selection. This remark serves to indicate why I have described the Anglomaniacs as freedmen; a little reflection will justify the description, and at the same time throw some light on the causes of reversion. These congeners of the chimpanzee form, as I have said, a number of independent groups over the country, which, although conspicuous in some ways, are of no present consequence, and need be mentioned only by way of introduction to a more troublesome species.

The other North American monkeys constitute hardly more than a sub-species. They live in Washington for the greater part of the year, if not of their lives; but they are distinctly migratory in their habits. As the personnel of Washington society depends largely upon the results of quadrennial elec-

tions, many people who have not examined the matter closely have wondered at the continuous perpetuation of the same specific or varietal characters from administration to administration. Officials are changed, their families migrate, new officials with new families arrive, but the unmistakable anthropoid (or rather, as I shall presently explain, the pithecine) habits remain. No sooner has the new tribe been ushered in by the doubtful vote of a pivotal State than its hitherto widely separated fragments begin to work themselves into the same misshapen relations to each other, and to go through the same contortions that their predecessors have so lately quit. Let there be no mistake about that. When the people gather at the poll, and discharge their Washington servants, the latter and their families return to their several walks in life utterly divested of the airs and graces which they have so awkwardly practised during their four years of freedom from the wholesome but not always pleasant experience of democratic society. But in Washington the evil effects of this exemption and segregation are always visible. Precedence takes the place of politeness; formality is aped by persons whose notions of etiquette have not hitherto extended beyond simperingly preceding a lady upstairs; awkward imitations of a hearsay but totally unaccustomed punctilliousness deform the naturally simple conduct of American women and men; in short, American officials and American officials' families put themselves on exhibition in a mean, ill-mounted, ill-rehearsed, ill-acted pantomime consisting of grimaces and capers, of which the end and aim seems to be to present a faint counterfeit of the illustrious court of Pumpernickel. Details might fill a volume, but that is a work of technicality, which must be reserved for the more elaborate pages of a zoological monograph. Assuming the fact, how is the phenomenon of transmission - not from generation to generation but from "administration to administration "-to be explained? The explanation lies partly in the residuum of ex-office holders left in Washington after each election waiting for a return to office, partly in the presence of the "Army and Navy," and mainly in the presence of the so-called Diplomatic Corps.

The first may be briefly disposed of. Although the ex-official who hangs on in Washington is generally a minor official, he is with unfaltering constancy the aspirant for higher honors and salary for himself and for more exalted precedence for his wife. Perhaps he has not even as yet been ranked by the Perpetual Grand Chimpanzee who presides over Washington ceremonials. Then he aims at rank; and his wife knows the precedence as well as the British matron of the novelist does her peerage. But the hangers-on are not all taken from the minor officers; some of the larger fry collect there in the course of time. All together they form a nucleus of sufficient size to gather unto itself fresh material, and they impress with a sense of their social new-comers importance.

The "Army and Navy" in Washington is a great theme; the only question is whether we should approach a subject of such magnitude at all. It is understood, of course, that when I speak of its magnitude the reference is always to the social dimensions. As a military entity, it is universally recognized, and I rejoice now to recognize the fact that the "Army and Navy" has no existence. The phrase may be used descriptively in the singular as a convenient designation for the greatest group of blockheads in the world. I say this without knowing the exact number of lieutenants in the German army; if I find on reference that I have underestimated this force, I shall be happy to rate the American "Army and Navy" second. Socially, then, the "Army and Navy" may be said to be stationed at Washington, although an exhaustive description of this variety of blockhead would include those at several minor centres of imbecility distributed with much impartiality in various ports and towns where there is no need of them. Not that I would be understood as implying that any port or town has need of the "Army and Navy"; on the contrary, I attribute the impartiality of the distribution to this very fact. If it were otherwise, - such is the wisdom of the departments,--means would no doubt be found of discriminating against the posts feeling the necessity. All points being equally secure, and the "Army and Navy" having besides no military existence, its function has become entirely social; and this is most conspicuously and efficiently discharged in or near Washington. Occasionally, as at present, a few officers are detached from the main body and sent out West to harry the Indians.

There they may watch for a chance to display their prowess. As a general thing, they return in disgrace, out-witted by the sixth son of an old chief. Now and then they become the heroes of some daring exploit, their lives being in awful peril, from which they extricate themselves and their troop, with great difficulty, killing two hundred Indians, and taking prisoners seventy-five more: loss on the white side, two blankets and a whiskey flask - dropped by deserters. When fortune has smiled on one of them so auspiciously, he returns to the settlements, to be lionized for the next twenty years. But these sham battles do not disturb the even tenor of Washington society. It must not be supposed, however, that the soi-disant military section of the "Army and Navy" is adequate by itself to discharge all the social functions which tradition demands of it. Civilian aid has been called in; and this is rendered as well as may be by the swarm of department officials of the "Army and Navy," who take their tone and bearing from the uniformed nonentities whose pay and provisions they are commissioned to superintend, and whose glorious deeds they record. The pomp of gold lace and the vanity of rank and precedence are the inherited destiny of all who are born to shine in the "Army and Navy." With them the love of barbaric display and effete forms does not constitute a case of reversion, but rather of survival. War and all its appanage are out of place and out of time in America, and only its sound and tinsel survive in Washington. But the prestige which still clings to anything so warlike as a uniform or a shoulder-strap is sufficient to attract the unsophisticated supporters of each new "administration" into more or less unconscious imitation of military fuss and feathers. But the essential factor in explaining the perpetuation of pithecine habits in Washington is that the "Army and Navy" is, more largely than any of the civilian officials, a permanent contingent at the capital. "spoils" system, on which American wirepullers and politicians fatten, has not invaded the ranks - probably because enough fools cannot be found to keep up a steady rotation in them. So the uniforms remain from year to year on the same backs, and help to impose the notion of formality and gradation on the incoming raw material.

Permanence is a quality shared by the Diplomatic Corps. Other countries not having learned that the secret of political efficiency is to turn out civil servants as fast as they become competent, it results that the members of the Diplomatic Corps remain in Washington generally longer than the American officials. Even when this is not the case, the changes in the foreign offices do not occur coincidently with our election. But above and beyond the advantage of permanence is the fact that all these foreign representatives, whoever they may be, come either from countries in which political and social aristocracies, with their pomp and ceremony, still thrive and bask in the sunshine of popular admiration, or from countries in which aristocracies have disappeared but recently, and more in name than in reality. It is perfectly well known that foreign countries do not send any men of ability to represent them here, and no one has yet suggested a satisfactory reason why they should. But the effect on the so-called society which disports itself in Washington to its own wonder and admiration is to get it misled into the most absurd and grotesque counterfeiting of the etiquette of European courts. The wife of the chef stands first, moves first, sneezes first, and after her, in their prescribed order, the wives of the baker, the pastry-cook, etc. Such is the clownish result. And the reality and operation of the alleged cause, viz., the presence, the character, the antecedents, and the conduct of the members of the Diplomatic Corps, cannot be doubted. But why confine ourselves to generalities? Only last week a reception was held in the White House, and the wily diplomatists were present in full force, in fact, they were the guests of the occasion. Diplomatic receptions! Of what vast political moment might not this occasion prove to be? If any one is sceptical of the political importance of a diplomatic reception, let him explain, if he can, why the people of the United States should be taxed to pay the piper. Besides, see how European nations regard these affairs. The Czar drinks a glass of wine with the Prince of Montenegro, and immediately the continent resounds with acclamation. The London Times appears on the following day with the longest leader of the year: the "Peace of Europe," the "Balkan Imbroglio," the "Advance of the Slav," the "Indian

Frontier," the "Stability of the Empire," or words to that effect. Or the Emperor of Germany remarks to a French lady that he will pay her a visit in Paris. Every editor in Europe descants on the "armed peace" and the probable consequences of a Parisian riot. American editors compose some very black head-lines — and copy the contents of their English exchanges. So our clerks and cooks in Washington prepare to emulate the foreign example. The doors of the White House are thrown open; the chef and his scullions stand on one side; his lady and the scullions' ladies stand on the other, arrayed in all the splendor of lace and spangles. Not the blue-nosed mandrill of Ethiopia is as one of these. The diplomats arrive and smirk - presently, too, they will take wine. For all the world, no doubt, as Alexander received the Prince of Montenegro - only the editors obstinately refuse to enthuse, and the telegraph tickers preserve a sullen silence. But the motious have been gone through, the pressing requirements of politics have been satisfied, and, above all, etiquette has been strictly observed. Yet hold! What blood-curdling breach of precedence have we here? The newspapers, otherwise speechless, grow eloquent, and herald the forebodings of calamity far and wide. On entering the Blue Room, Sir Fashionable Fiddleføddle, - probably more at home in the Green Room, - whose proper place is somewhere near the tail end of the diplomatic file, has actually, in the full light of day, preceded both the illustrious Count Dummkopf of Schoppenstet and the martial Don Alonzo Alfonso Blazo. Catastrophe impends. Dummkopf and Blaze glare; Fiddlefaddle, simulating indifference, walks boldly forward and cuts a caper before Mrs. Flarrison. Has the Emperor of Brobdingnag chosen this means to insult the majesty of Lilliput? Blazo demands. This is a personal affront, fiercely hisses Dummkopf. (For further particulars, see any Herald, Tribune, Journal, or Chronicle in America.)

Quo, quo, scelesti, ruitis? And it is from these addle-pates and numskulls, fit companions of the "Army and Navy," that Washington society takes its shape and color—a spectacle for the gods. Eminent Hoosiers, distinguished Buckeyes, luminous representatives of Pike County, with their families, come here to unlearn their common-sense, freed for a time from the gaze and contact of

their constituents, that they may furnish evidence of their zoological affinities. The society of anthropoids must be dignified by contrast with the gambols of the migratory Washington varieties. The unmistakable likeness to pithecine antics, not shared by our Asiatic or African cousins, conclusively proves that the anatomical indications are deceptive and that the missing link should be sought in America.

But, it may be asked, if the other tribes of monkeys, described as Anglomaniacs, are too inconsiderable to deserve attention, what possible consequence or significance can this Washington tribe have for us? The trouble is that these people are elected; they draw salaries and charge many of their expenses to our Treasury; that these expenses threaten to grow heavier every year; and that some of these very clowns have the fixing of the salaries and expenses in their own control. Assaults on the surplus are made from every quarter. The talk of raising the pay of Congressmen is revived every year. If they hesitate now, it is only till the whole civil list shall have been marked up, as happens piecemeal at every annual appropriation. The diplomatic service in particular, next only to the "Army and Navy" in worthlessness, grows hoarse with demands for allowances to enable them to vie with their associates at foreign courts in display and extravagance. And the Treasury slowly but surely yields. Everything yields. And now comes the last straw.

A resolution was brought into the Senate the other day announced in the papers as "Mrs. Harrison's Bill." And the announcement was justified, for her name appeared in the resolution itself. After a number of whereases in which the merits of the case were canvassed and the arguments presented in its favor, and after reciting the fact that we are a nation of 64,000,000 people — from which we derive the consoling knowledge that Mrs. Harrison has no faith in the census, though she is willing to split the difference with the Democrats — the resolution proceeds to appropriate \$950,000 to build an addition to the White House! In order, forsooth, that Harlequin and his successors may have more room in which to display their agility and the feathers of their Colombines. A million dollars to be taken from the pockets of the owners in order that the "Army and

Navy" may not get its unaccustomed sword between its clumsy legs; in order that there may be enough velvet sofas for the increasing horde of ex-dish-washers waiting for reappointments; in order that ceremony may be more perfectly rehearsed — that Fiddlefaddle may have no excuse for blundering in ahead of Dummkopf and Blazo! Did I say a million? uo, just \$950,000; who ever heard of a government building costing a million — in the original bill? Out upon it! Will some one please subscribe \$950 to build Mrs. Harrison a lean-to for a wash-house? Out upon it! Subscriptions received at this office.

BOOKS.

The Conflicts of Capital and Labour, Historically and Economically Considered. Being a History and Review of the Trade Unions of Great Britain. By George Howell, M. P., Macmillan and Co. 1890.

One of the most serious questions at present is that concerning the relations between the different classes engaged in production,—a question second only to that of the relation between citizens and the Government. Few things can throw more light upon the first question than an accurate survey of the relations which have existed in the past between workmen and their masters or employers. Such a survey Mr. Howell has attempted to give, and with very good success. The value of his work to one making a serious study of the subject can hardly be overestimated.

Since the first edition appeared, about twelve years ago, great changes have taken place as regards industrial questions, so great that the revision of the work amounted practically to rewriting it. "Then trade unions were denounced in the press, on the platform, in the pulpit, and in Parliament; not occasionally, but constantly, persistently, and virulently." A large part of the former work was accordingly taken up in defending associations of workingmen against the often ignorant onslaughts made upon them. Now a portion is devoted to contending against the unreasonable demands of certain more "advanced trade unions."

Industrial combinations date from a very early period, though at first they extended their influence to social, religious, and political matters. The origin of guilds is ascribed to feasts of German tribes from Scandinavia. The word itself is said, in its primary meaning, to imply a feast, and also the company assembled. Mr. Howell describes with considerable minuteness the development of the social series with series of the series of the series with considerable minuteness.

opment of different guilds—religious and social guilds, merchant and town guilds, and craft guilds.

In the last he sees the parent of trade unions. All these organizations, in so far as they were concerned with industrial affairs, were combinations in restraint of trade, and this has been more or less a characteristic of their modern represent. atives. It is interesting to note that the breaking down of the guilds was largely due to this vice. The associations became close corporations, for the benefit of a few families; whereas it is only by embracing a large number that a union of workmen can remain powerful. In addition to this cause of failure, the craft guilds ranged themselves directly against the discoveries and inventions, which had the effect of bringing many branches of industry under the control, comparatively, of few persons.

The darkest days for English laborers seem to have occurred during the period between the dissolution of guilds and the formation of trade unions; which period, it is worth noting, coincided with the transition from mediæval methods of industry to modern capitalistic production. It is impossible to read an impartial history of the long conflict between masters and workmen without having the sympathies strongly excited on the side of the latter. Of course, this does no more than raise a presumption that they are mainly right in their present contest, as it is possible that the pendulum has now swung to the other side, and that employers are now the ones deserving sympathy. The condition of English laborers during the eighteenth century seems to have been about equally bad in trades subject to statute, such as woollen manufactures; in trades incorporated by charter, like framework knitting; and in trades free from restriction, as the cotton and silk trades. One of the most flagrant cases of oppression occurred in the business of framework knitting. In 1778, the wages of a workman were stated to be about six shillings a week. The greatest exactions on the part of employers were levied in the shape of frame-rents. "The value of a frame at that time is stated to have been from £6 to £8, and for its use a workman had to pay from 1s. 3d. to 2s. per week. . . . If a workman managed to buy a frame of his own he was refused This rent the workmen had to pay whether they worked or not, even during sickness, or when the employers failed to furnish materials. Many employers purposely stinted their workmen . . . so that in this way they might be able to deduct the frame-rent from a greater number of persons."

It is difficult to judge of the future by the

past; ignorance both of the past and of the present is required to make predictions about the future easy. The history of trade unions is a record of almost continuous triumph of the working classes. At the beginning of the present century, combinations of workmen were forbidden by law; now the law fully recognizes them, and protects their property. Already, they collectively form one of the most powerful associations in modern States, and they no longer confine their attention strictly to measures chiefly affecting their own members. Just what will be their course, what effect they will produce upon the State, what will be their fate, it is impossible to foretell. In the past there can be no doubt that they have been of great benefit to their own members, and indirectly to society. Whether they contain men sufficiently wise to make their direct influence tell in the right direction is a question of surpassing importance.

POLITICS IN THE MAGAZINES.

ATLANTIC (JANUARY). Compulsory Arbitration. By Charles Worcester Clark In this paper we are told that it is a characteristic feature of Americans to submit too readily to their servants; Bridget and Congressmen, coachmen and railways are classed together. In matters of public administration, indeed, the writer maintains that we discuss not so much "whether we shall employ Democrats or Republicans to serve us" as whether "we shall submit to Democratic or Republican rule."

The particular class of public servants with which the paper deals is the railways. That the State has a right to arbitrate between them and their employees, Mr. Clark has no doubt whatever. To quote his words on this point: "It is idle, at this late day, for the public carriers to deny the right of the State to control them." Until Congress takes action in the matter, he would have each State pass a law applicable to corporations within their limits, such law to establish a permanent board, or to designate some judge of a higher court, who should appoint a temporary board when there was need for the same. In any case, whatever the character of the board, it should be compensated for its services. The right of the employees to organize should be recognized, but the board should not give hearing to individual complaints, - ail complaints to come from official sources. Furthermore. arbitration boards shall be given the right to demand from both sides such information as may seem needful.

The questions that would confront such boards

- what should be considered sufficient pay, the length of a day's work, promotion and discharge - are discussed quite fully, and the whole article gives evidence that the writer has given thought to the subject. There is one recommendation, however, which scarcely harmonizes with his prefatory remarks. He would license all railway employees, which license should be forfeited when its holder leaves without due notice or public consent, and to be re-obtained only on payment of a high price. Doubtless he relies on that very characteristic of Americans, viz., "To submit too readily to their servants," to bring about such an arrangement. For these people who are to be licensed to obtain a livlihood are an integral part of the State, and, therefore, the Congress, or State Legislatures, are their servants. If, then, these public servants of the public carriers deem a license necessary, the latter would be submissive indeed to yield very graciously. Perhaps Mr. Clark does not see the point in that light, but certainly he will pardon the suggestion that such a proposition contains all the elements of absurdity.

The Lesson of the Pennsylvania Election, by Henry Charles Lea. — The term "boss" is here defined as "a product of natural selection, a man who by nature and training rises above his fellows in all the baser arts of management, who unites shrewdness and audacity with executive ability, and whose profoundest conviction is . . . that the Decalogue and the Golden Rule have no place in politics." The writer gives a brief history of "bossism" in Pennsylvania through the reign of the Camerons and Quay down to time of making nominations for the recent elections. He considers the result not so much a political revolution as a revolt against the boss's tyranny. "It is perfectly safe to say that in a national issue, with an unexceptionable candidate and a fair canvass, Pennsylvania would to-morrow give her customary Republican majority." Making all due allowance for the local antagonisms, coming from disappointed victims of the spoils system, he thinks that the result of the election shows that the "popular instinct is in favor of honesty in politics," and that "there is enough unselfishness and common-sense in the party (Republican) to profit by the warning."

Boulangism and the Republic by Adolphe Cohn is an interesting sketch of the Boulanger adventure and its effect upon the French Republic. It has united the Republican party, and made its leaders realize the necessity of carrying out a policy. It has also strengthened the president and the cabinet, and even caused the monarchical parties no longer to believe in monarchy,

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AMERICANA.

The ignorance of great men concerning things which they are supposed to know all about is sometimes appalling. A few days ago a prominent Senator, who has well-known Presidential aspirations, made a speech in favor of the Force Bill. It was not a very deep speech, but sufficed to put the Senator "in line" with the majority. The same evening, in conversation with a number, of friends, the Senator said: "One of the strong points of this bill, in my estimation, is that it does not in any way mix the federal judiciary up with politics. The judges of the United States courts are not called upon to get down from their high dignity and take part in political contests. I could not favor a bill which even in the smallest way attempted to place political power in the hands of the judiciary." "But does not this proposed law require United States judges to issue certificates of election to Congressmen, after hearing cases of appeal from the boards of canvassers?" asked one of the Senator's friends. "Oh, no," replied the Senator, "the judges have nothing at all to do with it." A copy of the bill was procured, however, and there, in plain type the statesman read that judges were required to decide on appeal and issue certificates of election to Representatives in accordance with their findings, these certificates to be binding upon the clerk of the House of Representatives. "Guess I don't know as much about this bill as I thought I did," remarked the Senator, with admirable frankness, "and I am afraid to study it much for fear that I shall have to take back what I said in my speech and vote against it.

Washington Correspondent, Chicago Herald.

"You have been fighting, my son," said the alderman from the 'Steenth ward, severely.

"Yes, sir," replied the boy. "The dirty little scoundrel on the other side of the street told me you'd sell your vote in the council any time for s hundred dollars, and I chugged him one on the jaw."

.. That was right, my son." said the alderman, .. one hundred dollars"- and he spoke with much emphasis and decision-"would be no temptation."— Chicago Times.

The easy money market we are now having shows how much Congress can help things by letting them severely alone. - Boston Herald.

We extend our heartfelt sympathies to those States about to be afflicted with legislative ses-Maryland is not in the swim this year, and, consequently, saves both time and money.

The Baltimore American.

The Mormon problem is likely to be good enough to settle itself so far as this country is concerned. John W. Young has bought three million acres of land in the northern part of old Mexico, and it is reported that the Mexican government will give fifty dollars to every single man and two hundred dollars to every family that shall settle on it. The scheme is not a new one, and its adoption is only a question of time. It will save a great deal of expense and unpleasantness to us - though perhaps it is likewise only a question of time when old Mexico will be a part of the United States, and then the ancient trouble will be renewed. But sufficient unto the day, etc. As the girl remarked, at protracted meeting, of her new bonnet: "I found it was dragging me down to hell, and so I gave it to my sister." - Judge.

"So you are lecturing on 'How to Abolish Poverty'?" "Yes; it was the only practical solution for the problem that I could find."-Washington Post. .

"You don't bring me any buttons now," said the minister's wife. . "Do you never find any in the collection basket?"

"No, my dear: since the new tariff went into operation, contributors find it cheaper to put in a nickel." - Epoch.

Guest. - I stopped at this hotel a year ago, and you asked me four dollars a day, now you want five; I don't see that you have made any improvements.

CLERK. - No. sir; but if you will look over the register you will see that a short time ago Major McKinley stopp d here over night. - Judge.

MR. HARRISON. - What's this "Reciprocity" idea of yours, Jim? I don't exactly catch on to it.

POLITICIAN (angrily). — These newspapers tell abominable lies about me.

FRIEND. - And yet they might do worse.

Politician. - Do worse! What do you mean? FRIEND. - They might tell the truth. - Kate Field's Washington.

The best thing about the Federal Elections Bill is that the country won't be called on to pay it. Philadelphia Times.

> "When rogues fall out, Just men come by their due," Thus turned about May suit a modern view : -

" When legislative cranks fall out And 'Silver' fights with 'Force,'

The People" (neither awed nor robbed) " Are better off," of course.

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The conditions under which this paper is published render it impossible to give the weekly record of facts the character of news, especially in the case of the foreign items. The facts are, in the main, collected from daily papers. Their importance does not generally depend upon dates. Our record of them cannot have greater authority than the sources have, but is evidently more trustworthy than any single newspaper.

LEGISLATIVE.

Congress.— Little business was done in Congress during the week ending Jan. 17. A bill for the free coinage of silver was passed by the Senate by a majority of twelve. Mr. Hoar succeeded in putting the "Force Bill" again before the Senate, and carried a motion for a continuous session till the passage of the bill. He made an attempt to close debate on amendments, in which he failed.

The House passed the Army Appropriation Bill with an amendment providing that land-grant railroads shall receive for army transportation but half the price paid by private parties for similar services, and appointed a committee to investigate the "silver pool."

Among the bills and resolutions introduced are: a bill, in the Senate, to provide for a temporary government in Alaska (defluing the boundaries, providing for the election of a legislative council and Hous, and for the creation of courts, etc.); another "Federal Elections" Bill, by Senator Quay, which differs from the Hoar Bill in that it provides for the suspension by the President of the writ of habeas corpus in places where "peaceable enforcement of the law" is found to be impossible; a bill, in the House, for the condemnation of the Union Pacific and Central Pacific Railroads, and their lease by the Government; a bill setting apart the sum of \$250,000 as a fund for aiding the education of the blind in the United States; a bill to throw open the Cherokee strip, paying the Indians \$1.25 an acre; a bill to prevent the establishment of letter-boxes for the receipt of mail matter in premises not occupied by postoffices; a bill to repeal the amendment of the section of the Revised Statutes dealing with appeals to the United States Supreme Court (under which an endment appeals may be brought on a writ of habeas corpus as often as new grounds of application are found); a resolution directing the House Committee on the Judiciary to investigate the political condition of New Hampshire, "with a view of determining whether or not a Republican form of government exists there"; and a resolution condemning the conduct of Great Britain in referring the Behring Sea dispute to the United States Supreme Court.

The Indiana Representatives in Congress have been instructed by the Legislature to vote for the creation of a Cabinet officer on labor.

Kansas.—The Legislature has passed a resolution directing the proper officials to send a supply of coal to the destitute people of northwestern Kansas.

North Carolina.—The Legislature has adopted a resolution instructing Senators and Representatives of the State in Congress to secure the passage of a bill embodying the alliance sub-treasury plan and abolishing national banks.

New York. — Among the bills introduced are: a bill imposing a fine of \$10,000 on any one who puts a current of electricity on power or light wires more than 600 volts strong; one making the fine for selling pools (except at the race tracks) from \$500 to \$1,000; one extending the provisions of the Factory Inspection Act to women and children employed in mercantile houses, giving the shop and "cash" girls the care that is extended to factory girls; one to make street-car fares in Albany five cents, instead of six; one prohibiting the importation of armed bodies of police or detectives, and the appointment of persons not citizens of the United States to assist a sheriff or peace officer; and one ex-

empting from jury duty bank cashiers, tellers, and their assistants, and presidents and vice-presidents engaged at the bank.

Missouri. — Among the bills introduced are: a bill requiring electric, telegraph, and telephone wires to be placed underground in cities of the first class by May 1, 1893; one to prohibit the selling of pools at any place except race tracks; one for establishment of penny savings-banks; one prohibiting corporations from compelling employees to contribute to the support of a company physician; one making "Labor Day" a legal holiday; one reducing passenger rates to two and one half cents per mile on trunk lines and three cents on branch lines; one requiring railroad trains to stop at county seats; one requiring public mills to pay tax under merchant's license law; one providing for a uniform system of school text-books; one fixing the legal rate of interest at six per cent, and providing that when usury is charged the principal shall be forfeited to the school fund; one to regulate the sale of liquor in original packages; one prohibiting the sale of tobacco in any form to minors; one requiring merchants' weights and measures to be verified and scaled; one fixing sleeping-car rates at not exceeding two dollars for twenty-four hours; one prohibiting school officers from acting as agents for book or furniture firms; one requiring mine operators to give employees noon hour above the ground; one making it optional with juries in murder cases whether sentence of death or life imprisonment is returned; one conferring the same property rights on women that men enjoy; one requiring the payment of workmen in lawful money; one for inspecting and licensing steam-boilers; one to prevent employers requiring workmen to contract not to join labor unions; one to protect railroad employees by requiring frogs and switches to be blocked; one to require employers to furnish seats to female employees in manufacturing and mercantile establishments; one to make "black listing" illegal; one to provide for safety couplings for freight cars; one to restrain domestic geese; one to exempt farmers' insurance companies from the provisions of the general insurance law; and one to abolish stoves in passenger cars. A resolution was introduced amending the bill of rights, by authorizing four fifths of a jury to return a verdict in all cases except treason and murder in the first degree.

Illinois. — Among the bills introduced are: a bill providing for the Australian ballot system; one to create a commission to furnish a uniform

system of school-books; one for the incorporation and management of pawners' societies or banks, and to regulate the rate of compensation for advances, storage, etc., on pawns; one to prevent trusts; one to reduce interest to six per cent; one preventing railroad corporations from compelling their employees to join insurance societies; one repealing the law which provides that an employee injured through the carelessness of another employee cannot recover damages from the corporation; one levying a tax of two per cent on the gross income of all express companies doing business in the State; one to protect labor unions in their labels and trademarks; one to compel mine operators to pay their workmen in money; one modifying the educational code so as to make it include the singing of patriotic songs and instruction in patriotic literature; one providing for weekly payments by all corporations; one giving the railroad and warehouse commission the right to fix charges for switching cars to and from private warehouses; one providing a bounty of one cent a pound for all sugar manufactured in the State from sorghum, beets, or maple; one amending the compulsory education law, so that reading, writing, and history shall be taught in English exclusively, and that the direction of these studies shall be vested in the county superintendents, instead of the Board of Education; and one dividing railroads in three classes (class A to consist of roads whose gross earnings are \$7,000 per mile or more; class B, roads earning from \$4,000 to \$7,000; and class C, roads earning less than \$4,000); and providing that the A roads shall not charge more than two cents per mile for carrying passengers, the B roads two and one half cents, and the C roads three cents.

Indiana. — Among the bills introduced are: a bill to abolish the grand jury system; one providing for free school-books; one making employers responsible for negligence of their employees; one providing for the collection of laborers' wages without exemption on execution; one prohibiting millers from charging more than one-fifth part for grinding or bolting wheat, corn, rye, oats, and barley, and more than one-eighth part for crushing corn, oats, and other cheap food; one creating a Board of Arbitration; one prohibiting the use of more than eighty cubic feet of natural gas per hour; one declaring all trusts and pools unlawful; one requiring the attendance upon public or private schools of children between the ages of seven and fourteen years (the Board of Trustees to furnish clothing if the parents are unable to do so); one preventing dealing in margins or options in grain, live-stock, produce, and stocks; one providing for punishment of frauds in sales of wearing apparel by itinerant venders, and regulating such sales; one to compel owners of dams to construct fish ladders; one providing a bounty of one cent for the killing of English sparrows; one regulating the heating of railway cars; one providing for verdicts by four fifths of the jury in civil cases; one requiring railroads to stop passenger trains at county seats; and one requiring railroad companies to erect suitable depots at all railroad stations.

Nebraska. - Among .the bills introduced are: a bill providing for State publication of school books, to be furnished to pupils at cost; one preventing Pinkerton detectives from exercising police powers; one making all contracts for usury void, and usury an indictable offence; one prohibiting anonymous election posters damaging to candidates; one repealing the bounty on sugar; one securing leave of absence to employees on Election days; one conferring on women the right to vote at municipal elections; one requiring all cars to be provided with automatic couplers; one regulating stock-yards; and one compelling railroads to establish underground crossings where the grade is more than five feet in height.

Minnesota. — Among the bills introduced are: a bill fixing the maximum rate of interest at eight per cent; one exempting manufacturing establishments from taxation; one prohibiting non-residents of the State from doing police duty; one providing for uniform examinations for admission to the bar; and one providing that divorced persons cannot marry again until one year after the divorce has elapsed.

California.—Among the bills introduced in the Califonia Legislature are: a bill making it unlawful to offer less than two dollars per day to unskilled laborers, hired to work for the municipalities or the State; one making eight hours a day's labor: one creating a Board of Arbitration; one declaring secret alliances void and consent not to be marriage unless followed by solemnization; and one making it unlawful for any person to advertise "the practice of obtaining divorces a speciality."

The National Medico-Legal Society has decided to memorialize Congress to create the office of a national chemist, and to establish a thoroughly equipped laboratory, which should be at the disposal of the Government or of the State authorities under suitable regulations. It was also declared that each State should have a State chemist and a laboratory.

Some time ago the New York courts annulled the charter of the North River Refining Company or Sugar Trust as an organization in restraint of legitimate competition. In the opinion of the New York Supreme Court, it was declared that the "agreement, having for its objects the removal of competition and the advancement of prices of necessaries of life, is subject to the condemnation of the law. by which it is denounced as a criminal enterprise." But the sugar trust has reorganized under a new charter obtained in New Jersey, and is licensed to do business in New York. Last year, in anticipation of this very action on the part of the trust, a bill was introduced in the New York Legislature prohibiting foreign corporations from carrying on in the State any business denied to domestic corporations. But nobody took any interest in the bill, and it never was considered. It is thought that the Albany Legislature will now see the necessity of stopping by law the operations of corporations which the courts of the State hold to be criminal.

The New York State Board of Arbitration, in a special report to the Legislature, makes suggestions for legislation to prevent railway strikes. The Board thinks that entrance into railway service should be by enlistment for a definite period, upon examination as to mental and physical qualifications; resignation or dismissal to be permitted for cause, to be stated in writing, and filed with some designated authority. Any combination of persons to embarrass the operation of a railroad to be made a misdemeanor.

The Government has introduced in the Indian Legislative Council a bill raising the age of consent from ten to twelve years. Ten thousand Indian women have signed a petition to the Queen of England asking to have the legal marriage age for girls raised from ten to fourteen years.

The Russian press is demanding legislation to control the price of drugs. It has been shown that druggists charge a dollar for mixtures worth no more than two cents.

JUDICIAL.

The New York Fire Department brought an action against a theatre manager, the complaint being that he allowed persons to stand in the aisles of the theatre during performances. Judge Jerolman, in imposing a fine of \$50 upon the defendant, said:—

"The statute is very plain and the penalty severe, and still the overcrowding of public places, and particularly of theatres, is the rule, and not the exception. Go into the theatres on the occasion of an attractive play, and people occupying rear seats are annoyed by a crowd of men leaning on the backs of seats, and to speak to an usher or officer in or about the theatre in regard to it is to be stared at and looked upon as a modern crank. Upon the trial of this case the court was greatly amused at the disclaimer of authority on the part of any person to prevent this most flagrant and wilful violation of a most salutary law; no one seemed to be in authority, and all disclaimed authority over the matter—the theatre rather ran itself.

"This law is nightly violated at nearly all the theatres in the city, and, like many more of our laws in this city where penalties are prescribed, is observed more in the breach than in the enforcement of the same. Men on the sidewalk peddle tickets, aggressively and impudently plant themselves in front of passers-by, obstruct the sidewalk and entrances, and lessors, lessees, managers, and uniformed officers of the law stand by, all disclaiming authority to prevent this plain violation of law, which, if they would, they could prevent.

The New York Court of Appeals held that in an action against a gas company for maintaining a nuisance by creating noxious odors, the existence of the nuisance established the cause of action, and it was not necessary to prove negligence on the part of the company in selection of machinery, or in methods of manufacture. Smells and odors that pollute the air so as to render adjacent property unfit for enjoyment constitute a nuisance, and it is not necessary to a right of action that the adjacent owner be actually driven from his dwelling. The Court held that a gas company is not exempted from liability, because it is incorporated under the laws of the State. Such a company cannot locate its works where it will, and it rests under the same obligation as any other citizen to use its manufactory property so as not to create a nuisance.

The Kansas Supreme Court has decided that the Legislature not having granted to the cities of the second class power to establish separate schools for white and colored children, the action of the Independence Board of Education in attempting to exclude colored children from the public schools and compel them to attend a separate school was illegal.

The Massachusetts Supreme Court has decided that the Peabody town corporation has no right to establish and operate an electric-light plant for the use of the town. The Court says:—

"We assume that the Legislature by statute can confer upon towns authority to construct and maintain works for the manufacture and distribution of electricity to be used by the towns and their inhabitants for illuminating purposes. The question now presented is whether the existing statutes confer any such authority, either for the purpose of lighting the streets of towns or for this and the additional purpose of furnishing light to their inhabitants at reasonable rates. Such authority is not within any of the customary powers which towns from very early times have exercised, and must be derived, if it exists, from the statutes relating to towns."

A citizen of Brooklyn, N. Y., has obtained an order from the courts restraining Mayor Chapin from carrying out a bargain which he has made with the Long Island Water Supply Company in behalf of the city of Brooklyn for the purchase of the company's works. The judge finds that the stock of the company, which sold at seventy a year ago, and which the president of the company swore before the tax assessors was not worth \$25, was bought by Mayor Chapin for the city at \$300 a share, besides assuming two mortgages amounting to \$500,000. The mayor claimed that the purchase was a benefit to the city, but the judge found a prima facie case of a proposed expenditure which would be wasteful in the extreme. The case will shortly be tried upon its merits.

In a recent liquor case, the Maryland Court of Appeals held that no citizen can complain because a police regulation denies him the privilege of selling liquor, even if the privilege is granted to others. The Court said:—

"It has been maintained that the appellant has rights under existing treaties which have been infringed by the denial of licenses to aliens. Our opinion on this question has been sufficiently indicated, but few more words may be added. If we assume, for the sake of the argument, that the appellant has, under treaties, every right which a citizen could have, the answer is that no citizen of the United States can complain because a police regulation denies him the privilege of selling liquor, even if the privilege is granted to other citizens. We are unable to conceive that any one, citizen or alien, can acquire rights which could in any way control, impair, impede, limit, or diminish

the police power of a State. Such power is original, inherent, and exclusive; it has never been surrendered to the general Government, and never can be surrendered without imperiling the existence of civil society."

A Nebraska judge sentenced a tramp convicted of stealing an overcoat to one year in the penitentiary, and to pay the costs of the prosecution. The same judge sentenced a man convicted of assault, with intent to commit rape, on a school teacher, to three months in jail and a fine of \$100.

INDUSTRIAL.

The San Francisco Council of Federated Trades and the Retail Grocers' Protective Association are about to form an alliance. The workmen pledge themselves to patronize the union grocers, while the grocers are pledged to deal in goods made by white union labor, and to support the workmen against all unjust demands of their employers.

The Operative Plasterers' Union has established the eight-hour day in eleven big cities, and the nine-hour day in twenty-three towns and cities. Wages are \$5 per day in three cities, \$4 per day in six, \$3 50 per day in 14, and from \$2.50 to \$3.00 in the balance of the locations under the Union's jurisdiction.

The enormous number of evictions of tenants made annually and the high rents that working people pay in New York City have attracted the attention of the members of the Anti-Poverty Society, and many of them who are wageworkers intend soon to start an association to raise a fund to build cottages or communal tenements. More people, it is said, are evicted in a week or two in New York City than are evicted in an entire year in all Ireland, and it is declared that it is time to do something toward reforming the tenant system here.

General Master-Workman Powderly, of the Knights of Labor, has issued a circular letter. "to the industrial organizations of the United States," asking their co-operation in a national industrial reform conference, to be held in Washington. The conference is to formulate a political platform, "such as industrialists could favor at the polls."

Brooklyn newsdealers demand that boys under fourteen be prohibited from selling papers after 7 P. M.

The Austrian Government has given the unemployed Vienna mother-of-pearl workers \$4,000 to form a co-operative company.

Five thousand German weavers, making \$1.25 a week, have appealed to the Emperor for aid.

The labor organizations of Switzerland asked the government to increase the annual appropriation for the Labor Bureau at Berne to \$4,000. The Bundesrath opposed the increase, but it was granted by the Nationalrath.

A scheme is on foot for establishing a world's labor exhibition in London this year, the main feature of which will be co-operative workshops organized by the various trades-unions, each workshop constituting a separate society. The eight-hour day will be followed during the period of construction, and in the exhibition itself contracts for work will be given direct to trades-unions, and only union labor will be employed. Half the net profits of the enterprise will be devoted to building a labor exchange in London.

The first triennial meeting of the National Council of the Women of the United States will be held at Washington, from Feb. 15 to 18 inclusive. This Convention will probably be the largest representative body of women ever assembled. Eleven of the most important national organizations have already entered the Council. This organization has no special theories for reform, but its basic principle is unity for the general good of women, and, through them, of all humanity.

The Woman's National Industrial League has published a protest against ignoring "the industrial women of the United States on the lady Board of Managers of the World's Fair at Chicago." There are said to be 3,000,000 self-supporting, wage-working women in the country, and the complaint is that women identified with industrial movements and interests have been ignored, and only a few ladies appointed, in consequence of their political influence in the two leading parties.

The question has again been presented to the Treasury Department as to whether the practice of employing aliens from Canada at Norfolk, Va., in handling cotton for export is not in violation of the alien contract-labor law. The agent reports that, while these men undoubtedly

go to Norfolk with an understanding that work will be given them, it is almost impossible to obtain proof to that effect. It is said at the Treasury Department that the law does not apply to foreigners who come to this country voluntarily in search of work, but only to such as are sent for, or who come under a contract express or implied. The great difficulty in the present instance is to prove the existence of any sort of a contract or agreement. There are at present over twenty foreigners engaged at Norfolk in handling cotton for English houses, who are said to be so employed in violation of law.

IN GENERAL.

In Norwegian towns the municipal council either alone or in association with the magistracy, is the licensing authority, and determines the number of liquor licenses, and the time to which they should extend. No single person can hold more than one license, and societies which bind themselves to apply the profits of their trading in aid of objects of public benefit may hold one or several or all the licenses issued in a given locality.

A Baltimore grand jury has declared the present law against the sale of liquors on Sunday a total failure. The jury suggests that the law be amended so as to require an unobstructed view from the street to bar-rooms; that one entrance only be allowed to a bar-room, and that direct from the street; that the police be allowed free access for the purpose of obtaining evidence to any place where they suspect the law is being violated; and that the tasting of liquor be held unnecessary for conviction, but rattling of glasses and tapping of beer kegs be taken as proof of violation. As in many cases the principal witness cannot be brought to testify, the jury suggests that, where a witness cannot give bail, he be kept in a House of Detention pending the trial.

A revolution is in progress in Chili. The officers of the army and navy are said to be dissatisfied with the laws which debar them from active participation in political affairs. On the other hand, the president of Chili is accused of dictatorial methods.

Spain is trying to suppress an insurrection in the Caroline Islands, which are under her protection. The natives complain that they are oppressed by the Spanish rulers, that they are subjected to heavy taxation, and that they are constantly outraged by the Spanish troops sent for their protection. Several bloody engagements between the troops and the natives have taken place.

The Austrian police have dissolved the Vienna Democratic Association, because one of its objects was universal suffrage.

The Comte de Paris has issued instructions to the Royalist committees directing them to study social questions and to hold up Monarchy as the support of the laboring classes.

The Odessa District Assembly has petitioned the Russian Ministry of imperial property to provide twenty thousand mulberry-trees annually for gratuitous distribution among the peasants. The peasants promise to import silkworms at their own expense, and promote the cultivation of silk as soon as the growth of the trees becomes common in the district.

A Russian newspaper comments as follows upon the suggestion and desire of the German Government to become the sole manufacturer of Koch's lymph:—

"The Court of Berlin will thus have in its hands the life and death of thousands of people suffering from the deadly malady in all parts of the world. By what considerations will it be guided in distributing the medicine to other countries? By the demand there is for it, or by the condition of political relations between itself and the country whence the application comes? In Russia, for instance, the number of chest diseases is incomparably greater than in Italy. Will this circumstance induce the Germans to give us a larger quantity of Dr. Koch's lymph than their allies, the Italians? And, in case of war, will not the supply to countries at war with Germany be completely stopped? And what is to prevent it being employed as a means of pressure on neighboring States in times of peace? The application for any concession, be it political, financial, or commercial, may be accompanied by the threat that, in case of refusal, no more lymph, or only a small quantity of it, will be accorded. One question more: Will the German Government contribute to the cure of those distinguished foreigners who are considered as enemies of the Fatherland? If Gambetta or Skobeleff were still alive, and had consumption, would Dr. Koch's remedy be sent to them from Berlin, and if so, would it be provided to them in sufficient quantity to be efficacious?"

Application for leave to file a writ of prohibition preventing the judge of the United States Court for Alaska from executing the decree for forfeiture of the British sealer "Saywood," seized

by the revenue cutter "Rush," in 1887, has been made to the linited States Supreme Court. The object is to have the Court decide the question of jurisdiction over Alaskan waters.

A call has been issued for a convention of railroad commissioners to be held at the office of the Interstate Commerce Commission in Washington, D. C., March 3 next. The American Association of Accounting Officers is also asked to send delegates.

The subjects enumerated on the call for consideration at the convention are: —

Railroad legislation; how harmony therein may be obtained.

Uniformity in railroad accounting; what further is important to that end.

Territorial assignment of statistics of operation; whether this is not practicable, and what principles should control in grouping railroad statistics.

Apportionment of expenses of freight and passenger traffic; what reasons there are for making such apportionment, and what rule should be adopted.

Safety appliances on railroad cars; what legislation, if any, should be had by Congress.

Reasonable rates; what they are and the elements to be considered in the determination thereof.

The new Western Traffic Association has completed its organization and the general plan of its operations by the adoption of by-laws, the election of officers, of a Finance Committee, and of a Board of Commissioners, and by the division of the territory which it covers into five districts, corresponding to those already existing under the several associations heretofore formed. The working agency of the association is the Board of Commissioners, consisting of a chairman and five commissioners, each of whom is to have immediate charge of one of the districts. The chief function of these commissioners is to "adopt such measures as shall tend to secure uniform, stable, and reasonable rates, prevent unjust discrimination, and enable each line to carry its fair share of the competitive traffic." There are to be "rate committees" in each district, made up of the principal traffic officers of the several companies, and these will establish the rates or make changes in them, subject to the approval of the commissioners, but when there are disputes or differences of opinion or complaints, it will be the business of the commissioners to adjust these and settle rates and division of traffic.

Twenty-nine railroads, representing 2,825 miles of roads, were foreclosed and turned over to creditors during the past year. The per cent of failures is, however, less among railroad companies than in any other leading business.

When the network of State railways was created in France, it was intended to serve as an example of economical management and efficient working for the great companies. Whether these expectations have been realized may be judged from the results obtained in 1889. By purchases of lines originally, and subsequent extensions, the State network now forms a total of about sixteen hundred and fifty miles. Their cost was about eight hundred millions, and the receipts last year exceeded the working expenses by 8,258,697f. The net revenue on capital was consequently a little over one per cent, and as the purchase money was raised by the treasury at four per cent, including the sinking fund, the actual loss on the year was nearly 24,000,000f. The proportion of working expenses to receipts was seventy-six and one half per cent, while those of the great companies ranged from fortyfour to fifty-five per cent. It must be admitted that all the great trunk lines belong to the companies; but they have also a number of secondary lines, worked at eighty or ninety per cent, or at a loss, the construction of which was imposed on them. The companies, however, pay a large sum to the State in the form of stamps on their shares and dehentures, taxes or transfers. and dividends, etc., while the State lines yield nothing. The experiment can scarcely be considered a success .- London Railway News.

The "Bureau of the American Republics" at Washington publishes the news that "since the passage of the McKinley Bill" a company organized in New Jersey, with a capital of \$4,000,000, the greater part of which was obtained in this city, has undertaken the erection of large smelting works at San Louis Potosi, in Mexico. Despatches from San Antonio, Texas, speak of the approaching "opening of four extensive smelting establishments at Monterey," and say that "the owners of the lowgrade fluxing ore mines will be the ones chiefly benefited" by this development of the smelting industry. At the same time it is announced in despatches from a newly-opened mining region in Idaho that the mines there will suffer because "the smelters of Denver and Omaha have advanced the price" of reducing ores. It is the new and prohibitory McKinley duty on the fluxing ores of Mexico that has caused the investment of capital from this country in new smelting works on the other side of the Mexican boundary and the rapid development there of a branch of industry that was formerly supported in the United States by the importation of these fluxing ores. - New York Times.

TO-DAY, JAN. 22, 1891.

A record of the facts and considerations which show that Individual Liberty is good for the people of the United States, and that, therefore, Legislative Regulation is injurious for them.

J. MORRISON-FULLER, WALTER C. Rose, Editors.

The Boston Herald, in anAtroctous nouncing the appropriation of Charity. \$100,000 to investigate the merits of Dr. Koch's remedy, proclaimed by headlines that this appropriation showed the necessity for a national board of health, the reason assigned being that there exists at present no proper machinery for expending this sum. The same page of the same paper contained an account of the first case, mentioned in the following extract from the Boston Post:—

The cruelty practised by selectmen, overseers of the poor, and other like functionaries is sufficiently frequent and sufficiently great to constitute a blot on our civilization. The other day, in Conneticut, an old woman was sent from one almshouse to another, a distance of thirty miles, in an open wagon, the thermometer being at zero, and a strong wind blowing. She arrived with a broken hip, and with both feet frozen.

In New Jersey a whole family have had a somewhat similar experience. They have been bandied about by the authorities of Summit, and those of Jersey City, the poormaster of each town having endeavored to fasten them on the other. After several enforced journeys of this kind, the father of the family being a cripple, the poormaster of Summit bundled them all into a wagon on a very cold day and carried them back to Jersey City, leaving them in front of a hovel there without food or fire.

Could the annals of British beadledom furnish grosser cases than these?—Boston Post.

Comment would be entirely out of place: the cases speak for themselves. But it is doubtful whether they will arouse in one mind in a thousand any question as to the excellence of that system of enforced public charity which renders such cases possible and even necessary. The amount of misery which has been inflicted upon the destitute and helpless by the brutality of those having them in charge is incalculable; and yet we go on congratulating ourselves as a Christian nation upon our public feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, and ministering to the sick. No thought is given to considering whether relief would not better come from friends or neighbors, whose attentions would

be prompted by sympathy and kindliness, rather than from town officers, who are certainly not selected for the kindness of heart they are likely to display in dealing with the unfortunate.

According to the Boston Her-Very Com- ald, the "plain, common-sense conviction" which dominates the mind of Gen. Morgan, the present head of the Indian Department at Washington, is that "barbarism is a habit, civilization is a habit." He accordingly wishes to make the Indians over into American citizens, imbued with the national feeling, ky putting the children to school, by making the men work instead of hunt, and by breaking up the tribal system. This is a fine illustration of that much-praised common-sense which, as Mr. Belfort Bax says, when highly developed (as it seems to be in this case), is so very hard to distinguish from its opposite. Such ignorance if met with in a private citizen would not be at all surprising; even in a writer of newspaper editorials it would hardly be regarded as a seven-days wonder. Still less ought it to excite astonishment in a man chosen by Government expressly to deal with this question, especially if the gentleman is really entitled to write "General" before his name. But somehow, notwithstanding the long series of perpetual disappointments, people do expect heads of Government departments to possess some information upon the subjects with which they are to deal. The laws of heredity are not quite so commonly known as the law of gravitation, but that children resemble their parents is a fact which the observation of almost every man renders him aware of, and the persistance of ancestral traits is frequently remarked. Instances of a reversion to the savage instincts and habits of their remote savage ancestors on the part of civilized children captured by Indiaus, or otherwise subjected to an environment calculated to recall such traits, are not uncommon; but to conclued from such evidence that savages can be made into American citizens simply by changing their environment for one generation, while it may be legitimate from the standpoint of commonsense as understood by newspaper writers and generals, seems hardly likely to satisfy the more exacting requirements of truth. Gen. Morgan is precisely in the position

I a horseman who should exercise his commou-sense, and conclude, that, since racing is a habit, and drawing heavy loads is a habit, a cart-1 se could be made into a racer by taking him when a colt and subjecting him to a careful training upon a trotting course.

The number of immigrants Immigration The number of management and Wealth. landed upon our shores during the last ten years reached 5,246,613. This is more than twice as large as the number for any That over eight per cent previous decade. of our population has come to this country from foreign countries within ten years is a fact well worth considering. So great an influx of people, alien by race, and with feelings adapted to institutions widely different from ours, cannot but modify materially our social and political life, and modify it in a way which cannot without great difficulty be regarded as for the better. Moreover, the last census, after liberal allowance for carelessness and wilful inaccuracy, unquestionably shows a marked failing off in the natural rate of increase of our population. Considerably over a third of our growth in numbers between 1880 and 1890 has been due to accessions of foreigners. Whether or not the decrease in our rate of growth by births and the increase by immigration are in any degree related as effect and cause, there is certainly a vital connection between them, because on our natural rate of growth depends our power of assimilating the raw material for American citizens which comes to us from without.

There can be no doubt that the country has grown not only in numbers but in wealth very much faster than it would if it had not been for immigration. Mr. Joseph Story Fay, in a letter to the Boston Post some time since, estimated the value of each emigrant as at least equal to the market value of a slave before the war, say \$1,000. The economic value of men cannot of course be estimated in such a roughand-ready way as this. Each adult male, however, probably receives in wages between three and four hundred dollars yearly on the average, and as this kind of labor is the worst paid of any, very likely he contributes more than this to the annual product of the country. But there is a less pleasant aspect of the matter. The most important thing to a country is the kind of men in it. In this connection it is to be noted that the

character of those who emigrate to this country now is very different from that of the men who came during the Colonial period. Then the cause of leaving home was partly political, dartly religious, and partly love of adventure. Manifestly a different set of men would emigrate from the two causes, and the descendants of the one will differ from those of the other. To decide, then, whether immigration has been a good thing for a country, it is not enough to determine whether the immigrants have produced more than they have consumed, and brought about an earlier development of natural resources; but the essential question is whether the stock of men has been improved by the admixture of the different races.

One of the subjects given for the Shilly **Bowdoin** prize Shally. dissertations awarded by Harvard Univerity is, Are the parasites of domestic animals sufficiently dangerous to man to demand the inspection of meat by the National Government? Whether the judges would be satisfied with the cool assumption that, if serious danger of disease can be clearly shown to arise from this source, it must follow as the night the day that the Government should inspect meat the catalogue does not state, but the form of the question seems to carry this implication. Though Harvard has shown itself more progressive than almost any other great university, yet it has not been able to escape entirely the conservatism common to all institutions of long standing. The assumptions made two hundred years ago are very likely to be the assumptions made to-day. Or perhaps the socialists have been making converts among the faculty, and they are ready to assume that there can be no prevention of diseases caught from butcher's meat except inspection by the Government, and that this would be effective.

A good example of the conscientious way in which commissioners appointed by governments perform their duties is to be found in the remark of one of the Massachusetts Cattle Commissioners to the effect that while the milk supplied in Boston might contain the germs of disease, yet the people probably suffered more from the rum drunken than from the milk, and that therefore efforts ought to be made to prohibit the sale of intoxicating liquor instead of to secure pure

milk. If a man were employed to weed a garden, and after receiving his pay, should coolly remark that he hadn't done the work for which he was paid, because he thought his employer would show more wisdom by getting his house shingled than by hiring his garden weeded, probably the highly honorable State Cattle Commissioner, if the case were submitted to him, would be able to find flaws in the excuse on the score of ethics. Still the case of the gardener would not be so very different from his own. He was appointed and paid to investigate just such questions as this about milk, and, if possible, to devise a remedy, and his remedy is that people should stop drinking rum. Oue would expect that it might occur to the intelligence of a man estimating the comparative evils to a society arising from drinking rum and from drinking milk to inquire what kind of people are injured by the one and what kind by the other; but hardly in the case of a State Cattle Commissioner.

But, it may be said, this was only a State commission; a National commission would do infinitely better. It must be admitted that the average intelligence of the men composing the National Government is considerably higher than that of State Representatives and Sepators, and that commissioners appointed by the former would not be likely to write themselves down as asses in quite such heavy black letters as the Massachusetts gentleman made use of. But when we inquire whether the work undertaken by the General Government is performed any more honestly and efficiently than that undertaken by State governments the answer is plainly in the negative.

There is a chance for a very abstruse discussion on the question, Which is more important to recognize, the relation of similarity or the relation of dissimilarity? At present, in the philosophical world the latter relation absorbs the larger share of attention, and there is a strong temptation to many minds to conclude that if several objects can be shown to present marked differences there is no essential likeness beween them. A century ago the tendency was the other way, and attention was attracted more by likeness among objects than by their unlikeness.

This thought is brought to mind by reading

an article by Professor Josiah Royce, of Cambridge, — Is There a Science of Education? — which appears in the initial number of the Educational Review. In this article the writer gives some ideas of Wilhelm Dilthey, a German professor of philosophy in the University of Berlin on The Possibility of a Universally Valid Pedagogical Science.

"All the prominent pedagogical systems, such as those of Herbart, Schleiermacher, Spencer, Bain, Beneke, Waitz, agree in one respect, that they 'pretend to define the end of education, the value of the various branches of study, and the methods of instruction, in an universally valid fashion, and consequently for wholly different times and peoples'. And this pretence,' says Dilthey, . . . 'is precisely parallel to that of old-fashioned theories of the state - theories which, disregarding history and the varieties of circumstance, undertook to fix for all humanity the absolute forms of political life, and in consequence drove men to a revolt against the whole historical social order.' This sort of theorizing belonged to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, culminated in the French Revolution, and has been replaced in our day by the historical method in political science, - a method which ignores the theoretical 'Constitutions' of the doctrinaires, and which knows that political organizations are far too vital in their individual traits to be subject to any abstract formulation of the details of the universally valid social order."

In the same way the historical method must be applied to pedagogy, and then it will become evident that there is no possibility for any abstract formulation of the details of the universally valid method of intellectual development. The historical method, as it is fashionably applied to political study, means the discovery that at a certain time such and such an event took place, and at another time another event; and after a man has stored up in his memory a vast number of such facts, those about him look up to him and say: " Verily he is a wise man; he is competent to talk about the impossibility of any abstract formulation of the details of the universally valid social order." The beautiful results to which this method leads are seen in speaking of the French Revolution as the culmination of a sort of theorizing. The Freuch people were starved and imprisoned, and hanged and tortured, until they could endure it no longer, and then their revolt against the whole historical social order is regarded as the result of mere theorizing. Studying events and inventing causes of them is perhaps easier and more fascinating than tracing the real connections,

but whether it will permanently be regarded as more valuable one may take leave to doubt.

So the application of the historical method to pedagogy would probably mean a study, and perhaps a comparison, of all the systems of education which have ever been employed, little regard being paid to the results produced. So much time and ingenuity might be expended upon a study of this kind that none would be left for considering the end of education, the value of the various branches of study, and the methods of instruction; indeed, it appears from the tone of the passage quoted that these questions, in their general bearings, should be dismissed as subjects for mere theory and useless speculation.

"No moral system has ever yet been able to win universal recognition," says Dilthey; and Prof. Royce continues:—

"The ends of life can only be defined with constant reference to the vital and growing motives and impulses of concrete humanity; and as the latter change so do the ends themselves, with the ethical systems that embody them. Hence the educator cannot hope to have defined for him, with abstract universality, either the material upon which he must always work, — namely, human nature, — nor the end toward which he must always aim, — namely, the highest moral perfection of his pupil. Both these matters are modified for him by the course of evolution, and by the actual social environment."

One may be pardoned for questioning whether the above sentences mean more than to say that, among certain savages, it is more important for a boy to learn how to make bows and arrows and to shoot well with them than to learn the demonstration of the Pythagorean proposition; or that, in certain societies, it is more important to be able to get the better, both of friends and enemies, by paying them back in kind, than to be willing to turn the left cheek when smitten upon the right. The words ought to mean more, for not one of the writers whose systems of education are dismissed as too theoretical failed to take enough account of actual conditions to recognize this. Moreover, Prof. Royce here speaks of an end toward which the educator "must always aim, - namely, the highest moral perfection of his pupil." This looks perilously near attempting "to define the end of education . . . in an universally valid fashion." Probably few would quarrel with the definition except for the insertion of the word mural; why not intellectual, physical, and æsthetic perfection as well? Only it must be remembered that, to make the definition universally valid, the special ability to follow a trail, say, must be recognized as a part of this perfection in some cases and in others not.

It has been the occasion of sur-Dead Fish. prise that a man could even profess the principles of modern science, and yet make such a spectacle of himself as Mr. Grant Allen has long succeeded in doing. That an air of self-satisfaction and conscious importance produces a most painful effect on the observer has been widely, I may say universally, recognized. About two years ago, Mr. Allen addressed the readers of one of the great magazines and indirectly the public in general — on the subject of the "Woman Question," and he introduced himself as a "biologist who had long and carefully reflected" on the subject. He then served up a few pages of such superficially generalized trash as might have disgraced the second Negative of a debating society. If it were necessary to consider Mr. Allen's claims to being a "biologist" at all, the investigation would probably end where it began - at pretension. He has also dallied with political economy, and with sociology, if you please. Whether his gambols have attracted the attention of the pit or gallery, I am unable to say. Altogether he is playfully inclined, as one may say, and will make a dash at any knotted ball of yarn that may catch his eye. But even those who have been most amused at his tricks must have felt some surprise at his last saltation. That he should join the Fabian Society (pseudo-economic socialists) might be taken as the neutral result of a truant fancy; but that he should sink so low as to offer the explanation of his conduct, that he has now published could not have been anticipated. He writes to Short Cuts (I copy from Personal Rights Journal): -

"Two fair states of society are conceivable by the human mind, both Utopian, but one or the other perhaps in the end realizable. The first (and to my mind the fairest) is the Individualist ideal—an ideal in which neither land, sea, earth, air, coal, iron, water, nor wood would be monopolized by anybody; a condition of society in which all would have equal freedom of access to all natural energies and productions alike; and in which, accordingly, rent and wages could have no existence, but in their place we should have free interchange of mutual services.

The second (to my mind less desirable, but towards which the practical set is at present so strong that no wise man will attempt to oppose it) is the Socialist ideal—an ideal in which capital and land have been absorbed by the community and in which products are distributed by the community in general."

I will not debase a great subject by questioning in this connection the accuracy of Mr. Allen's definition of Individualism. Since he is unable to comprehend anything, let him regard Individualism in any light, or darkness, he pleases. But there is revealed in this explanation a mental obliquity of more than personal importance. Of course a faith can not, and should not, be discredited by the weakness or vice of one of its adherents. Nevertheless, I think that it deserves notice that Socialism does not seem to develop a repugnance to playing fast and loose with principles. After expressly asserting his belief that Individualism is the "fairest," - meaning, if anything, that it is the more rational and the more conducive to social welfare, -Mr. Allen nevertheless throws in his fortunes with Socialism. And why? Because, for sooth, "the practical set" is strong in that direction! As the editor of the Personal Rights Journal remarks: -

"In other words, Mr. Allen has elected to follow a multitude to do what he cannot disguise from himself is, at least, the lesser good, but which—if he were not so anxious to be in with "the practical set"—he would recognize as a monstrous evil. This cowardice he dignifies by the name of wisdom. We thank him for letting it be seen that his apostasy from Individualism is a moral fall. It is, no doubt, pleasanter—conscientious considerations apart—to go with the stream; but, as Mr. Spurgeon recently said, a dead fish can do that."

Mr. Allen is here, for the first time I believe, correctly classified. And since he cannot swim, he will undoubtedly find his present company much more to his liking and after his own kind. Individualists, too, may congratulate themselves; there is no room in our waters for dead fish.

CENTRALIZATION AND FREEDOM.

The decision of the United States Supreme Court, last April, regarding the importation of liquor in original packages into one State from another, in the case of Leisy v. Hardin, continues to attract and deserves to attract much attention. The decision amounted to perhaps the greatest step toward centraliza-

tion of power in the hands of the General Government which has been taken in our whole history, — a step as great as that contemplated in the Federal Elections Bill. To be sure, in the case of intoxicating liquors, the right to regulate or prohibit their sale on its own territory has been given back to each State by Congress, in an act of doubtful constitutionality; but in the case of other commodities, the power of local authorities still remains curtailed by that decision, and, in accordance with it, decisions are constantly being rendered by inferior courts that no State has a right to interfere in any way with interstate commerce. The question may be discussed from two points of view: First, whether it is wise to grant to Congress the power of regulating such matters, or to leave each locality to impose such regulations as it sees fit; second, whether the Constitution actually does grant such power to Congress and take it away from the States.

With regard to the first, it may be said that the fundamental principle of the policy of the United States has, from the beginning almost up to the present time, been local self-government by the people—to grant to the General Government only such powers as were absolutely necessary to secure national unity. It must be admitted that local self-government has frequently meant little more than the power of local minorities to misgovern and tyrannize over their neighbors; but tyranny from one's neighbors is not quite so galling as the same amount of tyranny from strangers; and, moreover, it is easier to escape. "If they persecute you in one city, flee into another"; but if all cities and towns are made unbearable by command of a central authority, so as to necessitate leaving the country, a much greater hardship is inflicted than that involved in moving from one town or State into one where greater freedom can be enjoyed. On the other hand, the tyranny of a central government, either despotic or representative, can never be nearly so close, intimate, and detailed as that of one's immediate neighbors and local personal enemies.

Among the powers distinctly granted to Congress by the Constitution is that "to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes." If the question were as to the wisdom of granting such a power to Congress, or to any other body of men, a very strong case

might be made out for the negative, and there is hardly anything at all to be said for the affirmative. If the framers of the Constitution could come back and learn of the way in which this power has been exercised during the last century, they might prove more teachable than their descendants. However, there is this to be said in favor of the course they pursued: if they had not granted this power to Congress it would certainly have been exercised by the several States, and a comparison of Congressional legislation with State legislation affords no ground for supposing that it would have been exercised so as to do any less harm by the latter authorities.

By the above clause of the Constitution, then, the power of regulating commerce between the States is expressly granted to Congress, and therefore cannot be among the powers reserved by the States. The question then resolves itself into this: Is it an interference with interstate commerce for a State to regulate or prohibit the sale of commodities imported from another State? Really, there seems scarcely room for debate; if such regulation or prohibition is not an interference, then no indirect effects whatever can be recognized. A curious speculation on this subject is contained in an article in the last Harvard Law Review by Mr. William Howland. He thinks that "the power of Congress to regulate commerce between the States must include the right to determine what shall be the subjects of such commerce"; but that, until Congress has answered this question in the case of any article, any State may prohibit traffic in that article, provided it is honestly believed to be dangerous to the public health or morals. Notwithstanding that the States have bestowed upon Congress the right to regulate commerce between them, yet any State may proceed to regulate it unless Congress has expressly declared to the contrary. One would naturally suppose that if interstate commerce in any article is injurious that the proper way to have it prohibited would be to induce the only body having the legal power to take action.

It would be unjust, however, to judge Mr. Howland's article by this instance of more or less ingenious quibbling. He points out that the granting of the sole power to regulate interstate commerce interferes with what

is somewhat improperly called the police powers of the States. It is, to say the least, doubtful whether Congress has the power to make "police" regulations as to the manner in which arsenic and gunpowder, say, are to be sold in original packages, and if the State has no power to make such regulations, it seems that the sale of commodities in this way must be entirely unregulated. lawyer or a politician this is a dreadful thought. The government — national, State, or municipal — must care for the safety, health, and morals of the public, otherwise -! A good instance of the tender solicitude for the public health manifested by municipal governments is to be found in the filth which they allow to accumulate in the streets of all American cities, though collecting from the taxpayers enough money to keep the public ways fairly clean. The explanation is plain. All persons, even aldermen and councilmen, know that that filth in the streets is injurious to the health of the citizens; but there is no mystery about sweeping up and carting away dirt. In this matter the authorities have no opportunity of acting in accordance with their ignorance, whereas in the case of contagious diseases, say, there is room for an unlimited quantity. Something that may happen seems much more terrible than something that must happen. If the method of transporting and storing nitro-glycerine and gunpowder is not prescribed there might be an explosion; if the sale of arsenic and opium is not regulated people might take to poisoning themselves wholesale. These possible contingencies appeal to the imagination of the average alderman or State Representative or Congressman as the certainty of disease and death arising from the filthy condition of public ways cannot begin to do.

The decision of the Court opens up almost boundless possibilities. If neither Congress nor the State governments have power to make police regulations regarding the sale in the original packages of articles imported from one State to another, the police regulations of the States respecting articles produced within their own territory become practically nugatory, and the step towards centralization proves to be a step towards freedom of commerce. The belief in the necessity of restrictions and regulations is so ingrained into the habits and thoughts of the people, however, that even if the decision stands legal fictions

and ingenious sophistries, like that cited from Mr. Howland, will doubtless be discovered to reduce the freedom to a minimum.

PENSIONS.

Some time ago Mr. Windom said he looked forward to the distribution of the pensions, now due, to relieve the financial pressure under which the country seems to be suffering. This distribution of pensions is not, unfortunately, a novel idea; but, as a means of alleviating financial distress, it has the merit, at least, of originality. The manner of statement was somewhat surprising: the Secretary stated the expedient as the merest matter of course, with an air of perfect nonchalance and composure eminently befitting a man that controls the Treasury of a great and flourishing country.

The public has grown so accustomed to pensions that the remark elicited scarcely a particle of comment; but the subject is surely important enough to warrant a little serious thinking of now and then.

The disordered state of English finance last century, added to the comparative ease with which the Crown, or the responsible ministers of the Crown, laid hands on the revenues of the kingdom, led to the development of pensions into a systematic and eminently successful means of bribery. When Sir Robert Walpole gave vent to the well-known proverb of political life, that "Every man has his price," he was thinking of the civil list, rather than pensions for strictly military purposes. This latter class was not neglected, however, and simply swelled the list of those already receiving merited or unmerited support from the government. Indeed, pension became a byword of reproach. and as such was defined by Dr. Johnson in his dictionary. "In England," he says, "it" (i. e., a pension,) "is generally understood to mean pay given to a state hireling for treason to his country." The definition of pensioner is not less to the point, although somewhat severe: "Pensioner - A slave of state hired by a stipend to obey his master.

'In Britain's senate he a seat obtains,
And one more pensioner St. Stephen gains.'

Pone."

.

It would seem that such patriotism was above temptation,—the pension in his case

worked wonders: he got his pension and changed his definition in the new edition of the dictionary. In regard to this change, Cobbett wittily makes the burly doctor say: "Myself, than whom few men have been found more base, having in my dictionary described a pensioner as a slave of state, and having afterwards myself become a pensioner."

The above example is only a striking illustration of the moderating effect of a pension on human virtue, or, rather, frailty.

Parliamentary corruption was never put under control till the civil list was severely dealt with and a limit placed to the lavish expenditure of public money for private purposes. The United States has been fortunate in many ways: a young country, developing its resources and rapidly increasing in wealth, it was separated by an ocean from the Old World and its unfortunate institutions. Civil pensions have never gained a foothold, and the military expenses of the Government were, in the truest sense of the word, moder-Wars, however, with their attendant public and private distress, led to methods of borrowing, — and what is easily got is easily spent. If pensions are ever justifiable, the veterans of the Revolution certainly deserved them; yet it is curious to note in what an "unsympathetic" manner the defenders of the country were then compensated, compared with the munificent way which the soldiers of the late war are provided for. The officers' half pay for life was finally commuted for seven, afterwards cut down to five, years' full pay; and this was paid in the depreciated scrip of the time. A feeling grew up that the old soldier had been harshly treated. Provisions for pensions were framed, so that by 1806 the system assumed its general and final Only two years later, the United States assumed the State pension obligations.

There can be no doubt of the good field service of our Revolutionary ancestors. Their claims to pensions were also daring in the extreme, and it is but little wonder that British "hirelings" went down before American "valor." By the year 1804, the abuse of the system led to the suggestive remark that "the Revolutionary claimant never dies: he is immortal." But, on the whole, the Government was eminently conservative in dealing with claimants. In 1818, however, this wise policy was changed and the salutary restric-

tions removed. The three years' requirement was replaced by one of only nine months. The results of this were unexpected: 27,948 persons applied for benefits under this act,—a number greater than Washington's army at any period of the war, and exceeded the whole number of soldiers that could possibly be alive under any established rate of mortality. Of these claims, 18,000 were allowed; but it was afterwards seen that at least one third of this number had no legal claim whatever.

With the extension of the system, it was estimated in 1834 that "there are supposed to be now living about 42,600 persons who receive pensions or gratuities from the Government, under different laws. . . . The amount expended in the previous year [1833] reached three millions of dollars."

A few statistics up to the outbreak of the civil war will show the gradual increase. In 1791 the Government paid in round numbers, \$175,000; ten years later the sum was just about one hundred thousand dollars less; in 1811 the amount was but two thousand more; in 1821 it was \$242,000 (the year before it had been over three millions); in 1831 a trifle over one million, one hundred thousand; in 1841 it had risen to two million, three hundred thousand; in 1851 it was about the same sum less ten thousand, and in 1861 it had sunk to one million, thirty-five thousand dollars. The comparative smallness of this last amount almost leads one to fancy that the system would have died out in a few years from sheer lack of material; but the war added fuel to the smouldering embers.

The Government felt deeply grateful for the services of the States and their soldiers during the rebellion, and took measures accordingly. "If any person, whether officer or soldier, belonging to the militia of any State and called out into the service of the United States, be wounded or disabled while in actual service, he shall be taken care of and provided for at the public expense. (Revised Statutes, § 1,639.) The law of 1862, while granting the fullest compensation for services of the soldier, yet endeavored to place some limit to demands and applications of the needy, or, rather, greedy. This check, or statute of limitations, gave way before the hot haste of the Senate and House in 1879, when all limitations as to time were repealed. Not only was the successful appli-

cant to receive Government aid in the future: he was to receive back-pay in the nature of arrears. Before the passage of the Act of 1879 it was supposed that the arrears might amount to nineteen or twenty millions annually, and that some forty-one millions would be needed to meet the provisions of the new law. Time has shown the absurdity of these calculations. Claims poured in, as the Secretary of the Interior thoughtfully remarked, at "an unprecedented rate," and, from present indications, it seems that the American soldier. like good, old Rip Van Winkle, is rubbing his eyes after his twenty years' nap, and adapting himself in his old age to the changed state of affairs.

Taking the pensions as a whole, less than seven hundred and twenty-five millions had been disbursed prior to the year 1866. Today, the annual appropriation for pensions passes the hundred-million limit. Great Britain, it is estimated, annually spends some eighty-six million six hundred thousand dollars for her army; France spends one hundred and eleven million two hundred and sixty-seven thousand for the same purpose; Germany spends ninety-four million two hundred thousand, not counting the extraordinary expenditure of sixty-one millions provided for the current year.

The appropriation of Congress for last year was, in round numbers, one hundred and thirty-three millions, so it takes but little mathematical ability to see that in a very few years we shall have outstripped many, many times, our ancestors' generosity. But with this enormous increase of the pensions within the past decade, the question arises whether it is simply a natural development, or whether this cultivation of the heart at the expense of the head is not due to artificial circumstances? The Presidential candidates of the present party in power have been, with a single exception, selected from among the soldier class, and have been chosen, less for ability and statesmanship than from a knowledge that they could secure the Grand Army vote. Again, the manner in which the veterans' wishes are catered to inclines one to believe that the soldiers have enjoyed, do now enjoy, and expect to enjoy, a practical dictatorship in political circles. Was it then mere exaggeration in Bishop Potter when, in a recent address, he drew a parallel picture of the prætorian guard of falling Rome, as knocking down the supreme magistracy to the highest bidder?

POLITICS IN THE MAGAZINES.

The Fortnightly Review (January). — A Canadian People. By Sir George Baden-Powell. According to this article, Canada has now reached that period of her history when it devolves upon her to decide whether she shall become a self-reliant nationality, or "lose her identity, her individuality, her possibilities, by absorption into the United States." That the writer does not for a moment favor annexation is apparent at the outest

A brief review of the history of Canadian development leads him directly to a consideration of the high tariff, or its accepted synonym, the McKinley Bill, and its effect upon the mutual relations of the two countries. It is maintained that the fundamental characteristics of the American people were such as to be precisely satisfied by a protective tariff, and that "it is too often forgotten that such a policy was possible because the United States in area, fertility, and resources of all kinds and descriptions was equal to the whole of Continental Europe, but inhabited even now by a population hardly exceeding that of France." But it is also prophesied that the McKinley Bill "marks the zenith of the sun of Protection." By the Canadians it is regarded as a kind of a "freeze-out" game on the part of the United States to force aunexation. They, on the other hand, are thankful to the United States for retiring in their favor from the markets of the world, and have no desire for admission. Their external trade, it is said, is already, per head of population, twice that of the United States.

This high-tariff measure has aroused the attentions of Canadians to the necessity of establishing direct steamship communication with Europe, the West Indies, China, and Australia; it has demonstrated to them a national strength, of which they had hardly been aware, and strengthened their determination to sail their ship of State alone

If all this be true, Mr. McKinley may revel in the sweet consciousness of having benefited others than a few manufacturers, even if the recipients of his favor are not all Americans.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY (January). — Labour Colonies in Germany. By the Right Honorable the Earl of Meath. The German belief of later years that relief should not be separated from work has led to the perfecting of the system of state and private aid to the poor and homeless, with that principle constantly in view, and, according to this article, has placed Germany ahead of most other countries in this respect.

Germany's state institutions are the Arbeitshaus and the Verpflegungs-Station. The former is much the same as the American workhouse, though perhaps the habitually idle and refractory German is compelled to take up his abode in such an institution, and conform to its rules, more frequently and for slighter offences than is his brother across the sea.

The Verpfiegungs-Station is a means for aiding travellers in search of work to obtain the same, but gives this assistance, with board and lodging meanwhile, only in return for work. Supplementing these "stations" are the Herberge zur Heimath, which are temperance hostleries, supported by voluntary contributions. Receiving tickets at the "stations" for work done, the traveller may receive nourishing food and a comfortable bed by presenting them at the neighboring Herberge.

It often happened, however, that remunerative work could not always be provided for all those really desiring honest labor, and this evident weakness in the system, which seems to be a mixture of state and private enterprise, has led to the establishment of Labour Colonies, of which this article gives a very good description.

The first of the colonies was established by Pastor von Bodelschwingh, and his efforts have proved so successful that there now exist twenty-two such colonies. As a result, the workhouses are said to have each year fewer occupants, and the professional tramp ceased to exist. The colonists remain usually only a few weeks or months, and never longer than two years. No money is paid them till the time of leaving when they are allowed full wages for work done, less cost of board and clothing.

The writer also compares the German with the English system. Speaking of the latter, he says:—

"Our English poor-law system, with its substantial and beautifully clean workhouses, its vast resources, its careful management, and its numerous officials, is a most efficient machine, if its sole purpose be to shield the poor man, whatever be his character, from the extreme sufferings of poverty; but if there be any idea - as the name 'workhouse' would seem to imply training the ignorant and the idle in habits of industry, of encouraging them to earn their bread by the sweat of their brows, of instilling into them some notion of the dignity of labour, of finding them, if possible, employment, and of endeavouring to assist the vicious to overcome the temptations which have dragged them into poverty, then I think most must acknowledge that the system has not answered its purpose.

By the colony system, a large proportion is reclaimed to society and to their friends, which, to the writer's mind, is the principle point of superiority of the German Labour Colony over the English "casual ward." He even doubts "whether a single individual has ever been morally regenerated by acquaintance with the inte-

rior of the latter.'

AMERICANA

United States Senators have an allowance of \$125 a year for stationery. Some of the most thrifty members of the Upper Branch drew a considerable commutation in cash. Senator Barbour took \$112.53 in cash; Senator Brown, **\$113.53**; Senator Coke, \$108.43; Senator Eustis, \$110.95; Senator Morrill, \$111.48; Senator Turpie. \$111.35. Senator Squire got a dictionary, unabridged, out of the Contingent fund, with a stand for the dictionary. In the course of the fiscal year the Senate consumed or paid for 3,000 quinine pills. Among other things bought for Senators were French soap, at \$3.50 a dozen, Jamaica ginger, cologne wax tapers, seven dozen cuspidors, plain and decorated, and four pounds of insect powder. - Exchange.

If the Postmaster-General carried out the spirit of the anti-lottery law there would be a great diminution in the weight of mails to-mor-Every newspaper in the land would be embargoed, and even the enterprising Congressional Record would be tabooed and excluded from the benefits of Uncle Sam's methods of transportation. Every paper, including the Record, will contain an account of a lottery in the Senate chamber. When the Secretary, by the unanimous vote of the body which not long ago decided, with almost the same unanimity, that no paper containing news of a lottery drawing should pass through the mails, presented to the Senators from Idaho, Messrs. McConnell and Shoup, a small, pan-shaped box, containing two slips of paper, which were to decide the terms upon which each gentleman was to serve, Mr. McConnell was the first to " put it to the touch and win or lose it all," and he lost. His Senatorial experience will end when the present Congress expires; but the lottery drawing was not yet over.

Would Senator Shoup serve for two or four years?

Again the box was produced, and Senator Shoup drew out a slip which would determine whether he would draw ten thousand dollars or twenty thousand dollars from the Treasury. He was fortunate, and drew the twenty-thousand-dollar prize; but it was a lottery pure and simple, and the whole transaction was a sad commentary upon a high legislative body, which, in a moment of supposed virtue, prohibited and placed a penalty upon the violation of this prohibition and keeps a poor man from investing his money as he sees fit. The lottery goes, Wall Street remains, and the Senate plays itself on the side of Wall Street. — Washington Cor. Galveston (Tex.) News.

No less than twenty-nine States have now legi-lated against cigarettes, and the cigarette business was probably never more flourishing than it is to day. Prohibitory legislation against cigarettes seems to operate very much like the same sort of legislation against drinks. — Boston Herald.

Western legislators seem to be outvieing each other in making spectacles of themselves. First came Montana with rival houses, then Nebraska with three governors, two lieutenant-governors, and a squabbling Legislature, and now Colorado turns up with a seceding house, and the speaker forced to fortify himself with fifteen assistant sergeants-at-arms. Oklahoma, although it tried hard enough, could not beat these exhibitions.— Philadelphia Press.

The fact that there are now on the pension rolls twenty-three widows of Revolutionary soldiers leads the Detroit Free Press to fear lest the United States may have a pensioner of the Civil War in 2116. This conclusion is based upon a soldier's having been discharged in 1865, at the age of sixteen, and marrying in 1944 the sixteen-year-old daughter of his housekeeper. — Boston Transcript.

A scene at Austin: Man rushes up to the hotel register, deposits his vallse, and asks: —

"Where is the bar?"

"Just to the right there."

Another man comes in, registers, etc. "I say, Mr. Clerk, where is the bar?"

"Just to the right there."

And still another rushes up, wants a room and says: -

" Can you tell me where the ba -- "

"Just to the right there." [Aside.] "Well, I see the legislators are coming in." — Galveston News.

We trust that nobody will let it out after all that has been said in this State against lotteries, that the first thing the Massachusetts legislators did was to have a drawing for seats.—

Boston Transcript.

The rain of heaven was more potent in cleaning Boston's streets than the reign of City Hall.

— Boston Transcript.

Moddox. - Congressman Bullock, of Florida, has thirteen children.

Gazzam = 18 n't that almost a quorum? = Judge.

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POLITICS: EVENTS; COMMENTS; LITERATURE.

The conditions under which this paper is published render it impossible to give the weekly record of facts the character of news, especially in the case of the foreign items. The facts are, in the main, collected from daily papers. Their importance does not generally depend upon dates. Our record of them cannot have greater authority than the sources have, but is evidently more trustworthy than any single newspaper.

LEGISLATIVE.

Congress. — Among the bills and resolutions introduced are: in the Senate, a bill authorizing the Secretary of Agriculture to inspect all vessels carrying export cattle to foreign countries, and to prescribe conditions as to space, ventilation, and provisions; one to establish an Executive Department of Commerce, to collect and disseminate information regarding commerce in the widest sense; in the House, a bill appropriating one million dollars for the establishment of a university in any State of the Union possessing unappropriated public lands for the education of the colored youth of the country; one to equalize taxation and providing for an income tax; a resolution directing the interstate commission to report to Congress whether or not the Western railroad agreement violates the interstate commerce law; and a resolution providing for an amendment to the Constitution, so that no one shall be allowed to vote at national elections who cannot read and write the English language.

The House at length succeeded in passing the District of Columbia Appropriation Bill. The Naval Appropriation Bill is now before the House. The Democrats, to gain time, compel the reading of the whole journal each day.

In the Senate, the Democrats have successfully obstructed the progress of the "Force" Bill. The Aldrich cloture resolution is before the Senate.

California. - Among the bills introduced are: one prohibiting the sale of tobacco to minors; one repealing the section of the Constitution establishing the Railroad Commission; one providing that voters shall be given three hours on Election Day by their employers; one appropriating three hundred thousand dollars for a California exhibit at the World's Fair; one making the employment of persons not American citizens by contractors or sub-contractors a misdemeanor; one prohibiting the sale of opium in the State, except for medicinal purposes and on physicians' prescriptions; one providing that no Court shall punish for contempt committed outside of its presence; one authorizing the appointment of a superintending engineer to inspect all public buildings, improvements, boilers, and machinery used by the State; one providing for placing electric wires underground; one compelling water companies to supply meters at their own expense, and making them responsible for their correctness; one prohibiting foreign insurance companies doing business in the State from entering into any pool to raise or maintain rates; one regulating the rental for the use of one or more telephones; one making trusts and combinations unlawful: one to establish a trout hatchery near San Francisco; one permitting women to vote at municipal elections; one authorizing the appointment of a State sanitary inspector; one compelling insurance companies to file an annual report of the number and names of persons insured, the kind and class of property, and the amount for which it is insured; and a resolution memorializing Congress to pass a law permitting the loan of money on land up to sixty per cent of its value at two per cent.

Indiana. — Among the bills introduced are: a bill making it unlawful for telegraph companies to maintain wires within thirty feet of any dwelling; one regulating the sale of liquor; one to tax mortgages; one for the licensing of engineers in charge of steam boilers; one prohibiting blinds, screens, or other obstructions for the seclusion of persons inside drinking places; one prohibiting all gaming in bar-rooms; one prohibiting the killing of quails; one pro-

viding that all roads shall be made straight and on the line between the owners of the adjacent lands thereto as far as practicable; one to prevent deception in the manufacture and sale of dairy products; one prohibiting public officers from accepting free passes; one raising the age of consent from fourteen to sixteen years; one providing that illegitimate children shall be deemed the heirs of the father's estate and bear the name of the father; one to regulate the business of pawnbrokers; one providing for compulsory education; one permitting cities and towns to regulate junk-dealers and dealers in second-hand goods; one requiring natural gas companies to obtain consent of adjacent land, owners before laying gas pipes, and preventing the wasting of gas; one to prohibit the playing of base-ball on Sunday; one requifing foreign insurance companies to keep on deposit with the State auditor a sum of money equal to the amount of premiums collected as shown by the semi-annual statement now required; one requiring junk-dealers to keep register of all secondhand articles purchased, with name of vender and description of article; one for the inspection of impure food; one raising the dog tax; one preventing the adulteration of candy; one making eight hours a day's labor on public works; one compelling railroad companies to establish waiting-rooms; one establishing an industrial board of agriculture; one to relieve the Supreme Court by authorizing the appointment of assistants; one providing for better security of money of minors and persons of unsound mind; one abolishing all legal disabilities of married women to make contracts; one requiring the State inspector of mines to pass an examination under such rules as the State geologist shall deem necessary; one providing for the teaching of music in the public schools when a majority of the tax-payers wish it; one to protect bridges from traction engines; one requiring cigarette manufacturers to file an oath that the ingredients used in cigarettes not wholly of tobacco are not poisonous; one compelling foreign loan associations to deposit with the State treasurer securities to the amount of two hundred thousand dollars; one compelling managers of State institutions to purchase native live-stock for consumption; one providing that civil cases shall be tried before eight jurors; and one making it a misdemeanor for travellers to carry any kind of weapon. The Senate passed a resolution instructing the State's representatives in Congress to secure the passage of a law that would protect the people from trusts and monopolies, and to vote for the repeal of the McKinley Bill.

New York.—Among the bills introduced are: a bill requiring that canned goods must have stamped in raised letters on each can the date of the canning and the name of the manufacturer; a bill to reduce the pawnbrokers' license fee, and reducing their interest charges to one per cent; one pensioning old male teachers after thirty years' service, and female teachers after twenty-five years' service; and one providing for compulsory voting. Refusal to vote is to be regarded as a civil offence punishable by a \$25 fine.

Texas. — Among the bills introduced are: a bill to protect stock-raisers from ravages by wolves; one making the legal rate of interest six per cent; one prohibiting railroads from granting free passes to officers of the State, and prohibiting the officers from accepting them; one requiring railroads to furnish separate coaches for white and colored passengers; and one establishing a general ad valorem tax of fifteen cents on the hundred dollars.

Washington. - Among the bills introduced are: a bill prohibiting the acceptance of bribes by legislators; one creating a railroad commission and fixing maximum rates; one requiring railroad companies to fence tracks; one to protect laborers in the purchase of supplies from company stores; one to prevent railroad employees from being forced to waive their rights for damages; one creating a State board of horticulture; one making eight hours a day's work for employees of State, county, or municipal contractors and officers; one protecting railroad employees and forbidding certain rules and agreements; one prohibiting the employment of armed bodies of detectives and private police; one providing that nine jurors may render a verdict in civil cases; one establishing a State bureau of labor statistics; one to protect trout; one providing for the weekly payment of wages; one permitting the poor to sue without paying costs in advance; one creating a board of health; one making trusts and pools illegal; and one authorizing labor unions to adopt labels, and providing punishment for fraudulent use of

South Dakota.—Among the bills introduced are: a bill to prohibit keeping open barber-shops and bath-rooms on Sunday; one prohibiting the sale of firearms to Indians and half-breeds; one fixing passenger rates on railroads; one providing for a bounty of five dollars on wolves, and excluding Indians from the privilege; one abolishing the law providing for an

inspector of mines; one abolishing the office of commissioner of immigration; and one abolishing the office of State engineer of irrigation.

New Jersey. - Among the bills introduced are: a bill prohibiting the issue of policies by insurance companies on children under ten years of age; one enabling boards or improvement commissions to regulate driving on public streets; one regulating the catching of trout and salmon; one providing for payment of employees every two weeks; one abolishing the poll-tax; one prohibiting the killing of reed birds within one half mile of their roosting places; one forbidding shooting of quail for five years; one providing that no insurance policy shall become forfeited for non-payment after two years' premiums have been paid; one providing for a Saturday half-holiday for workers in factories and shops; one making ten hours a legal day's work for railroad employees; and one prohibiting fishing with eel pots or baskets.

Tennessee. - Among the bills introduced are: a bill making it the duty of parents and guardians to send children between six and fourteen years of age to school; one to give the grand jury inquisitorial powers in cases of cruelty to animals, drunkenness in office, and public drunkenness; one making the use of abusive language pleadable before a jury: one to regulate the prices of telegraph messages; one to reduce the salaries of judges; one to make the carrying or hauling of seed cotton between the hours of sunrise and sunset a misdemeanor; one making it a felony to seduce an unmarri d female of previous chaste character; one making it a felony to keep a house of illfame; and one to discourage divorce by prohibiting the bringing of suits without executing bonds for costs.

Pennsylvania. - Among the bills introduced are: a bill to exempt miners, mechanics, and other laborers from charges of conspiracy when they gather to discuss wage questions or strikes; one authorizing the auditor-general to examine the condition of banking corporations; one providing for uniformity of policies issued by fire-insurance companies; one making trusts unlawful; one placing a tax of one cent per ton on coal mined in the anthracite region, the sum raised to form a fund for the benefit of injured miners or families of killed miners; one compelling pipe line and petroleum storage concerns to transport oil at twelve cents per barrel for the first fifty miles, and three cents for each additional fifty; one abolishing the death penalty; one compelling reporters or agents of mercantile concerns to take out licenses as detectives, and holding them responsible for false information; and one defining Sabbath labor, and making it lawful to sell cigars and icecream, to print, sell, and deliver newspapers, run street cars, keep barber-shops open, sell and deliver milk, and to sell, but not to deliver, ice, fish, and meat.

Missouri. - Among the bills introduced are: a bill establishing a new freight class covering melons and fixing a minimum rate thereon; a bill requiring mine owners to pay employees every ten days; a bill prohibiting the employment of locomotive engineers who have not had three years' experience and who are not of good moral character: a bill to establish a bureau of immigration to induce investment of capital from abroad and invite industrious men to settle in the State; one requiring telegraph offices to keep open day and night, except Sunday night, in all cities having more than five thousand inhabitants; one to prevent grocery stores from carrying on a dram-shop business; one to establish a bureau of immigration in connection with the labor bureau; one to tax property adjoining reclaimed swamp land for expense of drainage; one prohibiting the employment of miners under fourteen in mines and workshops; one requiring physicians who compound prescriptions to be registered pharmacists; one to reduce the causes for which divorce can be secured; one requiring railroads to publish a list of all employees receiving salaries of \$1,200 and more; one prohibiting the sale of cigarettes to minors under twenty years of age; and one authorizing notarypublics to solemnize marriages.

Nebraska. - Among the bills introduced are: a bill repealing the bounty on sugar; one abolishing the office of oil inspectors; one preventing any one from acquiring more than three hundred and twenty acres of land; one fixing the rental of telephones at three dollars per month; one prohibiting the giving and accepting of free passes; one providing for the cumulative system of voting for members of the Legislature; one requiring railroads to keep guards at each end of switch rails; one making eight hours a day's work for mechanics, laborers, and domestic servants; one giving municipal suffrage to women; one prohibiting the issuing of watered stock by railroad corporations; one compelling railroads to name stations the same as the village or town; one abolishing national guards and providing for the enrolment of all able-bodied citizens as State militia:

and one providing for an inspector of mines and manufacturing establishments. A resolution was adopted, authorizing the appointment of a committee to correspond with the Legislatures of Texas, Minnesota, Colorado, and other States, and determine upon a common rate of interest as low as practicable.

Illinois. - Among the bills introduced are: one to prevent the manufacture of counterfeit butter and cheese, such counterfeits to be stamped and colored pink; one prohibiting lifeinsurance agents from giving policies without payment of premiums to persons soliciting business for them; one prohibiting the giving and receiving of free passes; one making lobbying unlawful; one authorizing cities and villages to maintain gas works and electric plants; one providing that a railway company shall secure the consent of a majority of the property owners from terminal to terminal, instead of a majority in each block or mile; one protecting hospital patients who die under treatment; one legalizing slave marriages; one providing a penalty for giving or receiving money for votes; one preventing sleeping-car companies from charging high prices; one allowing a bounty of three cents to every inhabitant killing an English sparrow; one subjecting mine managers and pit bosses to an examination; and one authorizing special examiners to make at least one examination a year of all private banks.

Minnesota. - Among the bills introduced are: one prohibiting contract work in State or county or city work; one establishing a board of immigration; one repealing the act to encourage mining; one requiring railroad commissioners to report the actual cost of all roads and the amount of aid received in land; one to prevent incompetent persons from engaging in plumbing; one prohibiting prize-fighting; one providing for the distribution of seed grain to farmers whose crops were destroyed by hail, storm, or blight in 1890; one to regulate the practice of dentistry, medicine, and veterinary surgery; one prohibiting employers from withholding wages of workmen leaving them without notice; one prohibiting employers from making deductions when paying wages in advance; one making fifty-two pounds a legal bushel of buckwheat instead of forty-two; one requiring street-car companies to notify the public that the car is full when all the seats are taken, persons not so notified not to be charged; and one to repeal all laws for the payment of a bounty for killing wolves. The payment of

these bountles has for the past seven or eight years been a serious strain upon the State treasury. Since 1885 the amount paid out in bounties has been largely increased each year, until the annual appropriation has become entirely inadequate to meet the demands. During certain months of the year the bounty is only three dollars per scalp, while during other months it is five dollars. It is alleged that in certain counties certain persons have been in the habit of farming wolves, and also of keeping the wolf cubs in captivity during the months when their scalps were worth only three dollars until the five-dollar months came around. It is also alleged that wolf scalps have been imported from other States, and that, generally speaking, the bounty system has been grossly abused.

Kansas. — Among the bills introduced are: a bill making it unlawful to give any member of the Legislature money or other valuable things for his vote, and providing for the punishment of members asking or accepting a bribe; one making it a felony for any one to act as a lobbyist, or for any one to employ an agent to secure the passage of a measure; one conferring on women the right to vote at National and State elections, and the right to hold any office; one giving the Board of Railroad Commissioners power to fix rates; one prohibiting railroad companies from retaining money out of the wages of their employees for any purpose; one prohibiting railway companies from using private detective force during strikes; one compelling railway companies to use automatic couplers upon freight cars; one making railroad companies liable for the killing or wounding of stock, irrespective of the fact whether such killing was caused by the company's negligence, and irrespective of the fact as to whether the railway was fenced or not; one repealing the law authorizing companies to charge additional fares for failure to purchase tickets; one making railways liable for damages caused by fire, whether there was negligence or not; and one compelling employers to pay wages weekly.

North Dakota.—Among the bills introduced are: a bill providing for a uniform system of free text-books; one to protect laborers employed on threshing machines; one to encourage the use of native coal in State institutions; and one to indemnify farmers losing crops by hail.

The South Dakota Legislature has passed a resolution memorializing Congress for seed wheat for the drought-stricken districts.

JUDICIAL.

A case of importance to trades-unions was recently decided in the Brooklyn (N. Y.) City Court. The complainant belonged to a brick-layers' union. He was ordered to strike, and obeyed the order, but afterwards returned to work without obtaining permission. For this he was expelled, and fined \$75. He brought suit to compel the union to reinstate him, remit the fine, and pay him \$400 damages sustained by loss of employment consequent upon his expulsion. The Court dismissed his suit and imposed the costs on him.

The New Orleans District Court decided against the Louisiana Lottery Company in the mandamus suit brought by the Lottery Company to compel the Secretary of State to promulgate the Lottery amendment to the Constitution, passed by the last Legislature, in order that the people might vote on it at the next election. He refused to do this, on the ground that the amendment was never properly passed by the Legislature, having been vetoed by the governor. The suit, therefore, was to decide whether the people shall have a right to vote on extending the charter of the Lottery Company twenty-five years or not. The district judge refused the mandamus. The company will carry the question to the Supreme Court. If the Supreme Court affirms the decision of the lower tribunal, it will prevent an extension of the lottery's charter.

Vice Chancellor Von Fleet, of Newark, N. J., ordered a clerk earning \$11 a week to pay his wife \$3.50 a week for the support of herself and child and to pay her taxed bill of costs. The clerk produced a paper which his wife had signed immediately after their marriage, releasing him from all responsibility incurred by the marriage ceremony. But the Vice Chancellor held that "no matter what the clerk's intention or purpose was in engaging in the marriage ceremony, - admit that it was simply to confer legitimacy upon the child when it should be born — there can be no doubt that by it he became the husband of complainant, and as such subject to all the duties that the relation imposes. Any other conclusion would, as I view the defendant's conduct, permit him to practise a fraud upon the complainant even more offensive to justice than the original wrong."

A decision of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court establishes the right of city officials to decide what kind of paving should be laid, and to charge the owners of abutting property with the cost of improved pavements. Railway companies cannot be compelled to pay the costs of original paving on streets which were not paved when their tracks were laid.

The United States Supreme Court has rendered a decision in one of the dressed-beef cases arising out of State legislation, having for its object restriction of the sale of meats by firms outside the State. A Virginia statute makes it an offence to offer for sale fresh meats slaughtered more than one hundred miles from the place of sale, unless first inspected, the compensation to the inspector to be one cent a pound. It was contended that this statute interfered with interstate commerce, and therefore was unconstitutional.

The Court sustains this contention, saying in the opinion:—

"The statute is in effect a prohibition upon the sale in Virginia of beef, veal, or mutton, although entirely wholesome, if it be the product of animals slaughtered one hundred miles or more from the place of sale. It is in effect a prohibition, because, being required to pay the heavy charge of one cent a pound for inspection, persons outside the State cannot compete upon equal terms in the markets of Virginia with local traders whose meats do not have to be inspected.

"Undoubtedly a State may establish regulations to protect the people against the sale of unwholesome meats, but it may not, under the guise of exerting its police powers, or of enacting inspection laws, make discriminations against the products and industries of some of the States in favor of the products and industries of its own or other States. The statute under consideration, by reason of the onerous nature of the tax imposed in the name of compensation to the inspector, goes far beyond the purposes of legitimate inspection to determine the quality and condition of meat brought from a distance, and by its necessary operation obstructs the freedom of commerce among the States."

The United States Supreme Court, reversing a decision of the Supreme Court of Utah, held that the Territorial laws of Utah permit illegitimate children of plural wives to inhemit property from the father, and that the later legislation of Congress does not abrogate this right of illegitimate children.

INDUSTRIAL.

The Lake Seamen's Unions have decided to withdraw from the Knights of Labor, and to form an independent organization, which will amalgamate with the seamen's organizations on the Atlantic and Pacific coasts.

The English Federation of miners talk of working only five days a week. The membership of the Federation is 127,000.

The Louisiana Farmers' Alliance has expelled nine members, who, being legislators, voted in favor of the Louisiana Lottery Company.

The railroad switchmen in all the larger cities of the Northwest have been granted an advance in wages. In many cases, the advance amounts to five dollars per month.

The London carpenters are at present agitating for forty-seven hours per week, at twenty cents per hour; overtime to be paid double; travelling expenses on jobs over four miles from the bosses' shop; no sub-letting nor piecework; suitable places to take meals.

The eight-hour agitation in Australia began in 1855. After three years the fight was won for all the trades, the bosses coming down from ten to eight hours. For over thirty years the Australian workmen have had an eight-hour law, and there are almost no non-union men in the entire country.

The Workingmen's Protective Association of America have issued a circular on immigration, in which they ask that every immigrant shall be obliged to furnish to the authorities a certificate of good character from the official of his own country, and to pay a fee of ten dollars.

Resolutions were adopted at the Congress of the Knights of Labor of New York, demanding the passage of a bill by Congress creating a national department of labor, and a new Cabinet office for the head of this department, demanding Government ownership of railroads, mines, telegraphs, etc., and favoring weekly payment of Government employees.

The different labor and farmers' organizations of Texas have amalgamated, and formed a State Citizens' Alliance, for the purpose of controlling political campaigns. In the platform, the Alliance demands: abolition of all class legislation, Government control of transportation, the free coinage of silver and increase of the circulating medium to not less than forty dollars per capita, and "universal education."

Bureaus of labor statistics have already been created by twenty-one States: Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Ohio, New Jersey

Missouri, Illinois, Indiana, New York California, Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, Maryland, Kansas, Rhode Island Nebraska, North Carolina, Maine, Minnesota, and Colorado.

The Chicago and Eric Railroad employees are out on a strike. Some time ago one of the train despatchers was discharged, but all the despatchers demanded his reinstatement, and threatened a tie-up. The company promised to reinstate him at the end of thirty days. Its fallure to do this is the cause of the present strike. Six hundred men are involved. The move is indorsed by other railroad men. who promise to aid the strikers.

The wages of five thousand Pittsburg iron workers will be reduced ten per cent on Feb. 18.

A dozen window-glass factories in Pittsburg have shut down on account of an over-stocked market and low prices. The temporary closing of many other glass factories is expected.

The laborers employed upon the works at Hare Island and Skibbereen (Ireland), commenced by the Government for the relief of distress existing among the poor of those neighborhoods, have struck for an increase of wages. It is believed that this action will cause the Government to stop the work.

IN GENERAL.

The Swiss universities are said to be crowded with women students. Most of them are in the medical departments.

It is reported that grain is rotting in Venezuela for want of laborers to reap it.

A German statistician recently ascertained that 289 German school children had committed suicide in the six years ending in 1888.

The sheriff of Linn County, Iowa, has offered for sale at auction a stock of liquors taken from a saloon-keeper to satisfy an execution on a judgment for \$300 against him for a violation of the Iowa prohibitory law. As this is the first instance where officials have advertised liquors for sale in a prohibition State, an interesting law question arises, which the courts will be called upon to decide.

IBSEN AN INDIVIDUALIST.

In a letter written some years ago to Dr. Georg Brandes, Henrik Ibsen declared himself in favor of Individualism as a political system, in terms which admit of no possibility of mistake. This letter has been published and has become public property, and although in the first place it was of a private nature, it may now be taken as an authoritative expression of the reformer's political creed.

"The State," he says, "is the curse of the individual," and then proceeds to show, by examples, the truth of his statement. He first refers to Prussia, and points out that "the municipal strength of that country was gained by the absorption of the individual in the political and geographical idea." On the other hand, he instances the Jews as having retained their individuality intact through all these centuries, by reason of the fact that they have been free from the burdens of States and Municipality, which affect all other nations, and the result is the preservation of their nobility and freedom unimpaired.

The State is but a temporal thing: it will pass away, like all other arbitrary forms, but the Individual remains. The freedom which is conferred by governments upon individuals is worthless. Every individual has a birthright of "natural rights," which no government may take away; but "the State" has been allowed to usurp these rights, and has secured a power of conferring privileges, common to all and compulsory upon all whether they will or no. This must pass too: it is artificial and illogical. Natural development may not be accomplished by unnatural means.

"The State must be abolished," Ibsen further says, and in any movement which had for its object such a consummation he declares he would gladly take a part. The idea of a commonwealth must be blown to the winds, and in its place he would substitute "spontaneity and spiritual kinship," and in doing this, "there will be attained the beginning of a freedom that is of some value," —a freedom which is not wrested by force from an unwilling government, but a freedom commencing with birth, which may be allowed to develop whithersoever it may. Nature will act as the only governing body required.

These ideas Ibsen has worked out in his plays, which contain many studies of individual growth and development, in fact, each of his characters is a concrete example of the thesis advanced in this important letter. Not to stray so far afield, however, we need only to refer to those dramas which deal with the politico-social question to see his ideas elaborated.

In "The Pillars of Society," published six years after the date of the letter quoted above, we find the difficulties and dissatisfactions, the utter hollowness which underlies so many of our social relations and conventions, worked out to their logical and absurd conclusions. If we turn to "The League of Youth," dating two years before the letter, the whole fallacy of popular government is exposed, and in Stensgard we recognize unfortunately enough a character not uncommon in our midst to-day, the demagogue and mob-orator, who, to serve his own ends, influences

the minds of the populace and stirs up their feelings, and then leaves them unsatisfied, either because he sees better chances for himself elsewhere, or because the results he has achieved do not prevent him from that feeling of disappointment necessarily consequent on the course he has been pursuing.—Free Life.*

In the course of an excellent and eloquent paper on the "Migration of Labor," at the last dinner of the National Liberal Club Political Economy Circle, Mr. Hubert Llewellyn Smith said of the immigrant Jew: "He is an intense individualist. The economic strength and weakness of individualism form the economic strength and weakness of the East London Jewish community. Each for himself, unrestrained by the instinct of combination, pushes himself upward in the industrial scale. His standard of life readily adapts itself to his improved condition at every step. We have here all the conditions of the economist satisfied: mobility perfect; competition unremitting and unsparing; pursuit of gain an all-powerful motive; modifying conditions almost absent; combination practically inoperative. If we would see in miniature the effects of unchecked Individualism in the economic world we may see them in the Jewish community of East London."-Personal Rights Journal.

In Austria, legislators are paid \$5 a day.

In Germany members of both Houses receive about \$2.50 per day.

In France members of each House receive the same, — \$5 per day.

In Greece the senators get \$100 per month, and the deputies \$50.

In Belgium each member of the Chamber of Representatives gets \$85 a month.

In Denmark the members of the Landsthing each receive about \$3.75 a day.

In Portugal the Peer and Commons are paid the same sum, which is about \$335 a year.

In Spain the members of the Cortes are not paid for their services, but enjoy many advantages and immunities.

In Switzerland the members in the National Council get \$2.50 per day, and the Council of State, the Lower House, \$1.50.

In Italy the senators and deputies are not paid at all, but they are allowed travelling expenses and certain other privileges.

England is the only country where members of Parliament are not only unpaid but have no special rights or privileges whatever.

The Federation of Women's Clubs has a membership of sixty-eight clubs, representing twenty-three States of the Union. Sorosis, the mother of them all, was founded twenty-two years ago. Close to her came the New England Woman's Club; and others have sprung up all over the country, each with a most definite purpose to accomplish.

^{*} The clipping headed "The Sweet Reasonableness of the Law," in No. 35, should have been credited to Free Life, to whom we tender our late acknowledgments.

TO-DAY, JAN. 29, 1891.

A record of the facts and considerations which show that Individual Liberty is good for the people of the United States, and that, therefore, Legislative Regulation is injurious for them.

J. MORRISON-FULLER, WALTER C. ROSE, Editors.

A good deal of peaceful law-breaking is sometimes the best safety-valve against the foolishness of our legislators. — Auberon Herbert.

One fact which the controversy raised by the resignation of Mr. Smith from the superintendence of the so-called Social work of the Salvation Army has elicited, is the eminently hierocratic character of that body. "Head-quarters" is the term used by its defenders and critics alike to denote the unquestioned source of (hitherto) unquestioned authority; very much as the "Vatican" is spoken of in an another connection. In the abstract the infallibility of "Gen." Booth may not be admitted, but in the concrete that assumption seems to prevail.

It is reported that a bill is now before the Michigan Legislature to repeal the so-called Bennett law, on which the last campaign turned, and to substitute for it a simple Compulsory Education law. But public schools will continue to be maintained, as heretofore, by taxation, and the gain to personal liberty and parental rights is small. The Bennett law was obnoxious to Catholics and Lutherans, who united with the Democratic party at the poll, and their objection to the law arose from the license it gave to Bible reading in the schools, and the compulsory use of English in teaching.

Since Washington retired from office, in 1797, there have been twenty-four elections for President, all but one of which, namely, Monroe's, in 1820, have been contested by two or more candidates. Nine times, nearly two-fifths of the contested elections, the President has failed to receive a majority of the popular vote. In a word, the "Electoral College" fiction has defeated the will of the majority as expressed at the poll, twice out of every five elections. Dating its existence from 1854, the Republican party has lived through nine elections, seating its candidate in seven cases; in four of which the party did not receive a majority of the popular vote.

The valuable list given in No. 36 of To-DAY of the bills introduced in several State Legislatures, namely, in those of New York, Missouri, Illinois, Indiana, Nebraska, Minnesota, and California, is not, I believe, a complete list of the bills now before these Legislatures, but it is as complete a list as could be obtained from the daily papers. There are now at least eighteen Legislatures in session, besides Congress. Every effort will be made to keep track of their proceedings in these pages. The proportion of socialistic bills to the total is about the same in all the States namely about nine in ten. The ratio of socialistic measures to become law will be much smaller, probably not greater than three in four. At the end of the sessions the gain of socialism and the loss of personal liberty will be considerable. The summary is continued in this paper.

At first glance, the fears of the Russian editor who regards the tuberculosis lymph of Dr. Koch as a military implement seem somewhat extravagant. But a little reflection will show that his apprehensions, if extravagant, are so merely because he exaggerates, in all probability, the therapeutic importance of Dr. Koch's discovery. Once assume that this lymph possesses the astonishing efficacy which has been claimed for it, and that the German Government would be able to monopolize its production or manufacture, or whatever the correct description may be, and no supposition as to the use that would be made of the monopoly is improb-The truth is, however, that if the superlative virtues of the lymph vanish before gaze of science, it would not be the first time that Dr. Koch discovered something that had no existence.

The capacity of the American lecture-going public for bosh has been put to a severe test during the last few months; and Mr. Stanley has shown himself a man of very versatile talents and many accomplishments. The prodigiousness of his deeds is only surpassed by the multitudinousness of his words. He crosses Africa, and reminds himself of Livingstone, Xenophon, Alexander; he apostrophizes rivers in measures which remind his friends of Virgil; and he harangues American audiences with the success that can be attained only by the unstinted use of bosh. In the mean while, he has not succeeded in showing why

the failure of his rear-guard should be attributed to the use of precisely the same means of discipline to which he attributes his own success. Yet so much at least has been firmly established by the controversy in which he engaged, namely, that he, Stanley, used the same means for obtaining food from the natives, and used the same summary methods for punishing delinquents among his followers, as were used by the officers whom he left to bring up the rear. Why these actions should be deemed just and humane when successfully consummated by Stanley, but vindictive and cruel when unsuccessfully tried by Bartelot, is not very clear to one who prefers to judge actions by some other test than the present appearance of good fortune.

Hardly a week passes that we have not occasion to record progress among women in the formation of social and industrial clubs. There can be no doubt that, for better or for worse, these milestones mark the stages of a great social change. Women begin to take a larger part in the life of the society outside the family; and that this is a change for the better in their condition there can be little doubt. By far the greater part of the press still devotes itself to the attempt to throw contempt on the Woman's Rights movement. But there has been a change; an amusing illustration of the different tone now adopted from that formerly in vogue when speaking of Woman's Rights women is furnished by a recent number of our entertaining contemporary, Life. Not many years ago savage ridicule was the least these women could expect from any part of the press, and the ridicule too often passed over into coarse abuse. Life enjoys an opportunity to sneer at the suffragists immensely, and last week it determined to indulge its fancy. So the editor, having cast about for a fitting mark for his shaft, discovered, to his intense gratification, that the leaders of the early Woman's Rights agitation were growing old! That is indeed a very curious phenomenon. "And by the way," says he, looking around on his readers with the air of one giving the instruction which he pretends to ask for, - "by the way, are there any young women nowadays in the Woman's Rights business?" The "Mrs. Stanton, Miss Authony, and the rest," to whom the writer alludes, however mistaken in their desire for and faith in the ballot,

would need to live another lifetime, spent in diligently forgetting, in order to reach that perfect and beatified state of ignorance in which their would-be detractor passes his blond and blissful youth. I suppose he is blond. I do not know exactly why, but I think his guileless nature must shine from soft blue eyes. Fastidious curls modestly conceal a lofty brow, and a silky beard disguises the massive features of a too intellectual coun-Live on, unsophisticated youth! What would the world be without thee? Yes, "Mrs. Stanton, Miss Anthony, and the rest" grow old. May your cerulean eyes sparkle with perpetual innocence, nor wrinkles ever mar your classic front. Go! Get thee to a - a - a barber; Go!

The editors of Liberty are much A Word on happier in criticizing each, other Copyright. than in criticizing third parties. (I will say here, parenthetically, that their last two articles commenting on To-DAY are altogether too trivial to demand attention from me.) They are now engaged in de ating the question whether copyright violates the law of equal freedom or not; and their remarks give one at once a favorable impression of their skill as disputants. In the last number they carried the war into Africa, that is, to Spencer. This is a favorable stage to be reached in almost any dispute about social facts or principles; and I think I may say a word in this connection without seeming to intrude.

Are patents and copyrights sanctioned by the law of equal freedom? asks Mr. Tucker. Let me ask Mr. Tucker a question: What patents, what copyrights, are to be measured by the law of equal freedom? Do you know, I very much fear that the whole difficulty on the staff of *Liberty* lies right here.

Let me begin by admitting that Spencer's qualification of the absolute right of property in ideas is irredeemably weak. This admission ought at once to put me on good terms with Mr. Tucker, though whether I shall escape from Mr. Yarros without a broken head I cannot tell. Perhaps I may save myself by proceeding to defend his side of the original question. Spencer says:—

... "in consequence of the probability, or perhaps we may say the certainty, that the causes leading to the evolution of a new idea in our mind will eventually produce a like

result in some other mind, the claim above set forth [right of property in ideas] must not be admitted without limitation. . . . The laws of patent and copyright express this qualification by confining the inventor's or the author's privilege within a certain term of years."

This qualification seems to me untenable, and the argument quite lacking in cogency. I believe that the right of property in ideas is too obvious to be dwelt on at all; and the right, once existing, is perpetual, and cannot be qualified by anything whatever. Neither does Mr. Tucker say anything, so far as I can discover, which even tends to alter this position. What he constantly shows is that the law of equal freedom is violated, not by patent and copyright but by certain (existing) patent and copyright laws. He says:—

"The man who uses his knowledge secretly abridges no one's liberty of action. . . . But from the moment a patent or copyright is granted, no other man is 'free to acquire the same facts—to elaborate from them, if he can, the same new ideas,—and in a similar manner employ those new ideas for his private advantage'; and that is why the law of equal freedom forbids copyrights and patents."

(Surely, Mr. Tucker should not have said that any existing patent or copyright law prevents a man from acquiring facts or elaborating ideas). Elsewhere he remarks:—

"Now that is precisely what the law of copyright does. It denies in advance the possibility that the so-called pirate could have accomplished the work independently, and, worse still, declares that, whether he did or not, he is in either case a pirate in the eye of the law, against whom the owner of the copyright must be protected."

In short, Mr. Tucker's argument in No-176 (and that is the only argument I shall allude to) consists wholly and merely in the statement of a case against existing copyright laws. In my opinion, he states a strong case. He shows that they violate the law of equal freedom. But what in the world this has to do with the question of proporty in ideas I confess myself quite unable to discover.

What is the state of the case then? It is simply this: A man originates an idea and embodies it in literature. The idea is his; that collocation of words is his. If any one else wishes to become sharer in that idea, let him originate it for himself—spin it out of his own bowels—or let him pay the other for imparting it to him. Not only the man who

wants to learn the idea to-day, not alone the man who wants to learn the idea to-morrow, or seventeen years hence, but all men, for all time, as long as they continue to want to share in the idea which another has originated, shall pay the owner of that idea for the right to share it with him; or they shall originate the idea themselves. Spencer's qualification about the probability of another man's originating the same idea is utterly irrelevant. It simply has nothing to do with the matter. It does not even relate to the question under consideration; it is a hasty and inadequate generalization. If another man originates the same idea as the former, if he embodies it in literature and offers it for sale as his property, I confess, and confess without shame, my inability to see why he is not as much within his right, and as much entitled to protection, as his predecessor. what, me judice, Mr. Tucker really demonstrates, however different his aim; and the point is an important practical conclusion. Mr. Tucker's indictment of patent and copyright laws is fully sustained; as to his indictment of patent and copyright, it is simply not existent.

But here a question seems to intrude itself into the controversy which really has no proper place there. How is the ownership of the second originator to be determined; how is it to be established that the wares he offers for sale are really his, and not the property of his predecessor, from whom he has simply cribbed? The best reply I can imagine to this question is that made by Mr. Tucker himself, as follows:—

"In discussing the propriety of considering degrees of probability, Mr. Simpson fails to distinguish between the weighing of evidence and the framing of laws. The question of probability rightly enters into the former, but not into the latter. A man on trial for stealing the 'Angelus', should he make the defence supposed [that he had painted it himself], would have his evidence weighed against opposing evidence as a question of fact."...

That correctly represents the dilemma. And the fact that a wrong decision might be reached on the evidence adduced has no tendency whatever to invalidate the absolute right of both originators to the product of their brains. So far as copyright is concerned, it is manifest that a skilful rascal might make alterations in the wording of a book throughout, and render it exceedingly difficult to

determine the question of fact. In these days of expert testimony, it is improbable that successful frauds of this kind could be consum-The hand of the thief could be mated. detected. But even if it could not, the fact would remain, that the true originator of the ideas has a right of ownership in them; and the inability of the courts, either those of the tyrant state, or the voluntary organizations which might (conceivably) usurp its place, to protect his rights is merely his misfortune. It is perfectly obvious that if this is true of one originator, it is true of all, - second, third, thousandth. The anticipation of their work by the first originator may make it more difticult for the sucessors to prove their right; but should the proof be rendered impossible, even, I say again, that is their misfortune, and does not invalidate their right; but neither does the contingency invalidate the right of their predecessor.

Being unable to comprehend the remarks of Mr. Tucker on "discovery," "production," "ideas being there to be found," I will sue for mercy at his hands, by keeping silence on these wonderful distinctions.

To summarize briefly the view which I do feel competent to entertain in consequence of having attended to the law of equal freedom, and to violations of it, this seems to me to be the position of the copyright controversy: — A man's right to think, and, if he can, to discover facts, is an inherent right which it is a physical impossibility to violate (except, of course, by taking his life or liberty, when this right is violated together with others). Having discovered something, that something is his: his to keep, his to sell; and he has a perpetual and inalienable right to sell that something for whatever he can get for it. This is not a right which it is a physical impossibility to violate, and accordingly governments have proceeded to violate it. They have given a monopoly, or rather have tried to, not, indeed, in all probability, to the first originator, but to the first originator of the idea, to apply for copyright (patent). The inherent and perpetual right of others is thereby violated, and the law of equal freedom infringed. A collocation of words is, as Mr. Tucker claims, a discovery the same as any other discovery, and a monopoly of a particular literary form is equally an infringement of the law of equal freedom. questions whether or not a man did discover the fact, originate the idea, or compose the words are questions of fact which must be tried in accordance with such rules of evidence as we may be able to apply, tried on the evidence adduced in each case, and judged with such intelligence as a stingy or bountiful nature may have vouchsafed us. If any one chooses to believe that the practical result of this theory would be to confer a monopoly on the (apparently) first finder of an intellectual treasure, he may indeed do so; but I choose not to agree with him. Mr. Tucker produces no evidence to show that this result would follow.

The absolute right of the author to the products of his brain, therefore, has no need of the qualification Spencer suggested, nor of any other qualification. Laws which exclude subsequent originators are what need qualification, and serious qualification. This discovery - for which I beg to acknowledge my indebtedness to Mr. Tucker - does not tempt me to doubt the right of the thinker to sell his thoughts, and to prevent others from sclling his thoughts. With Mr. Tucker, of course, the case is different. Being such an extravagant admirer of the State and all its ways, when he discovers that something is wrong he naturally seeks to find the cause anywhere rather than in the halls of legislation. According to him, the legislators, doubtless, are partly to blame; but the original sin is with the authors, for claiming what is not theirs.

OUR NATIONAL GREATNESS.

A writer in the Fortnightly Review speaks of the United States as "a nation great only in regard to the number of its population and to the extent of its territory." It must be admitted that he has hit upon the chief claims we make to national greatness, the additional ones being the cities we have built, the railroads we have constructed, the manufactures we have established, the cereals and vegetables we have grown. There is a very good reason why we should choose this standard of greatness, for, tried by it, we are one of the greatest nations of the earth. Another reason is, that it is chiefly on account of our numbers and

wealth that we have power and influence in the world. Suppose only a short and narrow strip of the Atlantic coast were inhabited, that strip containing only one small city, and that city the modern equivalent of Athens in the time of Pericles. Is it likely that we should have as much influence upon other nations in our own generation as we have now? Doubtless, our posthumous fame and influence would be immeasurably greater, but hardly our present.

But what so superior claims to greatness, what so great achievements to which they can point with assurance, have the four or five leading countries of Europe that they can afford to slur our claims? Italy and Germany have in recent years achieved what they are pleased to call freedom and union; but we did that a hundred years ago. France has apparently settled down to a Republican form of government; but in this she is only following our example, and she can hardly be said to have improved upon it. England has extended the franchise, until at last her form of government is as democratic as ours. She has also extended her conquests, but the day has gone by when much glory was to be obtained by robbing savages of their territory. The military achievements of European countries since the time of Napolean have not been of a kind to excite much admiration, even among school-boys, and the greatest war during the latter half of the present century was fought in this country. In regard to social questions, the greatest cause we have for despondency is the fact that our social and industrial relations are becoming like those of European countries.

In literature, art, science, and philosophy we must take a second place, and, in so far as greatness consists in the successful pursuit of these, we can hardly be admitted to the first rank among nations. Our literature, art, and philosophy are distinctly inferior to the literature, art, and philosophy of three or four nations which might be named, and we have never produced a supreme master of either. In science we make little

better showing; we have scientific workers in abundance, but few scientific thinkers, and none of the first order. These, however, are pursuits for the few; except the material results of science, which all share in a measure, it is impossible for the great majority in a nation to possess sufficient culture to enjoy the best literature and the best art. In a nation consisting of a few thousand citizens and many thousand slaves nearly all the citizens may be cultivated, and live a life full of higher enjoyments and excellent to contemplate, as the Athenians did in their best days. The same may be said of a country consisting of a leisure class and a much larger workingclass, as is the case with the leading countries of Europe, and as is becoming the case with us. The working-class performs for the leisure class the services which the slaves performed for the Athenian citizens, namely, supports them, and the leisure class is supposed to confer a compensation upon the working class by offering them an example of a complete life, which example cannot fail to exert a humanizing influence upon them.

We have not done much worthy of admiration in literature, art, and philosophy, partly because we have almost to a man been so absorbed in seeking those things upon which we found our chief claims to greatness, partly because we have been so willing, in the case of the first two, to imitate other nations, partly for other reasons. We had an example of the unlikeliness that a nation will produce a great literature by consciously imitating even the best models in the case of the Romans. Of course it would be too much to say that the Latin authors would have written better if they had not used the Greeks as models, but it is a very severe criticism of a literature to say that it is only an imitation of a superior article. The observation is not to be overlooked simply becau-e it is trite that literature and art are concerned chiefly with expression, while science and philosophy are concerned chiefly with things and ideas. Our lack of the highest success in the two former may be due to our not having anything to express, or to our want of skill in expression.

Our intense pursuit of material things during the period of our national infancy and youth may be analogous to the development of an individual during the corresponding periods. In the latter case, the forces of growth are largely directed to building up the body, and to the acquisition of those powers of the mind concerned with the immediate intercourse with the environment, the higher powers not appearing until later. So, in our national life, it may be that after our material growth is complete our activities will follow other directions and we shall turn out higher products. This growth is not yet complete. A liberal estimate places our annual production of wealth at \$200 per capita. Now two hundred dollars' worth of the necessaries and luxuries of life is not enough to meet perfectly the demands of the physical nature for a year, even if the product were divided equally. Moreover, the best energies of the people at large are occupied in obtaining that which will support the physical life, and not much can be left for the appreciation of art and literature. From the standpoint of the ages, it is perhaps worth while that many should go hungry in order that a great literary work may be produced or a great discovery in science be made, but it is very hard to convince one who is actually hungry of this.

It may be said that the older nations never passed through any such period — in fact that they are only arriving at it now, and that their best literary work was done before reaching it. This only tends to show what has been contended for in case of ourselves, that if a nation devotes all its energies to the pursuit of wealth it will find this a hinderance to success in what are called higher pursuits. The hope for us—as for the world in general—is that in the long course of time we shall pass through this stage. It is much easier to produce a

given quantity of food and of clothing, or to build a house, now than it was fifty years ago. If the progress of invention continues, it may be that nations will be able to produce enough of these articles to supply their wants without devoting all their attention to the task.

There is, then, no necessary cause for discouragement in the fact that we have not yet produced a great national literature, a national art, a national philosophy (one can hardly speak of a national science). This fact does not in the least prove that we shall not some day be great in a sense which would satisfy the writer in the Fortnightly. There are other facts, however, which should prevent us from indulging in too sanguine anticipations. Last November the present age was characterized as an "age of discontent" over the whole of the civilized world by one whom the world is very ready to listen to, Mr. James Bryce. Forty years ago four objects were specially desired by those who wished for the happiness of the world, namely: -

Political liberty.

Freedom of thought, speech, and worship.

The so-called principle of nationalities, i. e., the right of every nation to constitute a separate political community.

International peace.

The first three of these have already been in large measure already attained, — at any rate the progress toward their complete attainment has been very great during the last half century. Personal despotism has almost everywhere given way, except in Russia; several of the smaller nations, which were formerly oppressed, have won national independence, while in most parts of Europe a man may, with a few limitations, say, write, and teach whatever he pleases. It was thought forty years ago that securing these blessings would have a strong tendency to bring about universal peace. Wars were attributed either to the selfish ambition of monarchs or to the ignorance and prejudice of their subjects. Nations mix with one another more and know far more of one another now than they did then; princes count for but little, and the issues of peace or war are transferred to the decision of the people; yet never before did the preparation for war take up so much of the attention and energy of nations as at present. The chance that the intense international hatred which now exists will die out, and the vast armaments that make Europe a great camping-ground will be disbanded without one of the most terrible wars the world has ever seen, is almost hopeless.

This is only one instance in which the anticipations of forty years ago have been bitterly disappointed. The freedom which, it was thought, would almost turn Europe into a paradise has been attained in a degree that was scarcely hoped for, and yet the resemblance of Europe to pandemonium has hardly lessened. The reformers hoped for too much from humanity. They did not perceive that the same defects in human nature that made the tyranny of princes and courts possible would produce evil consequences even if princes and courts could be utterly done away. Now, faith in humanity is at a low ebb among thoughtful men. The improvement under an increased degree of freedom has been far less than was expected, and many are inclined to advocate another trial of coercion. If men will not walk in the right path of their own will, they must be compelled: force till right is ready. A little knowledge of biology and psychology might have kept reformers of the last generation from their error, and might keep those of the present from despondency.

Mr. Bryce is inclined to think that there is less discontent and disappointment in this country than abroad; though there is certainly no less occasion for such feelings. The conditions under which this republic was founded were, on the whole, more favorable than are ever likely to occur for another nation. The great extent of fertile territory to the occupation of which there

was no serious impediment after the very first, and its position, sufficiently far away from hostile nations powerful enough to be dangerous, left us almost perfectly free to follow out our own destiny. The political institutions adopted, though not absolutely perfect, might, if worked by wise men, have been made nearly all that could be desired. It was absolutely necessary that the Constitution should confer some powers on Congress, and leave some to the State Governments; and no instrument of that kind could by any possibility have prevented both the powers which it conferred and those which it left from being abused. This was exactly what happened. "Coercive laws were passed of that very kind which it had been meant to make obsolete." There is less cause for encouragement in the political history of this country for the last century than in the history of Europe, because in the latter great progress has been made towards greater freedom, while in this country there has been no progress in this direction at all; and this not by any means because we enjoyed perfect freedom to start with. The modifications of our political institutions have not, on the whole, been for the better, and they are in their practical working far removed from those proper to the ideal commonwealth which our fathers hoped to create.

Even in the matter of producing wealth, though we have astonished the world by our feats in that direction, our achievements are not so very marvellous when the natural resources of the country are taken into consideration. As before remarked, we do not produce enough yearly to maintain our population in a very high degree of material comfort absolutely, however high it may be in comparison to that of less favored nations. With regard to the distribution of wealth, it would hardly be rash to predict that in a few years the United States will be the one country in the world where wealth is most unevenly distributed. We can bear a grossly uneven distribution better than most countries, because even

so a larger amount will go to those who get the least. Still there are limits beyond which inequality of distribution is intolerable. The stupendous fortunes which individuals have been able to amass are doubtless due in part to the great inventions and modern methods of industry, and in so far as they are due to this cause we as a nation are not responsible for them; but they are also partly due to unjust laws and illegitimate acts of government, and for such laws we are responsible. The inequalities of wealth which would be produced by the natural causes acting alone would, without doubt, reach the extreme at which such inequalities would be beneficial; the additional disparity produced by laws is an unqualified evil.

The unequal distribution of wealth may have one compensating advantage: it may give us a leisure class here who will perform one of the functions that hereditary aristocracies have performed for other nations, namely, give a note to our national life which will find expression in literature and art. We already produce a large volume of what must be included under literature, just as art includes decorative art. This of course will for a long time, perhaps forever, form the staple reading for the multitude. Men and women of leisure will always wish to be distinguished from the rest of the people; at present, the few among us try to distinguish themselves by their follies; by and by they may come to see that nothing is easier to imitate than folly, and that they must pursue some other path to distinction The next most obvious resource is in culture, and then those of them who devote themselves to letters may produce something better than the current fiction and periodical literature.

Something better may be hoped for the distant future than a highly cultured leisure class, influencing the throng of workers by living among them and showing them an ideal life attainable only by the few, though this nation may not live to see it. It is not likely that any nation will ever be composed

of Newtons and Shakespeares, but the citizens may be accessible to ideas and derive enjoyment from converse with them in a degree hardly conceivable at present. History affords instances of whole peoples under the dominion of some one great idea, - as the Americans during the Revolution, under the idea of independence, and resistance to the oppression of Parliament and the King, or the French at the time of their Revolution, but of a nation accessible to many ideas and holding a balance between them there is no example. Literature, art, science, and philosophy expand and ennoble life by making it not a correspondence between the organism and the immediate environment, but a correspondence with an environment wider in space and in time. As the task of making a living becomes easier, so as to absorb a smaller portion of human energy, as it probably will with the advance of intelligence, then the great majority will not be obliged to content themselves merely with living, but will be able to live well; then may exist a nation having better claims to greatness than any now existing or any that have gone before.

POLITICS IN THE MAGAZINES.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW (January). — The Future of the Indian Question is the title under which Gen. Miles tells more of the Indian troubles in the past, and the present condition of the hostiles, than he enlightens us as to their future prospects. His remedy for preventing hostilities in the future is to place the Indians under "some government just and strong enough to control them."

Ireland in the Light of History. By W. E. H. Lecky. It being generally admitted that Mr. Lecky is high authority on the relations of England and Ireland, all who are interested in the Irish will welcome this article as a valuable contribution. The early political history of Ireland, the rise and fall of the Irish Parliament, and events of political importance since that time are here briefly sketched.

Speaking of Ireland's present condition, he maintains that the agricultural tenant is more favored by law in that country than in the United

States, in England, or in any portion of the continent of Europe. About one third of the population of England regard home rule as "the greatest catastrophe that could befall themselves, their country, or the empire," being firmly convinced that, "in the existing condition of Ireland, no parliament could be established there which could be trusted to fulfil the most elementary conditions of honest government—to maintain law, to protect property, to observe or enforce contracts, to secure the rights and liberties of individuals and communities, to act loyally in times of difficulty and danger in the interests of the empire."

Henry Cabot Lodge, in advocating The Restriction of Immigration in the United States, considers that, as a duty to American citizens and their institutions, a proper restriction should be placed upon people of foreign countries coming to America. He would compel each immigrant to come furnished with a certificate from the United States consul, or other diplomatic representative, to the effect that he is not obnoxious to any of the existing laws of the United States. He should be compelled to present a medical certificate showing that the bearer is sound in mind and body. He would also exclude not only the diseased, the criminal, and the pauper, but also the illiterate.

An interesting table, showing the number that have arrived each year since 1874, their nationalities, occupations, etc., is given, which is perhaps more interesting and valuable than Mr. Lodge's speculations on the subject.

The question How Shall We Make Our Ships? is discussed by Admiral Luce, U. S. N. Various ways are suggested for supplying the present deficiency of American seamen.

Can We Coerce Canada? occupies the attention of Erastus Wiman. Recognizing the inconsistency of political adherence to Great Britian while allowing absolute free trade between Canada and the United States, he still believes, that a commercial union is among the possibilities. The Canadian Liberal party, being already unequivocally committed to unrestricted reciprocity with the United States, can, now that the severer exactions of the McKinley Bill seem likely to cripple many Canadian interests, go before the people at the next election with strong inducements in their favor. Political union, however, Mr. Wiman confesses to be impossible for generations to come.

Other articles treating of political and sociological subjects are: Vital Statistics of the Jews, by Dr. John S. Billings; The Late Financial

Crisis, by Henry Clews; An Opportunity for the American Negro, by James M. Hubbard; How to Teach Citizenship, by Samuel W. Mendum; In Favor of the Jew, by M. Bourchier Sanford.

WESTMINSTER REVIEW (January).—The opening paper, by Elizabeth Cady Stanton, on Patriotism and Chastity, views the Parnell episode most sensibly. After the volumes of drivel and cant from would-be reformers, editorial gushers, and the ever-ready public censor, that have found their way into print during the last few weeks, a plain and outspoken dealing with realities has a most refreshing effect.

Mrs. Stanton does not believe, as most of the above-named profess to, that "patriotism and chastity are convertible virtues, uniformly found in the same man, and that the lack of one precludes the exercise of the other." While such a combination is highly desirable, she points to the fact that the business of the world has never been conducted on that line, and that there is no more reason to exact such a combination from a statesman than to seek for skilled workmen in any department who possess all the cardinal virtues. Numerous examples are cited to show that such has not been the rule in the past. The private lives of Nelson, Melbourne, Webster, Clay, and Cleveland. Cleopatra, Elizabeth of England, and Catherine of Russia all bear testimony to this fact.

Mrs. Stanton would raise rather than lower the standard of morality; but she seeks to learn wherein it consists, and how best to attain it. Rather than persistently hounding the men, she would educate, elevate, and emancipate the women, by training them to self-respect and a virtuous independence.

Hereditary Peers and Practical Politics. By Frederick Dolman. The author of this paper believes that if a raison d'être of a hereditary peerage ever existed, it has long since passed away, and that its present effect works but injury to England and her best interests. Although a positive rejection of a measure favored by the Lower House seldom occurs, its force, as coming from the real representatives of the people, is often removed by numerous amendments. His idea, in short, is that such of the present body of peers, who are really entitled to political preference, would have an equal chance of demonstrating their abilities, and that those who displayed real merit would constitute an Upper House of infinitely more value to the people, for whose interest it too should exist, than could any body of men resting their claims to peerage solely on hereditary rights.

Other articles in this number are: The Decline of Marriage, by Eugenius; the Continuity of Parties in English History, by R. Seymour Long; The Social and Political Life of the Empire in the

Fourth and Fifth Centuries.

AMERICANA.

Revised Mother Goose, for the use of the children of New York City: —

The mayor,
The judge,
The Tammany heeler,
All jumped out of an Irish potato.

The Pilgrim Fathers landed on Plymouth Rock and fell on their knees; they then arose, and fell on the aborigines.— Senator Vest.

The following is a copy of some of the laws which have been enforced in the good old State of Vermont:—

- "No one shall be a freeman or give a vote unless he is converted and a member of one of the churches allowed in the dominion."
- "Each freeman shall swear by the blessed God to bear true allegiance to this dominion, and that Jesus is the only king."
- "No dissenter from the essential worship of this dominion shall be allowed to give a vote for electing of magistrates or any officer."
- "No food or lodging shall be offered to a heretic."
- "No one shall cross a river on the Sabbath but authorized clergymen"
- "No one shall travel, cook victuals, make beds, sweep houses, cut hair, or shave on the Sabbath day."
- ·· No one shall kiss his or her children on the Sabbath or fasting days."
- "The Sabbath day shall begin at sunset, Saturday."
- "Every ratable person who refuses to pay his proportion to support the minister of town or parish shall be fined five pounds and five shillings every quarter."
- Whoever wears clothes trimmed with gold, silver, or bone lace, above one shilling per yard, shall be presented by the grand jurors, and the selectmen shall tax the estate three hundred pounds."
- "Whoever brings cards or dice into the dominion shall pay a fine of five pounds."
- ·· No one shall eat mince pies, dance, play cards, drum, trumpet, or jews-harp."
- "No gospel minister shall join people in marriage. The magistrate shall join them in marriage, as he may do it with less scandal to Christ's church."
- .. When parents refuse their children convenient marriages, the magistrates shall determine the point."
- •• A man who strikes his wife shall be fined ten pounds."

- "A woman who strikes her husband shall be punished as the law directs."
- "No man shall court a maid in person or by letter without obtaining the consent of her parents; five pounds penalty for the first offence; ten for the second, and for the third, imprisonment during the pleasure of the court."

IGNORAMUS. — How is the work of civilizing and Christianizing Africa progressing? Cultivated Friend. — Very nicely. The European powers have finally succeeded in dividing the land among them without a war. — New York Weekly.

CULPRIT.—Please, your Honor, I had only one drink, and— Justice.—Ten days more for trying to deceive the court; I used to be in the saloon business myself.—Puck.

The business of State Legislatures will hardly be conducted this winter with even the usual rapidity. The Denver Legislature last week was obliged to adjourn for a day to attend the funeral of a man killed by one of its sergeants-at-arms, and, judging by the fighting proclivities of other Legislatures, this will not be the only incident of the kind — Chicago Herald.

POLITICIAN. - I cannot tell a lie.

CONSTITUENT. — Well, I can; and can spot 'em all through your speeches. — Minneapolis Times.

The average commission appointed to investigate some evil and devise a remedy is farcial in its operation. It meets from time to time, listens to an infinite amount of nonsense in the way of testimony and suggestion, all of which is faithfully recorded by the stenographers and often ends by making a report quite as ridicu-A commission is now sitting in New York which is charged with the duty of finding some means of accelerating public street transit. At its first session, a number of people made suggestions, and, of these, nearly half were unmistakable cranks. One recommended a viaduct of solid masonry with four tracks, from the Harlem to the battery; another wanted a similar viaduct to skirt the island all around and "run above Jay Gould's head," while two others thought the roads should rest upon the roofs of buildings. — Detroit Free Press.

Washington is still young in the Union, but she has progressed sufficiently far already in political civilization to charge senatorial candidates with bribery. In the sweet buy and buy she will learn to do these things with less publicity and scandal. — Philadelphia Times.

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Thursday, February 5, 1891.

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POLITICS: EVENTS; COMMENTS; LITERATURE.

The conditions under which this paper is published render it impossible to give the weekly record of facts the character of news, especially in the case of the foreign items. The facts are, in the main, collected from daily papers. Their importance does not generally depend upon dates. Our record of them cannot have greater authority than the sources have, but is evidently more trustworthy than any single newspaper.

LEGISLATIVE.

Congress.— By a vote of thirty-five to thirty-four the Force Bill and the cloture resolution were laid aside in the Senate on Monday, Jan. 26, and the Apportionment Bill taken up, and was passed as it came from the House. The Army Appropriation Bill was next taken up and passed. The Senate also passed the House bill prohibiting the manufacture of dies and tools for making counterfeit money, and one hundred and ten private pension bills. Among the petitions received by the Senate and referred was one in favor of having potatoes received by the Treasurer and certificates of deposit issued thereon at the rate of one dollar for each sixty pounds, the certificates to be legal tender.

In the House, the Naval Appropriation Bill and the Military Academy Appropriation Bill were passed.

The Democrats and the Republican opponents of the Force Bill believe that no effort will be made to renew the struggle either for the Force Bill or the cloture resolution, and that Congress will transact business without obstruction and delay.

Missouri.—Among the bills introduced are: a bill to protect skilled labor by providing for brands on convict-made goods; one prohibiting keeping a saloon within five hundred feet of a church, school, or public library; one to protect hotel-keepers from dead-beats and swindlers; one placing St. Louis houses of ill-repute under

the control of the Board of Health; one prohibiting the State Board of Health from discriminating against any class of physicians; one reducing pawnbrokers' rate of interest to one per cent per month; and one authorizing cities of the third class to construct and operate water, electric, and gas works.

Alabama. -- Among the bills introduced are: a bill preventing the running of freight trains on Sunday; one prohibiting persons not citizens of the United States from holding land in the State; one making Gen. Lee's birthday a legal holiday; and one to enlarge the appropriations for the public schools. The House passed a bill prohibiting pools and trusts, a bill to provide equal and separate accommodations on trains for the different races, a bill levying a State tax of \$50 and county tax of \$20 on clock pedlers, and a bill to require teaching of physiology and hygiene in the public schools in relation to the effect of ardent spirits and narcotics on the human system. The Senate passed a bill requiring applicants for liquor licenses to obtain signatures of a majority of the householders of the ward in which the premises are located. The bill to create a Department of Immigration was defeated in the Senate. .

Illinois. - Among the bills introduced are: a bill allowing doctors to sell medicines to persons besides their patients; one enabling patrons of street cars to purchase fifteen-ride tickets for fifty cents; one establishing maximum rates for the use of telephones; one making it a felony to perpetrate a "fake" on a newspaper; one to prevent strikes and lock-outs, and establishing a board of arbitration (one provision makes it unlawful for an employer or employee to sever connection without giving two weeks' notice); one providing for the election of county jailers by the people; one providing against docking horses' tails; one repealing the statute which limits the liability of a railroad causing the death of a person to \$5,000; one against using live birds as a target to be shot at; and one against private police, and providing that the sheriff may, if necessary, call on every male inhabitant over twenty-one years of age to aid in enforcing the Washington. — The Senate passed the bill allowing poor persons to institute actions in the Superior Court without making payment of fees in advance; also the bill abolishing the fees paid to the clerk by litigants, and providing for a uniform fee of \$10 to be paid upon the institution of a suit. A bill was introduced prohibiting betting by members of the Legislature.

South Dakota. - Among the bills introduced are: a bill for an amendment to the Constitution providing that voters shall be allowed to vote on the adoption of all laws; one compelling railroads to build connection lines at all junctions; one providing that laborers shall have lien on grain, stock, or farm products, the demand for wages to be made within ten days after termination of the service; one limiting time of taking appeal to Supreme Court from two years to six months; and a resolution instructing the State's Congressmen to secure foreclosure of mortgage of Union and Central Pacific railroads. A bill was passed by the Senate providing for an amendment to the Constitution so that aliens cannot own real estate unless they declare intention to become naturalized.

Texas. - Among the bills introduced are: a bill requiring railroads to provide depots and separate apartments for smoking and sitting; one to prohibit the use of text-books in the public schools not mentioned in the school laws: one making it unlawful for dealers in oil to sell oils to retail dealers the fire test of which is one hundred and ten degrees Fahrenheit; one giving farm laborers a lien on agricultural products: one to provide for the study, in the public schools, of the effect of alcoholic liquors upon the human body; one establishing a board of commissioners to promote unformity in legislation; one preventing barbers from keeping their shops open on Sunday; one to punish tenants for moving crop products before rent is paid; one requiring railroads to post at their depots timetables showing arrivals and departures of passenger trains; and one requiring railroads to build freight and passenger depots at all places on their lines having a population of fifty inhabitants or over. The Senate passed a bill making it a felony to fight a prize-fight in the State, with or without gloves. The House passed the bill abolishing the office of oil commissioner.

Texas has a libel law that seriously hampers the press. Though a news matter may be of court record, if the charges therein are not sustained, or if the party suspected can show that a publication injures him, a newspaper can be mulcted for damages. A member of the State

Senate has now introduced a bill which provides that three days before suit is instituted against a paper for libel the publisher thereof shall be notifled of the fact and apprised of the article and the statements therein which are considered libellous by the plaintiff. The bill further provides that if the libellous statement or statements shall be proven in court to have been made in good faith, that their falsity was due to mistake or misapprehension of facts, and that if a full and fair retraction is made within five days after the fact is brought to the notice of the publisher, nothing but actual damages can be awarded to the plaintiff. This shall not apply in the case of a candidate for public office unless the retraction is made at least five days before election.

California. - Among the bills introduced are: a bill prohibiting the catching or buying of salmon between the fourteenth day of September and the 15th of November each year, and also between sunrise of each Saturday and sunset of the following Sunday; one authorizing governing bodies of cities to fix rates for gas and electricity for lighting purposes; one providing that all franchise shall be disposed of to the highest bidder; one providing heavy punishments of persons marrying within six months after being divorced; one repealing the statute making it a misdemeanor to defraud an innkeeper; one prohibiting the employment and hiring of non-citizens to perform labor for the State; one providing that street railroads in cities having over 100,000 inhabitants must file an annual statement of receipts and disbursements, keep the pavements in good repair, and pay two and one half per cent of their gross or net earnings (as the Board of Supervisors may decide) into the municipal treasury; and one providing that in cities of more than 100,000 inhabitants no street railroad shall charge more than two and one third cents for a trip between the hours of 5 A. M. and 7 A. M., and from 5.30 P. M. to 6.30 P. M.

The House passed the bill providing that no divorce suit can be brought until the plaintiff has resided in the State one year and in the county where suit is brought three months; the bill to allow different lines of street railways to use parts of the same streets and tracks; the bill authorizing cities to acquire by purchase or condemnation proceedings water rights and appliances for supplying inhabitants with water; the bill making it a misdemeanor to advertise to obtain a divorce, and the bill providing that no speech or statement reflecting upon a court shall be deemed a contempt unless made in the pres-

ence of the judge, and in a way to obstruct the proceedings of the tribunal. The House rejected the bill amending the Constitution so as to make an educational test on the right of suffrage.

Pennsylvania. - Among the bills introduced are: a bill to prevent the use of air-guns, pistols, and rifles; one providing for the teaching of physical culture in public schools; one to prevent the sale, manufacture, smoking, or burning of cigarettes in the State; one to prohibit sparring and boxing matches, and the maintenance of rooms for sparring exhibitions when the matches are for money; one prohibiting the custom of persons treating one another to liquors in saloons; one establishing a board of medical examiners without a certificate from whom no one can practise medicine; and one providing for an enumeration of children between seven and twelve years, and for compulsory education.

Nebraska. - Among the bills introduced are: a bill prohibiting candidates from contributing to campaign funds; one reducing the share of real estate of the wife of the deceased person from one half to one third, allowing her the use of the homestead for life; one making it a misdemeanor for wholesale dealers to decline to sell goods to farmers' associations at the rates charged to the trade; one providing that the opinion of the Supreme Court shall be given orally, not in writing, unless involving new points of law, and in certain other cases; one prohibiting the selling or giving any intoxicating drink to habitual drunkards and minors; and one repealing the provision of the liquor law, which enables a party illegally prosecuted to recover from the prosecutor double the amount of his costs.

Minnesota.—The Senate passed a resolution memorializing Congress for a law prohibiting the selling of options upon agricultural products. Among the bills introduced are: one to prohibit prize-fighting and sparring matches; one prohibiting the use of soft coal on locomotives within the limits of cities of twenty thousand inhabitants and over; one prohibiting bets of every kind as to the results of an election or nominating convention, and prohibiting any threats of affecting pay of employees, and posting of election notices in any shop, etc.; and one to protect corporations.

This bill provides that the directors and trustees of all corporations organized under the laws of this State shall be jointly and severally liable to the stockholders and creditors of such cor-

porations for money lost, embezzled, misappropriated, or otherwise gone astray. It prohibits the issuing of shares or certificates of stock, bonds, or evidences of debt of any kind except for labor done or money or property actually received, and all fictitious increase of stock or indebtedness shall be void. Directors or trustees are prohibited from diverting property or assets to objects other than specified in the articles; from declaring or paying any dividends except from surplus profits; from declaring or paying any dividends out of borrowed money or funds; from paying out in any form any part of the capital stock when the funds remaining are not sufficient to meet the liabilities of the corporation; from incurring debts or liabilities in excess of the limitation named in the articles of incorporation.

Wisconsin. — Among the bills introduced are: a bill to prevent child labor in factories, and to furnish elementary education; one increasing the license on gross earnings of telephone companies from one and a half to three per cent; one to secure to all persons, of every race and color, equal rights to the enjoyment of the privileges of inns, saloons, barber-shops, theatres, public conveyances on land and water, etc.; one to abolish the office of State veterinarian; and one providing that children under sixteen years shall not work over sixteen hours, and that children under thirteen shall not be allowed in any factory.

New Jersey.—Among the bills introduced are: one providing for weekly payment of wages; one making it obligatory to pay two dollars a day for eight hours' work; and one providing that lands held for speculative purposes adjacent to improved lands shall be assessed in the same rates.

New Hampshire.—Among the bills introduced are: one to prohibit dealing in grain, petroleum, or other articles on margins, and declaring the places of such business common nuisances; one to regulate the sale and inspection of beef, pork, and lard; one requiring railroad companies to furnish half and a quarter mileage books; one making election day a legal holiday; and one regulating the attendance of minors at evening schools.

Indiana. — Among the bills introduced are: one prohibiting the use of tobacco in churches, school-rooms, and other public places; one to punish wife-beaters (sixty lashes to be inflicted,

in public, by sheriff or constable, the offender to wear nothing but a thin flannel shirt while receiving punishment); one to punish drunkards (first offence, a \$10 fine, second \$15, third \$25); one empowering constables to arrest horse thieves without warrants; one requiring liquor dealers to give bond in the sum of \$2,000 as a guarantee of orderly management; one prohibiting the construction of wire fences; one to encourage the breeding of trotting and pacing horses; one to prohibit the selling or giving or advertising of immoral literature, or of books or pamphlets containing police reports; one limiting the ummber of prisoners that may be employed at a single industry in the State prison; one making it unlawful to sell, remove, or secrete any goods sold on the instalment plan, with intent to defraud; one giving paupers the privilege to select their own physicians; one creating the office of natural gas inspector; and one making it unlawful for county commissioners to levy taxes to exceed 33 cents on \$100.

The Lower House of the Rhode Island Legislature has passed the bill providing that manufacturing, mercantile, railroad, steamboat, telegraph, and telephone corporations shall pay weekly employees the wages earned to within nine days of the date of such payment.

The bill to make an appropriation for the World's Fair was tabled by the Alabama Senate, to await the fate of the Federal Elections Bills It was the opinion of the Senate, that if the "Force Bill" became a law, it would so injure the State that it would be useless to spend money to invite immigration. Similar-action has been taken by several other State Legislature.

In the English House of Commons, a motion to amend the conspiracy law so that no combination shall be considered criminal unless formed for a criminal object was defeated, the solicitor-general saying that such action would give free scope to strikers, encourage boycotting, and otherwise imperil individual rights.

To the suggestion of a member that the government should join in an international movement to confer upon Prof. Koch a pecuniary reward for his consumption cure, Mr. Smith, the government leader in the House, replied that Prof. Koch did not stand alone as a scientific discoverer, and that the government must decline to add the proposed function to its responsibilities. A motion that the government use its influence to settle by arbitration the remaining disputes between the tenants and landlords in Ireland was rejected by a large majority.

A motion to abolish the tariff on cereals and cattle has been defeated in the German Reichstag, by a vote of 210 to 106.

A motion to repeal the prohibition of the importation of American pork has been defeated in the Reichstag.

The Argentine Legislature has passed a bill imposing a tax of two per cent on deposits, and ten per cent on the profits of private banks doing business in the Republic.

JUDICIAL.

A judge of the Circuit Court has decided that the Kentucky law of 1890 repealing the State lottery licenses was void. A man was tried for selling lottery tickets, and the judge held that the tender of the required tax of \$2,000 for each of the lotteries was in effect obtaining a license, although the State auditor refused to issue the license, in view of the legislative statute against licenses.

The Consolidated Coal Company of St. Louis was assessed fifty dollars for coal under the surface in St. Clair Township, Ill. The company refused to pay, for the reason that the land had already been taxed on the surface, and that it was impossible to assess unknown quantities of coal beneath the surface. The court gave judgment for the State, and the Supreme Court of Illinois has affirmed the decision. It is held that the coal and the surface must be assessed separately. This decision will bring thousands of dollars each year in taxes from the coal fields in the State.

The United States Supreme Court has altered its rules, so as to require all cases from lower courts to be brought before it within thirty days, in order to facilitate the transaction of business.

The Appellate Court, at Decatur, Ill., has rendered a decision in three liquor cases which will effect all the proceedings had at the last September term of court. The liquor cases were reversed and remanded on the ground that the court erred in having the grand jury filled up from bystanders instead of the county, and that the indictments were found during a two-weeks' session when court was not held. All cases of importance will be recalled by the interested parties for rehearing.

An important decision has been rendered by the New York Court of Appeals in a suit which grew out of a theft committed in a sleeping car. A men went to bed in his berth, placing his vest, containing forty dollars, under his pillow. Upon waking in the morning the money was gone. The company was sued to recover the money, but the New York City Court decided that the company was not responsible. This decision is now reversed by the Court of Appeals.

An employee on a bark brought action to recover from the owners of the bark heavy damages for injuries inflicted by the captain of the bark. The defendants contended that the owners could not be held liable for the act of the captain, but the judge of the Superior Court decided that the action could lie against the owners, as the captain was not a mere fellow-servant of the plaintiff but the representative of the company.

In an action brought by an actress against the Scottish Leader for \$5,000 damages on account of an unfair criticism published in that paper, the judge of the Edinburgh Court of Sessions decided in favor of the paper, declaring the right of criticism to belong to the public and the press.

INDUSTRIAL.

The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has decided to pay no attention to the Knights of Labor circular calling for a conference to organize a third political party. The council deems it unwise for labor organizations to meddle with politics.

A new industrial order, The Knights of Reciprocity, organized to supplant the Knights of Labor, and similar bodies, is growing rapidly in Kansas.

Toronto (Canada) will lease its street-car plants. No employee will work over ten hours a day.

The municipal authorities of Cologne have resolved to furnish employment at eighteen pence a day to the 13,000 men now out of work in the city.

The British Government has sent two hundred and fifty tons of potatoes and meat to be distributed among the poor of Kildysart.

The unemployed workmen of Berlin, Germany, have called a meeting to protest against the decision of the city council in rejecting the petition to start public works. The police, however, intend to prevent the holding of the meeting.

The Russian Ministry of the Interior has approved a project to establish agricultural colonies for beggars and vagrants. A special commission has been appointed to work out the colonization plans in detail, and to present them for adoption to the Ministerial Council.

The Pennsylvania United Mine Workers have decided to demand the abolition of company stores and a union price of seventy cents per ton of coal.

Orders have been issued to stop work in a majority of the mines in the Lackawanna valley. The miners think that the corporations have resolved to keep the production of coal so low from now until May 1 that the miners will not be prepared to inaugurate the strike for eight hours.

In his annual report, the New York State Factory Inspector makes the following recommendations:—

"First. That children under fourteen years of age be prohibited from employment in mercantile houses, telegraph, telephone, and messenger service.

"Second. That the hours of labor of women under twenty-one and youths under eighteen years of age, employed in mercantile houses, be restricted to sixty per week.

"Third. That the women deputy factory inspectors be authorized to enforce the law requiring the placing of seats for the use of females employed in mercantile houses.

"Fourth. That the salaries of the deputy factory inspectors be increased to adequately compensate them for their services.

"Fifth. That the factory laws be amended so as to provide for sufficient ventilation in factories and workshops, and that overcrowding of the same be prevented, by requiring that two hundred and fifty cubic feet of air space be the minimum for day workers, and four hundred cubic feet for night workers.

"Sixth. That the law be amended requiring the examination of all elevators and elevator cables, and that power be given the inspectors to prohibit the use of dangerous elevators.

"Seventh. That attending surgeons be required to notify the factory inspectors of the nature and extent of the injuries occurring in manufacturing establishments which they may be called upon to attend.

"Eighth. That uninsured steam-boilers be inspected by competent men of ten years' experience, and that persons in charge of stationary engines be required to pass a qualifying examination.

"Ninth. That steam surface railroads be included in the provisions of the Weekly Payment Law.

"Tenth. That payment of wages by corporations be made in cash, and that company or "pluck-me" stores be abolished."

The Massachusetts State Board of Arbitration and Conciliation, in their annual report, speaking of strikes during the past year, says that they have almost uniformly proved disastrous to those engaged in them. Combinations of employees have led to combinations of employers, and the superior resources of employers have served in some instances in breaking up labor organizations undertaking strikes.

The Lynn Central Labor Union will petition the Massachusetts Legislature to repeal all laws governing pawnbrokers and loan companies, and compel cities and towns to establish public loan offices to do the pawnbrokers' business. The Lynn city council will be petitioned to grant no more licenses and to refuse to reissue existing licenses upon their expiration.

A resolution calling upon the Board of Trade to make regulations limiting the hours of labor of railway workmen was defeated in the English Parliament by a narrow government majority of seventeen.

IN · GENERAL.

The Cincinnati Board of Health has interdicted the exhibitions of hypnotism advertised by Prof. Carpenter, on the ground that the exhibitions would be injurious to the health of many spectators.

The new lottery laws, it is said, have caused no end of trouble to the companies that circulate foreign publications in the United States. Most foreign periodicals, especially those from Germany, are filled with seductive advertisements of this, that, or the other royal, imperial, ar ducal lottery, and with reading notices as to the luck of poor shoemakers or day-laborers in drawing capital prizes. All this matter must be carefully hidden with pasters now by the American newsdealers.

The anti-lottery law has had an unexpected effect on the glass industry. The baking-powder companies of the country cannot, under the law,

continue to give away, as prizes, glassware, and the cancelling of their orders compels the closing down of glassware factories.

New York physicians say that the law against selling cigarettes to minors is practically a dead letter. The dealers do not sell cigarettes, but they sell "paper rolls" in plenty, "two for a cent."

At the instance of the medical councils of various counties of the St. Petersburg government, the village schools of those counties will be opened on Sundays and holidays for popular lectures on hygiene, which all the peasants will be invited to attend.

The trustees of Johns Hopkins University, in Baltimore, have voted to admit women to the medical department. Within the past year the University has received in gifts half a million dollars, and the additional sum of \$100,000 is to be raised by American women.

In consequence of the school committee's action in Lynn, Mass., in granting the Armenians who have taken the places of striking and locked-out morocco workers the privilege of attending the free evening schools as a separate class, many citizens of Lynn declare that they will withdraw their children from the schools.

The Boston police have decided to enforce the law against Sunday trade in cigars and tobacco, which has been a dead letter ever since its enactment. Officers have been instructed to arrest all violators of the law, and to use all means to obtain evidence against them. The Druggists Alliance has voted to continue to disregard the law.

The prohibitory laws relating to Indian reservations are strict; yet the Indian office reports that "in the vicinity of reservations there are always those who carry on an active traffic in these commodities.—intoxicated liquors,—who for the sake of the large profits to be made, are willing to run the risks of detection and the severe penalties provided for by law."

The French government has suppressed Sardou's new play "Thermidor," for fear that it might cause serious disturbances. The revolutionary socialists did not approve of certain parts of the play and obstructed the performances. The government will be criticised for this action in the Chamber, and asked to preserve order without denying the liberty of the theatre.

Since 1823 a law has operated in Warsaw by which three theatres are subsidized in that city. A piece must be produced every night in each theatre, and not less than four nights in the week the pieces must be in the Polish language. These theatres are very poorly supported by the theatre-goers, the explanation being that, as no plays can be produced unless previously approved by the authorities, most of the plays put on the stage are mutilated by the censors beyond recognition. The Russian theatre in Warsaw, which is not subsidized, is crowded at every performance.

The annual subsidies paid to the leading operahouses in Europe are as follows: to the Paris Opera House, \$160,000; to the Berlin Opera House, \$140,000; to the Stuttgart Opera House, \$125,000; to the Buda-Pesth Opera House, \$120,000; to the Dresden Opera House, \$80,000; to the Vienna Opera House, \$60,000; to the Copenhagen Opera House, \$50,000; to the opera houses in Carlsruhe and Weimar, \$50,000 each; to the Munich Opera House, \$39,000; to the Stockholm Opera House, \$30,000; to La Monnaie, in Brussels, \$20,000.

THE FIVES AND SIXES OF 1881.

The sudden death of Mr. Windom, last week, directs attention to his political and official career. Twice Secretary of the Treasury, his treatment of the public debt—during his brief tenure of office in 1881—brought him conspicuously before the country, gained him the confidence of the business circles, and, indeed, made his appointment in 1889 a political necessity.

During the last weeks of President Hayes's administration, Congress was occupied with a measure providing for an issue of "fivetwenty" bonds at three per cent, to replace the six per cents of 1861 and the five per cents issued under the act of 1870. The proposed measure contained a clause respecting the national banks, which provided that only the threeper-cent bonds to be authorized and issued under the act would be received by the Treasury as securities, and that every bank should have one third of its capital deposited (in bonds) with the Secretary of the Treasury. It was further provided that after the passage of the bill no bank could withdraw its security. At once the banks took alarm, withdrew their securities, and replaced them by legal tenders, as permitted by the existing law. The proposed measure would simply have forced the banks to take the bonds, doubtless a convenient way for the Government to put the bonds in circulation. The President vetoed the bill, and the incoming administration was without any Congressional provision to meet the debt redeemable in the summer months of 1881.

At this juncture Mr. Windom was appointed Secretary of the Treasury. The six-per-cent bonds outstanding amounted to \$196,378,600; of the five per cents, there were \$439,841,350; "and the only resources of the Government to meet the maturing obligations," says Mr. Windom in his letter to the Bankers' Association "were the surplus revenues, and the amount of 104,652,200 four-per-cent bonds, being a part of those authorized by the acts of July 14, 1870, and Jan. 20, 1871, and remaining unissued." The surplus in the Treasury was nearly two hundred million, so the six per cents could be called in and paid if necessary. The Secretary was unwilling, however, to part with his surplus, if not necessary. The credit of the Government, despite the panic caused by the proposal of the past Congress, was excellent, and Mr. Windom thought it more than likely that the bondholders would prefer a secure investment even if the rate of interest were lowered. He accordingly notified the holders that their bonds could be continued to them at a reduced rate of interest, - three and a half per cent, - and payable at the pleasure of the Government.

The American holders requested the continuance of the bond at the reduced rate of interest; only the foreign bondholders requested payment, which was made. That is to say, the outstanding sixes were entirely provided for and the resources of the Treasury were practically untouched.

Mr. Windom next turned his attention to the five per cents. "The Treasury offered to receive, for continuance, in like manner," to quote his letter again, "any of the uncalled registered bonds of that loan to an amount not exceeding \$250,000,000, the remainder of the loan being reserved, with a view of its payment from the surplus revenues." The bondholders were so eager to have their loans continued, the Treasury included the whole of the outstanding five per cents, which were thus continued at the reduced rate. The result of this was that all the six and five per cent loans were converted into a loan payable at the pleasure of the Government, and bearing the uniform rate of three and a half per cent interest. This ingenious plan of conversion made an actual saving of ten million dollars a year in interest; the redemption and refunding a saving of sixteen millions. To accomplish this, the Government was put to the most trifling expense, and everything was paid out of the surplus revenue.

TO-DAY, FEB. 5, 1891.

A record of the facts and considerations which show that Individual Liberty is good for the people of the United States, and that, therefore, Legislative Regulation is injurious for them.

J. Morrison-Fuller, Walter C. Rose, Editors.

A mistake was made in the last number of To-DAY, which was doubtless amusing to our readers in Wisconsin and Michigan, but which, for the benefit of others, may be corrected here. Our remarks on the publicschool campaign and the consequent introduction of a bill in the Michigan Legislature to repeal the Bennett law were a trifle inaccurate, for the reason that Michigan has no "Bennett" law, and consequently no attempt has been made in its Legislature to repeal it. Wisconsin is the possessor of this particular law, which has been opposed by the Catholics, who are, I presume, principally Irish, and by the German Lutherans. No serious effort will be made to abolish the public schools, and this is the only fault to be found with the proceeding.

Reports are already abroad that contracts and mortgages have begun to specify payment in gold. It is said that in New York City six mortgages were so recorded in one week; but how common the specification was prior to the passage of the Free Coinage Bill by the Senate is not stated. These reports are circulated by newspapers opposed to free coinage. My impression is that the practice of specifying gold was not at all uncommon; but it may have been confined to payments deferred for five years or longer. It is to the credit of our "instituotions" that it seems to be generally acknowledged, even in Congress, where common-sense so rarely prevails, that silver cannot be made "legal tender," in spite of contractors and lenders. In other words, the Federal Courts will maintain personal liberty against Congress. It is not easy to see how any great commercial injury can be inflicted by "free coinage" under these circumstances.

It is deserving of note that having begun, in this country at any rate, with an effort to take the ballot by storm, the Woman's Rights campaign has, to a certain extent, diverged into other and more promising directions. From the consideration of

the suffrage itself, the women have turned to a more careful study of the ends to which the ballot would lead them. And they have many of them, be it said to their credit, discovered how little the ballot can accomplish and how necessary other exertions are. It is only natural that the older leaders should be less ready and less able to turn their energies aside from what had seemed to them the essential than the younger women are. But the work they did in attracting attention to the legal disabilities and the industrial disadvantages under which women suffered has smoothed the way at its beginning; and whichever by-path their successors may tread, consciously or unconsciously, and though they neglect the ballot entirely, their progress, in this country, will have been largely due to the " suffragists."

A London Court recently sentenced a man to two weeks in gaol for assaulting a policeman. The only fact which was proved in the case was that a boy was whistling a tune offensive to the police in general. A row arose, and there were cross-summonses. The evidence was conflicting; numerically, the weight of testimony was against the policeman. In passing sentence, the magistrate said that there "could be no doubt that the boy was whistling the offensive tune!" This had absolutely nothing whatever to do with the case; but supposing for the moment that it had, the affair seems to show that the freedom of the Briton has become even more of a myth than that of his American cousin. On the same day, in another court, a young man was ordered to enter recognizance in £2 to keep the peace, the only crime alleged being the singing of this song! Times have changed since the Leipzig authorities passed an ordinance that a "student who kills a watchman shall be punished, just as if he had killed a man."

We shall have an opportunity of witnessing one of the effects of hasty and meddlesome legislation in connection with the so-called "original package" law. Hastily passed right on the heels of a decision of the Supreme Court, this law specially exempted the traffic in liquor from the restriction that decision would impose, leaving all other traffic in the position assigned it by the Court. The shirk-

ing of the larger problem by disposing of one small part of it will not save time and trouble in the end. The question is as to the power of the separate States to control trade in commodities imported from other States, and continuing in the "original package." The Connecticut dairymen sent in a petition the other day to have the oleo-butter trade placed on the same footing as the liquor trade; and we shall no doubt hear from other dealers before long. What with the State Legislatures meddling with every trade, and Congress bent on piecemeal legislation, without principle or order, a man finds himself entangled in a confused mass of unjust or absurd laws, which multiply the business of the courts to the detriment of every one but the schemers (dairymen), politicians, and lawyers.

"To-day ten thousand Sioux had an opportunity to see the strength and discipline of the United States army." So reads an associated-press despatch of recent date, reminding us not only that we have an army, but that the great work of civilizing the Indian has again begun. What a glorious opportunity for the red man! To view in one brief hour the " strength and discipline of the United States army" is an education in itself. column was an hour passing Gen. Miles, there being nearly 4,000 soldiers and 3,700 horses and mules in line." Imposing spectacle! The melodious drum and silvery bugle could but initiate the poor savage into the beautiful mysteries of music, while the cultured soldiers with their gay trappings afforded a striking example of the grand progress in civilization made by the pale face. Nor could the steaming chargers have failed to show the Indians how poor and insignificant are their puny ponies, on whom they have been wont to depend for rapid transit.

And the mules! Should not their humble mien be a lesson in patience and endurance? From them also can he learn that, though not handsome, he may nevertheless become a useful American citizen.

To crown this glorious day of triumph, "there was an issue of beef to-day, and 5,100 Indians were supplied according to Agent Pierce's new method, which gives twenty-two people as much meat as was formerly given to thirty." Every dog has his day; so does the Indian.

There are indications that a close study of Congressional conduct would enable one, if not to resolve, at any rate to throw much light on the mystery which surrounds Von Hartmann's Unconscious. This, it will be remembered, is the breathless essence which directs the actions of men, and indeed all the forces of nature, toward such remarkably definite ends, and which is therefore so appropriately denominated the Unconscious. (Whether the explanation of the finality of the Unconscious is to be found in comparative philology, we need not now inquire. The connection between ends and ens is obvious, one of the stems of this wonderful radical being ent, the transition to the sonant d offers no difficulty. But the question must be left to Prof. Max Müller.) Certain it is that having once made the assumption that all changes in the state of nature, however trivial, including therefore, Acts of Congress, have their purpose, and having made the further assumption that these several purposes are bound together in an essential unity, it is extremely difficult to conceive them all as the results of a single cause other than the Unconscious. The working of the Unconscious in the planetary system and in the many departments of vital activity has been sufficiently elaborated; it remains to study and classify the manifestations of the Unconscious in Congress. Among the present manifestations may be mentioned, the passing of a new "Silver" Bill by the Senate before the ink had time to dry on the totally different one with which it had labored for many months; the impudent self-assurance with which members indulge in irrelevant chatter and stupid personalities at the cost of \$10,000 a day to the people; and then, suddenly moved unconsciously to make a show of diligence, begin to hold all-night sessions, at a further cost for gas. For additional evidence of the exclusive activity of the Unconscious, see the daily papers passim, and the Congressional Record throughout.

Good News Whether Senator Frye, viewing for Rag-Pickers. the recent misfortune of some of his companions, and reflecting on the uncertainty of human greatness and the fickle temper of democracies, has become a constant reader of To-Day, with the determination of regulating his future career by our prognosti-

cations, or whether we are merely gifted with the voice of prophecy, it is at present impossible to say. But certain it is that the words were not cold on our lips before Mr. Frye introduced in the Senate a bill to establish a Bureau of Commerce, to form, indeed, one of the executive departments of the Government. "Let it be shown," we had asked, "why the Government does not establish bureaus to aid merchants and manufacturers in determining the purchase and sale of materials and commodities - which people seriously err in considering very simple matters." Mr. Frye responds at once with the motion to establish a Department of Commerce, having "the supervision of public business relating to trade and commerce, foreign and domestic; to collect, preserve, and disseminate among the people of the United State information regarding commerce in the widest sense of the word" (whatever that may mean); "report to Congress from time to time the operation of the laws [!] affecting commerce in the United States and foreign countries, and what legislation is needed," etc, etc.

Of course there is to be a secretary of commerce, an assistant secretary, a chief clerk, a disbursing clerk, and two ordinary clerks. But this is of relatively small importance. The programme as laid out in the bill (to use the words of the New York Sun) "could not be carried out without the aid of a regiment of economists; statisticians, and experts, and a battalion of typewriters; and when the information had been collected and disseminated, and put upon the desk of Congress, who but the buyers of old bones, papers, bottles, and boots would ever regard it?"

It is hardly to be supposed that farmers' and workmen's organizations will take any special interest in the fate of the Department of Commerce. But they have long and loudly demanded other things which it will not be possible to deny them if this department is established. At present they agitate for a Department of Labor, a Department of Manufactures, and a Department of Education. Why not establish these also? Has not the Department of Agriculture proved so useful that they are justified in crying for more of that kind of legislation? No; these people never judge anything by its fruits. They never learn anything from experience, while the many things which they know are things that are not.

Let a Democratic politician or A Suggestion to Logisla organ be requested to state the difference between the two political parties in this country, and the response will invariably be that whereas the Republican party is pledged to the policy of regulation, centralization, and much government, the Democratic party finds its raison d'être in the necessity for combating that policy and for working in the direction of decentralization, larger personal freedom, and little government. Certain Democratic newspapers are in the habit of parading the aphorism that the best government is that which governs least, as the political platform of the Democratic party. But this theory is utterly discredited by the facts of the case; it is in fact negatived by every piece of legislation, and every suggestion in regard to proper legislation, for which Democrats are responsible. We do not find that the Democratic politicians are less eager and anxious to court that notoriously paternalistic organization, the Farmers' Alliance, than their Republican com-Indeed, Democratic newspapers are jubilant over the fact that the Alliance seems to expect more practical aid and comfort from the Democratic party, and to favor co-operation with it rather than with the Republican party. Then the Democratic governor of the State of New York, who is considered a Presidential possibility, and who is trying to so improve his chances as to become a Presidential certainty, seems to discover no inconsistency between the extravagantly socialistic demands of trades-unionists and the principles of Democracy. In his "seventh and last" annual message to the New York General Assembly, he not only recommends specific measures of a paternalistic nature and legislation calculated to destroy the right of free and private contract, but he does not hesitate to lay down a general principle for the guidance of legislators which is absolutely false from the point of view adopted by intelligent upholders of representative government. After recommending compulsory voting, compulsory arbitration of differences between workmen and corporations, and an extension of the operation of the Weekly Payment Act, the governor makes the astonishing suggestion that an act should be passed providing "for a special labor commission to suggest measures in the interest of labor."

In other words, not satisfied with the policy hitherto followed, - of waiting for labor to make definite demands, and then complying with as much of the demand as regard for other sources of power and profit may allow, - the governor of New York wishes to create and keep in perpetual motion a mill for the turning out of absurd and unjust special legislation. "That it is the prerogative of the Legislature to foster the interests, lighten the burdens, and add to the dignity of labor, in so far as the same can be done properly and legitimately, will not admit of dispute," warns us the governor. Were not the governor a politician, and a Presidential possibility, charity might attribute this dogmatic statement to complete ignorance of what is, and what is not, established beyond dispute in sociological investigation and speculation. As it is, he is certainly reckless, it not ignorant, of the well-demonstrated fact, that it is the duty of the Legislature to allow labor to do all it can in a legitimate way in the direction of improving its condition, and adding to its dignity, and that the Legislature cannot legitimately do more than this either for labor or for any other special interest. He is reckless, too, probably, of the consequences that invariably follow any attempt to exceed its proper functions, provided only that his popularity with the groundlings be increased.

By the way, since the governor realizes that there are legitimate as well as illegitimate ways of fostering the interests of labor, etc., would it not be well - is it not indeed necessary — to begin by appointing a commission to decide what way is legitimate, and what way illegitimate? It is obvious that theory must precede practice. Blind experimentation will not do in such a sphere as is under consideration. By all means, since commissions there must be, let there be a commission appointed to decide between the conflicting opinions on social relations and principles, and let all practical legislation in favor of particular classes or interests be suspended pending the decision of the - shall it be called - Social Science Commission?

SILVER AND MONEY.

Ever since its invention, money has been a mystery to the great majority of men. A few political economists have thought

they have arrived at a knowledge of its nature, but the rest of the world has been content to "make" it and use it without trying to fathom its mysterious qualities. Certain savage nations have had a strong prejudice against civilization in general and money in particular, the most famous example being the ancient Spartans. They, as is well known, while yielding to the necessity for some sort of a circulating medium, chose the metal most inconvenient to use, in order that there might be as little temptation as possible to hoard, and that their citizens might not be able to purchase foreign luxuries. The motives which have actuated the United States Senate, in its recent financial legislation, to follow the example of the Spartans and make money out of a cheap and inconvenient metal are very different from those which influenced Lycurgus. Our Senators are probably willing to trust the McKinley Bill to check the importation of foreign goods, and many of them see in "free coinage" a means for getting rid of their hoards of silver at a fair profit.

There is a popular notion that governments always have had, and ought to have, peculiar relations to money. This opinion is, like so many popular opinions, wrong in both respects: governments did not invent money, and had no idea of taking it under their special charge until it was seen that they could derive great revenues from doing so and from cheating in weight and quality. For a long time metals were used to effect exchanges in the form of ingots; at last some one - not a government official — conceived the brilliant idea of cutting them in pieces and stamping the weight upon each. As soon as this was done honestly the pieces became money in the full sense of the word. Soon, however, kings saw in the practice a means of keeping their images constantly before their subjects, by decreeing that all money metals should be brought to them to be stamped, and from this to mixing alloys and giving short weight was a very

obvious step. Nevertheless, the people — from being long forced to accept debased coinage — came to believe that this was the only way in which money could be made, and the belief has survived the utter discredit of the rights of kings.

In a popular government, legislators are tolerably sure to share popular errors, or at any rate to find their account in acting as if they did. Accordingly, though lawgivers have abandoned the attempt to fix the price of bread or corn, our Congressmen see no objection to regulating the price of silver. The depreciation of this metal seems to them a great calamity (especially as some of them own silver mines), and since they are generally ignorant of everything that occurred before they were born, perhaps they really think they can do something permanently to arrest the decline. The plan as expressed in the free coinage amendment is very simple. Any one having over \$100 worth of silver bullion, "not too base," may take it to any mint of the United States and receive an equivalent therefor in notes to be issued by the Secretary of the Treasury, which notes shall be "a legal tender for their nominal amount in payment of all debts, public and private, and shall be receivable for customs, taxes, and all public dues." The only interesting point is, how is the "equivalent" to be determined? The bullion is to be coined into dollars of such weight that an ounce will make one dollar and twenty-nine hundredths, — that is, the Government is to buy silver at \$1.29 per ounce; the price in open market about one fifth less than this. If twenty-two or three cents can really be added to the value of an ounce of silver by placing it in a mint, forming it into bars, and issuing Treasury notes to pay for it with, the framer of this amendment is entitled to great praise for hitting upon so easy a device to increase the wealth of the country; or, if the Government can buy silver at \$1.29 an ounce when it is worth only \$1.05 or \$1.07 an ounce without loss, it amounts to the same thing.

Only it ought not to surprise us if ignorant farmers who form alliances are unable to see why the Government should not buy wheat at, say, a dollar a bushel, and issue Treasury notes based upon it, which could be loaned to farmers at two per cent interest. Producers of silver are much distressed lest it be degraded into a mere commodity; but why have not producers of wheat a right to demand that the Government dignify it, and recognize it as a food, and protect it from falling into the condition of a base merchantible commodity?

It is perfectly true that throughout all historic time gold and silver have been recognized as pre-eminently the money metals, and probably silver was first used extensively in this capacity, though probably neither was the original material for But it is also true that, as monev. civilization has advanced and transactions have become larger, silver has become less and less suitable for this purpose. Neither that metal nor gold is convenient to pass from hand to hand in large amounts, but occasionally it is necessary that the material on which money is based shall itself actually be transferred from one party to another. As a million dollars in gold weighs about two tons, and the same amount in silver over thirty tons, the great advantage of the former for business on a large scale is manifest.

Accordingly, the demand for silver to use as money has not kept pace with the increased supply from the mines, and not a very large part of it is used in the arts at present prices. The result is that the value of silver has diminished in two respects: first, as compared with other commodities in general, and second, as compared with It has been estimated that the average value of wheat in relation to silver was, in Athens, 400 B. C., as 1: 3146; in Rome, 50 B. C., as 1: 2681; in France, shortly before 1520 A. D., as 1: 4320; about the middle of the nineteenth century, as 1: 1050. That silver was much more valuable in the Dark Ages than after the

Renaissance is certain, though how much, it is impossible to determine; estimates of the ratio vary from 2:1 to 6:1. According to a careful computation made about 1865, the purchasing power of silver as compared with the average value of twentyseven commodities was 2.9 times as great in the century 1350-1450 as from 1750 to 1850; in the next century, 1450-1550, 2.8 times; in the next, 1550-1650, 1.5 times; from 1650 to 1750, 2.1 times. The value of a given weight of corn in relation to a given weight of silver, according to Rogers, may be exhibited by the following table, representing it to have been one from 1260 to 1400: -

1596-1636				2.3
1637-1700		•		2.6
1701-1764				2.1
1726-1820				3.2

The changes in the value of silver in relation to that of gold present a similar decline as civilization has progressed. The British Silver Commission in 1876 computed a table showing the ratio between the values of the two metals for the last three and a half centuries, the ratio being taken from the British, German, and French mint regulations, up to 1680, and after that date calculated from quotations of the Hamburg prices current.

Date.						Ratio.
1526		•			•	11.30
1 561				:		11.70
1604						12.10
1619				•		13.85
1 62 3						11.74
1640						13.51
1670						14.50
1680				•		15.40
1687-1700)					14.97
1701-1720)					15.21
1741-1790)					14.74
1801-1810)					15.61
1821-1830)					15.80
Not all the f	igur	es of t	he ta	ble a	e giv	en.

This table shows a continued decrease, though with fluctuations, in the value of silver as compared with gold. The United States Senate apparently thinks that this decrease has, at the present time, gone far

enough, and too far; accordingly, it decrees that the ratio 16:1 shall be maintained forever. Some of the Senators attribute the decline to hostility on the part of governments towards silver, and they are determined that one at least shall stand by that metal. Any one who does not own a silver mine or speculate in silver would be more likely to infer that the civilized world has found more use for gold in proportion to the amount obtainable and less use for silver, and that in consequence of this fact one has appreciated and the other depreciated.

A large amount of both metals has been added to the world's stock in the last century. The greatest increase in the production of gold took place immediately after the discovery of the mines in America and Australia. The world's average annual production for a part of the present century is shown by the table following:—

The production of silver has also vastly increased in recent years, and, unlike gold, it is not increasing at a diminishing rate. In 1550, the amount mined was \$39,000,000; in 1873, \$64,000,000; in 1887, \$135,000,000. In the United States alone, according to the director of the United States mint, 50,000,000 ounces were produced last year, the price averaging something under \$1.06 per ounce. The total amount of silver in the world is estimated at \$3,820,571,346.

The value of both gold and silver as measured by other commodities has fluctuated considerably, but the former much less than the latter, at any rate in recent years. These fluctuations are indicated by variations in the price of different articles, as measured in the precious metals. Unfortunately, this is the same criterion that

indicates fluctuations in the value of other commodities, and hence there is room for great confusion on the subject. A general rise in prices might indicate one of two things, - either that gold and silver had become more abundant, and so less valuable in relation to other articles, or that other articles had become harder to procure, and so more valuable in relation to gold and silver. If we know simply that prices have risen, we cannot decide merely from this to which cause the rise should be attributed. If, however, we know in addition that gold and silver have become more abundant, an obvious explanation of the phenomenon is suggested. Again, the continued depression of prices for the last decade may be explained by the fact that, owing to improved methods of production, most commodities cost less of human effort and have become more abundant relatively to the amount of money. It is not at all necessary to assume that gold has become scarcer, as is commonly done. The fact that those articles in the production of which no improvement has been made have not declined in price negatives this explanation.

In ancient times, the supply of precious metals from the mines was kept out of the market by the system that prevailed of hoarding treasure by the State, by temples, and, later, by individuals. Revolutions in prices were produced by the sudden opening of such reserves. For example, the dissipation of the treasure amassed for the state by Pericles, the spoliation of many temples, the distribution of Persian treasures by Alexander, undoubtedly were instrumental in producing the rise in the price of Greek commodities in the period succeeding the Peloponnesian war. The modern method, which is no less effective, is rather to hoard the goods, though the alleged "silver pool" might perhaps be regarded as a case of reversion. It is to be remembered that it does not take nearly so long now to influence the market as it did even two hundred years ago. Silver was sent in large quantities from America to Europe for half a century before it affected the prices materially; now the bare discovery of miness as rich, comparatively, would make its influence felt before an ounce had been take nout.

There was a great though not, apparently sudden revolution in prices at the beginning of the modern era. The price of wheat i France from 1800 to 1850 was about severa times as high as in the second half of the fifteenth century, and in England about six times as high. In Germany the rise was first observed in the case of foreigna groceries, some of which rose 400 per cent-This does not seem to have been entirely duce to the increased production of the mone > metals; among the other causes assigned i explanation being the transition from sluggish to an active circulation of mone and the introduction of a circulating mediuma based partly upon credit. According to the popular notion, it was chiefly due to the cupidity of sellers, and considerable legislation was based upon this idea. Now we seem to be in the midst of a revolution i the opposite direction. The production of other commodities, including silver, seem = to be outstripping the production of gold.

This is the real cause of the popular demand for a larger coinage of silver. The rise in prices referred to bore hard upo wage-earners and upon small tradesme and manufacturers; a fall in prices seem = also to be unfavorable to their interests -The amount of money a nation needs camnot be readily determined; but it is perfectly conceivable that the amount of gol in the world should not increase fast enough to serve as the basis for monevmore and more of which is needed as business expands. It is tolerably certain tha & gold could not have continued to be the basis of currency up to the present time, if it had not been for the very large additions to the stock of it consequent upor the discovery of rich mines in Americaand Australia, at the middle of the presen t century. For the last few years gold has

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certainly become more valuable in relation to most other commodities, and therefore their price, if reckoned in it, has diminshed; this has exerted a depressing influence upon trade, which has reacted upon production. It makes little difference as far as trade is concerned whether this appreciation of gold has been caused by a greater production of other things or by an actual diminution in the gold supply.

So it seems perfectly evident to many persons that if the continued use of gold as the sole basis of currency will cause the fall in prices to continue, some other material should be added to make the basis broader; and for this purpose silver is naturally the first metal to suggest itself. Those who advocate the extensive use of silver as money of course wish it to be as valuable as possible. The Government could raise the price in this country to any figure desired, — \$1.50 or \$2.00 or \$5.00 an ounce, - by excluding the silver of other countries and buying all that might be offered at the figure decided upon; but it is doubtful whether the attainment of the object would be worth the expense. If silver were not to be used as money there would be no serious objection to its becoming cheaper (except on the part of those having it to sell). According to some figures given in Mr. Sherman's speech in the Senate a few weeks ago, iron, which used to be worth one hundred dollars a ton, is now selling for \$20 to \$30. Copper and zine have proportionally declined in price. "Nickel in our first nickel coins was worth \$1.67 per pound, and now it is said that it can be produced in Canada for fifteen to twenty cents a pound." Is it a misfortune to the world that these metals have become so cheap? If not, why should the price of silver be artificially maintained? At the present time it is not used very extensively in the arts. In the same speech Mr. Sherman tells us that only 5,000,000 or 6,000,-000 ounces were so used in this country last year, out of a total production of some 50,-000,000 ounces, but there can be no doubt

that much more would be so used if, under free competition, the price should be driven down somewhere near the cost of production. Prof. Austen, of the Royal Mint, in London, after careful investigation, estimated that this cost varied from 83.2 cents per ounce fine, in Arizona, to 47.7 cents, in Utah. Certainly many more articles would be made of silver at the higher of these figures, even, than at the present price.

Money, the books tell us, serves two purposes: first, as a medium of exchange; and second, as a measure of value. Silver is far too bulky to discharge well the first function, except in small transactions; even gold is inconvenient to transfer in large sums. As a standard of value, silver is far from being stable enough. To be sure, there is nothing which is not subject to more or less fluctuation, but gold is far more stable than silver, or than any other material. Silver, then, is, at the present day, and for civilized nations, extremely ill adapted to fulfil either of the purposes for which money was devised, however well it may have served the purpose in former times and among uncivilized Still, if unlimited coinage meant only this, that a man might take any quantity of silver to a mint and hire the government to manufacture it into dollars for him, but not to help him force any one to receive those dollars, - such a plan would not be seriously objectionable.

It is not at all likely that the almost universal superstition that coining money is a "natural" function of government — that no one but a government can coin — will soon be dissipated. Of course any one can see, if he thinks a moment, that the verification and indication by a stamp of the metal in a coin is a trade, and a very simple trade; and if he has read much history he is aware that governments have arrogated this trade to themselves, and have worked at it very dishonestly. But as soon as the question of issuing money arises, those who know history as well as

those who are ignorant of it immediately agree that the government must take the matter in charge. It can hardly be maintained that governments have become honest in recent years. They do not any longer try to make people believe that there is more gold or silver in coin than there really is, because any such attempt would be so readily detected nowadays. something more than honesty in minting is required now to furnish a good currency. Until one shall be discovered which will regulate itself, there will be much ground for fault-finding on the part of those who have to use it, and, even if such an one should be discovered, governments, judging from other cases, would long continue to substitute their regulations for natural regulations.

POLITICS IN THE MAGAZINES.

THE FORUM (February). - Unless some unexpected increase in the annual revenues of the Government, or a decrease in its expenditures occurs, there will be before the next Presidential campaign a deficit of several million dollars in the public treasury. So says Senator John G. Carlisle, in writing, of The Vanishing Surplus. He estimates that at the end of the fiscal year, June 30, 1891, there will be a deficit of about \$84,000,-000. The party now in power is charged with wastefulness and extravagance, which he sees no reason to suppose will cease until the Treasury is bankrupt. The increase in population from 1880 to 1890 has been 24.57 per cent; of expenditures, 55 per cent. Facts and figures regarding the lavish pension legislation that has obtained during the present administration are given, and compared with the expenditures for the same purpose in the years past. That the annual pension list has grown from \$27,135,-019 in 1878 to \$106,936,835 in 1890 shows how greatly mistaken Gen. Garfield was in judging the future policy of his party when, in 1872, he said, "We may reasonably expect that the expenditures for pensions will hereafter steadily decrease, unless our legislation should be unwarrantably extravagant."

Was the Emin Expedition Piratical? asks E. L. Godkin, and proceeds to show why Stanley's expedition was illegal. Any traveller who could muster sufficient force to defy the native chiefs and to make his way through Africa has not deemed it necessary to be supported in his attempt by any particular government, — which cannot be stated of any other country. Quoting from Stanley's own book, it is demonstrated how cruel and devastating his expedition was per necessity, and how, in the recent controversy that has arisen in relation to the rear

guard, there is absolutely "no one to report to except himself (Stanley), and that no judicial machinery now exists for the investigation of the charges which he brings against his officers."

"Neither philanthropists nor explorers ought to be allowed to engage in military ventures, no matter how laudable the object, without far greater care than marked the inception of the Emin expedition, particularly when such ventures are likely to be attended with loss of life, damage to property, and the presentation of civilization and Christianity to barbarians in an odious or fearful light."

The Farmers' Changed Condition, by Prof. Rodney Welch, is a rather interesting paper, in which the present condition of the farmer is contrasted with what it was fifty years ago. The modes of life of the New England tillers of the soil, primitive as it was in those days, as compared with the present, has a certain fascination, even though it has been read of a hundred times before. Prof. Welch's description is no exception, in which we read of the days when every farm-house was a manufactory, and when money was much scarcer than in these later days of loud and emphatic demands for unlimited coinage. Speaking of farms in the West, we are told that more farms have been deserted in Iowa, Illinois, and Wisconsin than in New England, the Western farmers, however, having accumulated sufficient competence to enable them to move into the towns, and rent their farms to foreigners. As a result, in entire counties, the English language is seldom heard outside the large towns; and a peasant class is thus being introduced, equal in ignorance and mediocrity to that found in Germany or Bohemia.

Prof. Welch deplores the fact that farmers have not entered our legislative halls more frequently of late years. As a consequence, the legislators as a rule know little or nothing of the real needs of their agricultural brother, and have therefore passed him by in their multifarious and heroic efforts to enact laws for the public good.

Comparing the postal service in the country with that furnished to residents of the city, the writer sees no reason why rural districts should not be favored with a free delivery, and cites European countries as doing this with success.

W. A. P. Martin, president of Yung Wen College, Peking, tells in an interesting manner how the Chinese regard Western life and customs. Their opinion of us is doubtless as amusing as would be to them our opinion of the Chinese.

In The Government and the Indians, by Hiram Price, is found an excellent criticism of our Indian policy and of its administration. Attention is called to the way in which the Indians have been swindled by attorneys, and to the fact that, contrary to the general opinion, the Government is not paying large sums every year for the support of the Indians, but, on the contrary, is only paying them funds held in trust for them. The amount paid the Indians, per capita, for their subsistance is only two cents per day.

Political Progress in Japan, by the Rev. Dr. W. E. Griffs, explains the first general election in the empire.

AMERICANA.

In the county court of common pleas, Judge Lippincott has decided that the following New Jersey Blue Law is still in operation and effective:—

" That no travelling, wordly employment, ordinary or servile labor or work, either upon land or water (works of necessity and charity excepted), nor shooting, fishing (not including fishing with a seine or net, which is hereafter provided for), sporting, hunting, gunning, racing, or frequenting of tippling-houses, or any interludes or plays, dancing, singing, fiddling, or other music for the save of merriment, or any playing at football, fives, ninepins, bowls, long bullets or quoits, nor any other kind of playing, sports or pastimes or diversions, shall be done on the Christian Sabbath, or the first day of the week, commonly called Sunday; and that every person being of the age of fourteen years or upward offending in the premises shall for every said offence forfeit and pay to the law for the use of the poor of the township in which said offence shall be committed the sum of one dollar."

The United States Senate is a body in which the customs, manners, and traditions of nobility are imitated to as great an extent as a democratic environment will permit. Everything in the Senate Chamber conduces to ease, indolence, and languor. The debates are carried on in a droning, undemonstrative, and dignified manner. "Senatorial dignity" allows none of the noisy demonstrations and interruptions which prevail among rude commoners of the lower branch. It is "If the Senator will allow me," or "Will the Senator permit an interruption?" In short, the idea is to imit the superior manners of the old English gentry of hereditary nobles.

The furnishings of the Senate are in imitation of those supposed to be appropriate to the nobility. The ficors of the chamber are covered with rich, soft, expensive carpets. Their American lordships are provided with cloakrooms for privacy, in which are big sofas covered with high-priced ornamental leather. Scattered around are easy-chairs, soft footstools, ready to be moved by low-bowing attendants. These luxuries are only feebly imitated in the Lower House.

If a Senator desires to send a note, an invitation, or an acceptance of one, or has the most trivial message to send to the other end of the town, a mounted pare is despatched on a fleetfooted Government horse. If a Senator wants anything, from a cigar to a book or a glass of Apollinaris water, he raises a finger and an obsequious page is at his side. This superior legislative being can only be seen by card, and it must be sent in to him by a special door. Wherever he moves in the Capitol the attendants bow lower, and the man at the elevator will keep a load of passengers waiting a couple of minutes for this slow-moving dignitary.—

Boston Globe.

The Senate Committee on Printing has reported back with a recommendation to pass the joint resolution to print twenty-five thousand copies of the eulogies delivered in Congress on Edward J. Gay, lately a Representative in Congress from Louisiana. The cost of the printing and binding will be \$10 375.

So it costs more than two years' salary of a member of the House of Representatives to distribute his eulogy. This is not the whole cost of his death to the country. The announcement of his death to the House is followed by a motion to adjourn, and a part or whole of a legislative day is thus lost. For a long time the practice has been to devote another day, or part of a day, to the making of more or less perfunctory eulogies, most of which have in common the characteristics of flatness and chronic and excessive misquotation of poetry of all grades.

The eulogies pronounced in Congress upon Mr. Gay have already been printed, at the expense of the Government, in the Congressional Record. Why should they be printed again? What excuse or reason is there for making the people pay \$10,375 to gratify the vanity of some of the gentlemen in Congress who think they have a turn for commemorative eloquence or an aptness for political illustration?

This whole business of eulogies in Congress is a humbug; and when it comes to printing the preposterous number of twenty-five thousand copies of a set of Congress eulogies it is an inexcusable extravagance. — New York Sun.

- 'There," said the editor to a visitor, "is one of our most indefatigable writers of fiction."
 - "Indeed! What novel has he written?"
- "Oh, he never wrote a novel, he merely copies the weather report." Galveston News.

A member of a Western Legislature accepted ten dollars from a hotel-keeper, a wheelbarrow from a factory, and a knife from a merchant, a barrel of flour from a mill, a dog from a farmer, and a gallon of whiskey from a distiller. He says he had just as much right to do it as his associates had to accept railroad passes. — Detroit Free Press.

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POLITICS: EVENTS; COMMENTS; LITERA-TURE.

The conditions under which this paper is published render it impossible to give the weekly record of facts the character of news, especially in the case of the foreign items. The facts are, in the main, collected from daily papers. Their importance does not generally depend upon dates. Our record of them cannot have greater authority than the sources have, but is evidently more trustworthy than any single newspaper.

JANUARY, 1891, ABROAD.

The new year found the so-called Itish crisis still the absorbing topic of interest in England, and it continued to occupy the chief place in public attention throughout the month. During this time the only events affecting the situation known to have occurred are the following: A second interview between Parnell and W. O'Brien at Boulogne, the first having terminated before Jan. 1; a consultation at the same place between O'Brien and McCarthy, and others representing the anti-Parnell faction; and the subsequent publication of expressions of confidence on both sides that an amicable settlement would be reached. John Dillon was telegraphed for to come from the United States, and after his arrival negotiations were resumed at Boulogne; but this time only between O'Brien and Dillon on the one side, and representatives of the anti-Parnellites on the other, which is held to indicate that the former are in agreement with Parnell. Absolutely nothing is known of the results of these conferences. In the meanwhile the situation in Ireland has been characterized by Recrimination on the part of both factions of being supported by, if not in the pay of, the Tory government. Officially, however, the action of the government has been confined to the attempt to allay or prevent Distress among the poor, by employment on public works undertaken for the purpose, and by the distribution of charity in the form of potatoes, etc. The last bye-election preceding the reassembling of Parliament, on Jan. 22, was that at *Hartlepool*, where the government unexpectedly lost a seat to the Gladstonian candidate, the poll being the fullest ever known at that place.

In the House of Commons one of the first questions was addressed to the President of the Board of Trade, and related to the employment of railway hands for longer than twelve consecutive hours. The question was called out by the still pending Strike on the Scotch railways, the demands of the strikers being for shorter hours. (This strike, notwithstanding repeated rumors to the contrary, having begun in the latter part of December, has continued throughout the month of January, with no prospect of compromise. But at last accounts the two principal roads involved, the Caledonian and the North British, have succeeded in remanning their service, and defections among the strikers have become numerous.) A resolution condemning the companies for excessive hours required of employees and directing the Board of Trade to limit hours in certain cases was negatived by a vote of 141-124. The government, however, promised that the question of the regulation of the hours of railway servants by legislation should be looked into. The discussion seems to have been initiated and carried on by both sides in the endeavor to obtain partisan advantage with the "labor vote." Otherwise the time of the House has been spent in the consideration of the Scotch Private Legislation Bill, and the Tithe Bill, designed, the one to establish a commission to relieve Parliament from part of the onus of private legislation, the other to fix the relations of landlords and tenants with respect to the payment of tithes. A question relating to boundary between British and Portuguese territory in Africa, was answered to the effect that the modus vivendi with Portugal would come to an end in May, and that grants or concessions made by Portugal in the meanwhile extending beyond the limits fixed by the unratified treaty would not be recognized by England. The answer contained the further intimation that England's next grab at African territory would show even less respect for Portuguese claims than former incursions had done. - With reference to the Behring Sea controversy with the United States, the reply was, of the government, that no conclusion had been reached. - In the House of Lords nothing was

accomplished while waiting for the Tithes and the Private Legislation bills to come up from the Commons, beyond the appointment of two select committees, the one to examine the question of the expediency of continuing the practice of referring bills to standing committees, the other to consider the Children's Insurance bills, introduced last session, by the Bishop of Peterborough, and now read the second time. In India, the government introduced in the Legislative Council, on Jan. 9, a motion to raise the "age of consent" from ten to twelve years, as an amendment to the present law, and at the same time to remove the violations committed by husbands to the class of non-cognizable offences. This measure has been referred to a select committee, and has excited the greatest interest among the natives. The majority of the eminent Indians as well of the native papers are opposed to the amendment, some for one reason, some for another. On the one hand, the measure is characterized as drastic, contrary to Hindoo religion, and in contravention of the proclamation of the empress. On the other, the laudableness of the object is admitted, but the probability of producing an effect on native custom is denied. - Both in Bengal and in Burma. fighting has been going on incessantly with insubordinate chiefs, the government having been repulsed in an attack on Thetta. On one of the expeditions in Burma, a body of eight hundred well-armed Chinamen was met with. - Canadian politics has been chiefly concerned, as usual, with the tariff question; but nothing has been done. There, as in the United States, the prevailing "protective" policy has begun to be qualified by vague aspirations for reciprocity. Proposals are said to have come from the United States for complete reciprocity between the two countries. There have also been rumors of Canadian reciprocity with the British West Indies and with the Hawaiian Islands. - Dissatisfaction bordering on disaffection has prevailed in Newfoundland in consequence of the announcement of the renewal by the British government of the modus vivendi with France, which permits French fishermen access to Newfoundland waters. But the reported renewal has not been confirmed. The ministry in New ZEALAND were taken by surprise by the return of a large opposition at the general election, composed chiefly of successful "labour" candidates. Their resignation was expected on Friday, Jan. 21st. - Western Australia began a new period in its political history, on Jan. 20, when the first parliament under the new constitution convened at Perth. The governor recommended appropriations for railway construction, and stated that

delegates would attend the forthcoming federal convention at Sydney. - The very long and disastrous strike from which VICTORIA and New South Wales suffered last year has resulted in the formation, at Melbourne, of the Employers' National Defence Fund, as an insurance against future strikes. All classes of employers are said to be joining the movement. -An election was held in FRANCE, on Jan. 4, in twenty-nine departments to fill the places of 79 outgoing Senators. Of these, 63 were Republicans and 16 "Reactionaries," that is to say, Royalists. The latter, however, lost ten of their sixteen seats, thus leaving the Senate with only 55 of their party, against 238 Republicans. The Boulangists cut no figure in the election, in spite of attempts to revamp their pretentions; but 29 of them still hold seats in the Chamber. — The session was formally opened on Jan. 13, but nothing of importance has so far been done, though committees have been in constant session. Among these the Tariff Committee is by far the most active, the votes taken in committee indicating increases of the protective duties in general. The Labor Regulation Committee has received replies to its circular asking for opinions on the subject of restricting the hours of labor. Fifty-four of the sixty-four Chambers of Commerce, twenty-five of the thirty-two Consultative Chambers, 201 of the 235 employers' unions, ten of the twelve mixed unions, condemn any legislation on the subject. Of 410 workmen's unions, thirty-eight unite in this opinion, 186 advocate eight hours without overtime, forty-eight favor eight hours with overtime, thirteen, nine hours, and forty-three, ten hours. - A bill was submitted in the Chamber renewing the privilege of the Bank of France for twenty-three years: on condition of an annual payment, after 1897, of two and a half millions, and of waiving the three-per-cent interest on the loan of sixty millions in 1857, and the two-per-cent interest on the loan of eighty millions in 1878, as well as the right to claim the principal as long as the privilege lasts. The issue of bank-notes, however, may be raised from three and a half to four thousand millions. — The first instalment (141 millions) of the new three-per-cent loan of 869 millions was immediately subscribed sixteen and a half times over. -A special loan of four millions, for the Relief of Sufferers in the rural districts by the rigors of the winter, was unanimously agreed to in the Chamber. - It has been formally announced that a new Panama Canal company will be floated. The Colombian Government has granted an extension of ten years for the completion of the canal, in consideration of ten million francs in

gold and five million in shares. The funds for the renewal of the enterprise are to be raised by an annual lottery of twenty million francs. -Fighting has been going on in SENEGAMBIA, but the French seem to have everything pretty much their own way. Despatches indicate their victory in conflicts with the native chief Ah Madou - conflicts which cannot be called battles, in view of the immunity from danger of the French troops and the slaughter of their enemies. The events resemble the so-called wars with the American Indians in every respect. - In Paris, next to the interest excited by murder trials, of which there has been an unusually fascinating instalment, the greatest degree of public attention has been bestowed on a personal dispute between two army officers as to the honor of having commanded at Sedan. — On Jan. 23. in response to an appeal published by the Egalité the Anarchists attempted to make a demonstration in the Place de l'Opéra. They began to approach the Place at about 12.80, in groups of fifty or more. The police were on hand in large numbers, uniformed and disguised. The groups were ordered to move on, and those not complying were immediately arrested. Only one man offered forcible resist-Another tried to speak from the steps of the Opéra, but was prevented by the police. More than five hundred were taken to the station, but the majority were afterwards Fifty were sent to prison, seven will be prosecuted for sedition. On Jan. 27, after a Cabinet council, the new play of Sardou's, Thermidor, which had only been twice performed, was ordered off the stage of the Français. The cause of this violent intervention is the contempt thrown on the acts of the Reign of Terror, the scene being laid just at the time of the fall of Robespierre. The larger part of the audience which attended on the night of the twenty-seventh was unaware of the interdict; and when the curtain went up and disclosed the change of program (the management having substituted Tartuffe by way of retaliation) the storm of disapproval made it impossible to proceed with the play. Three attempts were ineffectual, and the audience dispersed amid much excitement. The episode was made the occasion for a heated debate in the Chamber on the 29th: but the action of the government was sustained on a motion for the order of the day, by a vote of 315 to 192. The conflict between the clergy and the government, growing out of the last general election, continues to be a source of trouble to both parties. Sixty-six monastic schools have been closed during the latter part of 1890, and lay teachers have been substituted for clerical

teachers in 112 classes. The Royalists, who have always represented themselves as the defenders of the church against the republic, anticipate favorable results for their cause from the rigor with which the government enforces the law "laicizing" the schools; but the clergy is divided on the question of submission, some of the highest dignitaries having recommended adherence to the republic and abstention from politics. In GERMANY, the otherwise unfailing source of gossip and speculation, viz., the retirement of Prince Bismarck, has given place, for a time at least, to Dr. Koch's "cure for consumption." The government, having interfered with the natural course of scientific experiment and discovery, has succeeded in fostering a faith in the importance of tuberculous lymph only second to the faith in itself, which seems to spring spontaneously from the German breast. The only vote of importance in the Reichstag is that by which the motion of Herr Richter for the abolition of the corn duties was defeated. 210 to 106. The minority was composed of the Freisinnige, the Social Democrat, and the Popular parties. But the vote is believed not to show the full strength of the opposition to the corn duties, one section having adhered to the government only in view of the pending commercial treaty with Austria. In the Prussian Chamber the bill to compensate land-owners for damage by game was advanced to the second reading. A bill for restoring to the Catholic Church the funds which were confiscated during the heat of the Kultur Kampf was introduced. The money which will thus be returned to the church, with accrued interest, will amount to sixteen million marks. In connection with corn duties and bills to compensate land-owners, etc., it is interesting to observe that the number of emigrants from Germany to America during the months from January to November, 1890, both inclusive, was 89,000, or 1,600 more than for the entire year of 1889; while, during the five years ending with 1889, the number was 462,500. The Aged Workingmen's Insurance law went into effect on Jan. 1st. In Rixdorf, a suburb of Berlin having a population of 35,000, two hundred claims for the annuity had been filed by Jan. 3d. The same proportion observed for the whole of Germany would give over 300,000 pensioners under this law. The Germans have at last taken formal possession of the East African territory, opposite Zanzibar. The first act, after hoisting the flag, was to establish a custom-house at Bagamoyo, the port nearest Zanzibar. A letter from Emin Pasha has been received by Dr. Carl Peters, in which the real object of the German government, as of the other government, in their raid on Africa, is plainly disclosed. Nothing is any longer said of the suppression of the slave trade, the burden of Dr. Emin's remarks being the necessity for distancing England, in the acquisition of territory, under the guise of treaties with native chiefs, the danger of letting the ivory trade be diverted from the Zanzibar coast, the expediency of placing steamers on Lake Victoria, and, above all, the need of expedition in order to get ahead of Stanley. Thus falls the last shred of the mask which has been used to conceal the theft of Africa from the natives. Emin, one of Gordon's lieutenants for suppressing the slave trade, turns out to be a commercial agent, Wissman a successful marauder, and Stanley a lively freebooter. The deficiency estimated from present income in the ITALIAN budget, amounted to thirty million lire, which it was proposed to meet by increased taxes on liquors, petroleum, and other oils. When this proposition was presented to the Chamber it met with such violent opposition that Signor Crispi was led to expect the rejection of the bill. The opposition maintained that the deficiency should be met by a reduction of expenditures, especially for the army, and accordingly defeated the government bill on Jan. 29, by a vote of 186 to 123. The premier immediately resigned. In the early part of the month, the Italian Socialists held a congress in the canton of Ticino, at which about a hundred delegates were present, several of them being deputies in the Chamber. The proceedings have not become public, and the affair attracted but little attention. The meeting was indiscriminately reported as an anarchist and as a socialist congress. In Milan a number of unemployed workmen assembled on Jan. 8th, in front of the office of the local Relief Committee, and having made demands for aid which were refused, created a disturbance which resulted in several arrests. The event of the month in Austria was the sudden and totally unexpected dissolution of the Reichsrath by imperial decree. The ministry had not been defeated, nor was any immediate reverse anticipated. But the life of an Austrian premier at this time is not an easy one. Count Taafe, however, retains his position. Instead of reconciling the desires of the several factions represented in the Reichsrath, he has merely succeeded in preventing any one of them from gaining the upper hand. His present move may indicate a resolution to abandon the conciliatory policy for one more vigorous, if not more original. The chief interest of the situation, therefore, lies in the chance of the Austrian leader's being able or unable to break up the existing party lines by attracting sufficient numbers from them all to leave the present factions in a hopeless minority. What goes on in Russia is more a matter of speculation than of knowledge. The estimated Budget calling for over nine hundred million roubles (average value about forty-five cents) prolongs the series of continually augmenting budgets, and the balance at the end of the year will probably prolong the series of deficits. But fiscal affairs are of small moment in Russia at present. The oppression of the Jews which was begun last year continues with but slight pretexts at concealment. The extreme edict against them, the execution of which was believed to have been suspended out of fear of the Jewish bankers of Western Europe, is being carried out piecemeal. A committee appointed to investigate the condition of the Russian bar could only invent a recommendation that the number of Jewish lawvers in Moscow, Warsaw, and St. Petersburg be reduced to one tenth of the total number of lawyers in those cities. Everywhere the Jews are harassed, always with the connivance, and generally under the direction of the imperial authorities. The design seems to be to make an example of one portion of the population by contrast with which the oppression under which the rest suffers will appear trivial. The campaign against the Nihilists also continues with unabated rigor. The number transported from Russia during the year 1890 is said to have been three hundred, and forty-seven were "tried" in St. Petersburg during January; but what their fate is, no one knows, or will know, for a long time. It is well known that the Czar has a system of secret police and spies, not only in every hamlet of his own country, but in many cities of Western Europe. The central agency of the foreign spies is located at Paris, but Vienna and London are important offices. The operation of this expensive system is, however, attended by extenuating circumstances, to wit, the Russian refugees seem to know at least as much about the movements of the police as the latter do of them. On the whole, there is some doubt whether the spy system does not inure more to the advantage of the Nihilists abroad than of the Czar; and, as the latter is made to bear all the expense, the honors, at least, would seem to rest with the former, for it does not appear that the foreign police ever accomplish anything. In Belgium the consideration of the proposition for revising the constitution was interrupted by the death of the heir to the throne. The proposition for Revision came from the Radical leader, M. Janson. But, in spite of the fact that the Clerico-Conservatives are in the majority in parliament, the condition of the

franchise is so scandalous that there is a probability that the revision will be accepted, and that, too, in a democratic sense. Although Belgium has a population of about six million, the restriction of the franchise to the adult males paying a direct tax of at least \$8.50 has limited the number of electors to less than 120,-000. The elections are therefore very easily manipulated. The extension which meets with greatest favor is one limited by an educational qualification; but the Radicals demand universal suffrage. This they will not be able to secure, as they compose only a small minority of the present Chamber of Representatives. The Grand Duke of LUXEMBURG distinguished himself on Jan. 26th by refusing an increase of his civil list which had been voted by the parliament. The increase would have required an additional tax; but, although the principality is the most lightly taxed of Europe, the Grand Duke preferred to meet the expense from his private means. It is not generally believed that his example will be infectious. A movement for an extension of the franchise has also begun in Luxemburg. In SWITZERLAND the desire to alter the federal council by electing it at the general elections, instead of leaving the selection to the federal assembly, has gained in strength. In the canton of Ticino the radicals abstained from voting for the new cantonal assembly on Jan. 11th, and that body is accordingly composed exclusively of Conservatives. The difficulties of the Portuguese government culminated on Jan. 31st in the revolt or mutiny of the garrison of Oporto. The political situation in Portugal seems to be determined in the main by its foreign relations, and these consist exclusively of the complication with England growing out of the claims of the two countries to African territory belonging to neither. The origin of the dispute goes back to the wellmeaning, but deluded Livingstone, who pushed his way from the cape to the sources of the Zambesi, and thence to the confluence of the Shiré River, which he followed up to Lake Nyassa. He made a second expedition into the Shiré country, in the capacity of British consul, and laid the foundation for the present dispute between his country and Portugal, whose title to the territory, by the way, goes back some three hundred years or so. Now that England has determined to take possession of all of Africa she can get, the Portuguese, instead of submitting to the inevitable, have begun a policy of jingoism, in the hope, certainly forlorn, of luring some stronger nation to their assistance. The only effect has been to keep the country in a state of commotion not at all favorable to their African

pretension, but adapted, perhaps, by giving impetus to various forms of disaffection, to produce internal political changes. Mixed with shouts of "Down with England!" have been cries of "Up with the Republic!" — a conjunction it would puzzle omniscience to explain. The Cortes met only for one day, to listen to the speech of the king, and was immediately prorogued till April 2. An expedition, however, has started from Lisbon for the Zambesi; but what its object may be is quite uncertain. A more active political campaign than usual has been progressing in Spain. Conservatives and Liberals are meeting with more aggressive competition from Republicans, Revolutionists, Socialists, and Carlists. The election was to have been held on Feb. 1. News arrived, during the month, of sanguinary encounters between the Spanish troops and the natives of the Caroline Islands. The trouble occurred in December, 1890, but it is even yet impossible to discover from the conflicting reports what has happened, much less why it happened. There is a confused mass of three-cornered contradictions and recriminations involving American missionaries, Spanish fireeaters, and native Carolinians. It may be accepted as certain that the natives will come off the worst; and whether the American missionaries eat the Spaniards or the Spaniards the missionaries may be regarded with indifference by all but the persons involved. - Passing from Spain to South America, the events there have been of the usual character, except in Chili. In URUGUAY the bill raising the import duties passed both houses of the Legislature. - In the ARGEN-TINE REPUBLIC matters quieted down for awhile, the last of the so-called rebel forces at Entre Rios was disarmed, and it seemed as though the people would take a rest till the next election. But the calm was disturbed almost before it was established by the passage of the act imposing a tax of two per cent on deposits in private banks and of ten per cent on the profits. It seems not improbable that this act will produce fresh disorders in Buenos Ayres, as it was no doubt passed by the votes of representatives from the country who, not unlike the same class of representatives of a North American nation, carry about with them as their only stock in trade laws for regulating the banking business. From the Brazilian Government there was sent out to the several diplomatic offices for distribution the information that the country was in a state of perfect tranquillity and the ministry of perfect agreement. Three days later private information brought the announcement that the secretaries had all resigned, that the Constituent Assembly had only partially approved the acts

of the provisional government, and had as yet failed to ratify the constitution submitted to it. It is evident that the Brazilian crisis is by no means at an end. - On Jan. 7th, the CHILIAN navy revolted from the authority of the president of the Republic, but the news that has been received since then leaves the cause, the extent, and the prospects of the revolution in doubt. It was at first reported that the army had not joined the navy, and still adhered to the president, Balmaceda; but later despatches received by New York merchants indicate that some regiments have joined the rebels. The latter immediately blockaded the coast from Iquique to Coquimbo, and the latest news, of Jan. 31, has it that one vessel had proceeded as far south as Chiloe. If so, practically, the entire coast of Chili is blockaded; and as the commerce of the country is wholly by sea, it may be considered suspended. There seems to be room for question as to which party may be deemed the most rebellious. For the action of the navy is in support of the unanimous orders of the Legislature, fortified by the presence of the presidents of both Chambers; while the other side is sustained by the president of the Republic. Balmaceda is the general who commanded the Chilean forces in the successful war against Bolivia and Peru in 1881, at the conclusion of which he was immediately elected president. But he seems to have been depressed by the "breaking out of peace," as soldiers not uncommonly are, and the Chilians are now suffering the consequences of rewarding military success with political honors and power. This is the first disturbance of the internal peace of the country for fifty years. - According to current rumors, officers of Guatemala and of Salvador are in Europe and the United States, engaged in purchasing arms and other equipment, preparatory to the renewal of hostilities between those nations.

LEGISLATIVE.

Congress. — Among the bills introduced are: in the Senate, one for the support of industrial schools, and providing for a distribution of money by the Government for ten years; one to establish a department of co-operative negro colonies; one for establishing in each of the colleges of agriculture supported by the Federal Government "a female department, to be chiefly under the control and management of women, for the education of and training of girls and young women, and for their training as teachers in the arts of cooking, sewing, care of health, and nursing of the sick, and in all the different departments of household care and work which

are necessary in the homes of farmers and mechanics, and in the homes and families of all who obtain their living by manual toil, to which may be added such further instruction in the common and useful and ornamental arts and occupations of which manual labor is an element, and in such other special knowledge as shall serve to render girls and women more capable of self-support, or which may enable them better to discharge the duties of wives and mothers and promote the happiness of home life among the people"; and one to establish, "in connection with each of the colleges of agriculture and the mechanic arts, which is supported or assisted by the United States, a normal-school department for the instruction of pupils and teachers in the natures and dispositions of animals, and in the art of their culture, training, and improvement for human use, and providing that in such department provision be made for practical experiments and illustrations in the training of animals, as well as in the science of animal life and economy in its relation to the welfare of both man and beast."

In the House, a bill was introduced to establish postal saving banks and encourage small savings.

The Senate passed the Pension Appropriation Bill (\$133,173,085 for pensions, \$1,500,000 for fees and expenses of examining surgeons, \$72-,000 for salaries of agents, and \$300,000 for clerk hire;) the bill establishing a marine board for the interests of the merchant marine; and a bill to cause an exploration of the interior of Alaska.

In the House a free coinage amendment to the Sundry Civil Appropriation Bill was ruled out of order, and the World's Fair paragraph of the bill adopted.

Members of the International Brotherhood of Railroad Employees say that the ease with which the employers' liability laws are evaded, as well as the expense attached to obtaining damages under it, make it necessary that some radical means should be adopted to force the railroad corporations to compensate men for injuries. They think railroad employees should be pensioned in case they receive injuries, the same as soldiers and policemen are pensioned in case they are injured while in the performance of their duties. A bill embodying this proposal is to be introduced by the Boston branch of the Brotherhood in the Massachusetts Legislature, and it is also proposed to ask Congress to enact a national railroad employees' pension law.

The Canadian Parliament has been dissolved, and the general election will take place March 5th.

The reason for the dissolution is that the Dominion government have, through the imperial government, made certain proposals to the United States for negotiations looking to the extension of Canada's commerce with that country, and the government desires a parliament fresh from the people to ratify any negotiations that may be entered into.

A delegation will be sent to Washington after the new Congress assembles to formally discuss the proposals submitted.

A law has been passed in Victoria prohibiting the publishing and sale of newspapers on Sundays.

A motion, by Mr. Gladstone, for the second reading of the bill to remove religious disability and abolish the checks preventing Catholics from holding certain offices was defeated in the House of Commons, as was also a motion to abolish the special franchises held by members of City of London guilds.

IN GENERAL.

The St. Paul Grand Jury ended a three weeks' session with a sensational report covering one hundred and twenty pages. It showed a state of very crooked financiering in two or three of the departments. An indictment was found against Jay P. Davis, a deputy in the office of the clerk of courts, for getting warrants cashed by the county treasurer for \$15,000 to \$20,000 on jury certificates, which were made out to fictitious persons, and one was also found against M. R. Marnane, abstract clerk, on the charge of having fraudulently appropriated to his own use \$1,500 to \$5,000 of the county's funds. This money was collected as fees and not turned over to the county. The jury finds that \$3,200 has recently been allowed in the abstract clerk's office for pretended extra help, \$698 of the amount being in one lump on Jan. 5.

As to the steal in the county clerk's office, the jury reported a most remarkable state of things. It found that in the payment of jury orders by the treasurer of the county there was no system or check to prevent fraudulent orders from being paid; that orders were paid without regard to the numbers stamped upon them, though differing widely from the current numbers, and that jury orders in large numbers were paid when presented by irresponsible and ignorant employees of the county without inquiry as to how these persons came into possession of them or why they presented and collected them, and without examination or inquiry as to the genuineness of the indorsements upon them, or

without investigation whether the persons purporting to indorse them had served upon the juries.

The Grand Jury also casts suspicion upon three county officers by recommending that a thorough examination by a qualified expert be made of the books of the county clerk, the auditor, and the treasurer, for the purpose of ascertaining the full amount of money that has been wrongfully taken from the county treasury, and that when it is ascertained the proper steps shall be taken to collect from the clerk of court, from the county auditor, or from the county treasurer the amount so taken.

On the liquor question, the Grand Jury says: —

"It was shown in evidence before this body that it is possible to sell liquor in this city for nine or ten months without procuring a license. Every official of St. Paul, with the possible exception of the city treasurer, who has any part in the issue of liquor licenses and the enforcement of the laws governing the business of selling intoxicating liquors could be indicted."

The Commissioner of the Bureau of Patents reports that the aggregate number of applications for patents and for the registration of trade-marks and labels during the last year has exceeded that of any preceding year in the history of the Patent Office.

In a report made by a sub-committee of the National House Judiciary Committee, attention is called to the many abuses in the various federal courts and to the "widespread disposition" on the part of the commissioners, court officers, marshals, and others, to make cases largely for the purpose of getting the accrued fees. The report also calls attention to the lax methods in which the naturalization laws are administered, and to the abuse by judges of the power to suspend the execution of sentence.

The Richmond (Va.) City Council passed a resolution instructing the city engineer to discharge all Republican laborers at work on the City Hall and to employ Democrats in their places.

The commissioner of the Internal Revenue Office says that it is necessary for Congress to define what a "cigar" is. Many manufacturers use an excessive quantity of material in the manufacture of cigars of extraordinary size, and the Internal Revenue officials have not been able to collect what they think is due the Government upon such immense rolls of tobacco.

TO-DAY, FEB. 12, 1891.

A record of the facts and considerations which show that Individual Liberty is good for the people of the United States, and that, therefore, Legislative Regulation is injurious for them.

J. Morrison-Fuller, Walter C. Rose, Editors.

Certain New England newspapers have been debating the question whether the Chinese are ethnologically higher than the Negroes. To a certain degree of ignorance all things seem debatable. That men with such a total lack of knowledge as discussing this question implies should have their opinions as to the solution of the "Negro problem" and the "Chinese problem" is ludicrous, but that they should be able to give their opinions any weight is pitiable.

Mr. Noble, Secretary of Interior, has been talking to the Indian chiefs who have come to Washington to confer with the mysterious great man who so mysteriously crosses their destiny. Mr. Noble says that some Indians are idle; some are even vicious; and they actually make the squaws do all the work. "The policy of the Government," says the Secretary, "is not to support these savages forever in idleness, but only till they can support themselves, - till they shall have become civilized." Ah, indeed! It is a positive relief to be at last informed what the "Indian Policy" of this Government is. A very deep policy, to be sure. I wonder if Mr. Noble ever heard of that Englishman who resolved "to remodel the Zulu nation," and of the fate of his little exploit? And he was much greater than a secretary, too: he was a Lord High Commissioner. If one is sufficiently ignorant, Mr. Noble will appear marvellously wise.

We have a description from the pen of Thackeray of the melodramatic procedure of French Courts and the inquisitorial methods of criminal prosecution. While it would no doubt be wrong to infer that the ends of justice are so completely set at naught, as the course pursued suggests to us, yet it is difficult to divest oneself of the impression that French criminal usages are extremely defective. We do not need to rely on Thackeray's testimony. The very full account of the Gouffé case, which has reached us through the Paris papers, impresses one with conviction that the

plan of prosecution adopted does, as a matter of fact, result in a very imperfect administration of justice. The utter disregard shown for the evidence advanced by the defence in favor of the assumption of irresponsibility of the accused in consequence of "hypnotic suggestion" cannot be reconciled with the requirements of truth and justice. Because, unexplained and, apparently, inexplicable as the phenomena of hypnotism at present are, the reality of their occurrence has been placed beyond reasonable doubt. It is evident, moreover, that the facts must, sooner or later, force their way into the presence of juries. The impetus that this will give to investigation may be expected to produce, before long, discoveries of the greatest importance.

Dr. Magee, the Bishop of Peterborough, has been raised to the see of York. He is an unchristian meddler of the first order. Already member of the House of Lords, his opportunities for mischief will now be perceptibly increased by the accession of increased dignity and fictitious importance. He it was who originated the bill of last session, which he has again called up already at the present session, to regulate infant insurance. The evidence seems undeniable that infanticide has been practised in order to obtain the insurance policies on the children's lives. Now, if it is possible that the evidence as to this general fact is conclusive, it follows that it is possible to adduce the evidence of the special facts from which the general one is an inference. If so, then the guilty parents can be reached at common law and punished for murder. No justification can be found for the attempt to restrict the parental rights of the virtuous in order that the propensities of the vicious may be curbed. This is the loose screw of socialism. No facts will ever fasten it, no logic will ever drive it home; for the facts and the reasoning show the inaptness of the attempt. If, on the other hand, the evidence of murder cannot be produced before the jury, this only shows on what slight provocation another cable is about to be passed around personal freedom.

It seems to be the common opinion that the influence of the President had much to do with keeping the Federal Elections Bill so long before the Senate, when the sentiment of the

country - and almost of the party in which the measure originated - was decidedly opposed to it. It is easy to see that, as the fountainhead of federal patronage (corruption?) he could bring to bear strong motives upon recal-The failure of the citrant Congressmen. measure (if it has failed) when pushed by such influence as this is matter for congratulation, irrespective of the merits or demerits of the bill. During Jackson's time, the Executive encroached upon the prerogatives of Congress with no good results, and immediately after the war Congress encroached considerably upon the powers of the President. There can be no doubt that the framers of the Constitution were wise in seeking to separate as widely as possible the legislative, the executive, and the judicial branches of the Government; and for this they have been praised by foreign observers more perhaps than for any other thing, notably by Sir Henry Maine, not at all an admirer of popular government. They did, to be sure, grant the President the power of the veto; but this is essentially a negative power, and the obstruction of good legistation cannot be compared in danger to the furtherance of bad. It is easy to see why the same power should not be intrusted with making, interpreting, and enforcing the laws, and any attempt to unite all three or two of these functions cannot be too strongly reprobated.

The judges of the Maryland Court of Appeals are not going to be outdone by the justice of the Supreme Federal Court. The latter gentlemen, having been invited to decide whether or not a citizen of California possessed certain Constitutional right, in rendering their judgment a few weeks ago, improved the opportunity by telling the suitor, and the people in general, not only what his Constitutional rights were but also what his natural rights were or were not. The citizen of California was informed that he had no natural right to sell liquor. This was a perfectly gratuitous and extra-judicial expression of opinion which the gentlemen are certainly entitled to hold as more or less rational beings, but which has no relation whatever to the discharge of their duties as judges. Now the Maryland justices "see" their brothers on the federal bench, and "go them several better." The latter had said that "there is no inherent right of a citizen to sell intoxicating liquors by retail"; leaving it to be inferred, perhaps, that there was an inherent right to sell liquor at wholesale. The Maryland gentlemen will not be content with a paltry proposition such as this. They have carried their generalization further, and with the delightful assurance of ignorance they declare with the customary verbosity of stupidity:—

"We are unable to conceive that any one . . . can acquire rights which could in any way control, impair, impede, limit, or dimish the police power of a State. Such power is original, inherent, and exclusive; it has never been surrendered to the General Government, and never can be surrendered without imperilling the existence of civil society."

I do not question the propriety of the judgment rendered in this case, which was to the effect that an alieu resident in Maryland could not exercise a right under the General Government not shared by citizens of the State.

But this habit that judges are indulging — whether more or less frequently than formerly I cannot say — of expounding from the bench not the legal rights of citizens but their natural and inherent rights is an impertinence which cannot be suffered in silence.

After all, the Emperor of Germany is quite an astonishing young man. The eagerness with which he courts destruction is truly appalling to a sympathetic person. Before his accession, the octopus of government already lay sprawling and fatal over German life. To the disinterested observer, it seemed that the monster could not stretch another arm nor embrace another victim. The soldier was universal; he could not be multiplied. Barred windows and bristling bayonets spoke to the passer-by of government and force. The wayside was lined with posters to remind the thoughtless of his subjection. The police hardly left room for the pedestrian; no door, no closet, was closed against it. The very theatre announced the courts. Industry and education were inspected and regulated till inspection and regulation seemed to the German one of laws of nature, fixed, omnipresent, everlasting. For him life revolved around the government in a prescribed orbit. And now a voice calls upon him to turn and inspect the government! Infatuation could not go further. So long as the regulation of all activity continued with daily uniformity, the notion of permanence and necessity was easily imposed. But if these regulations become variable, if old methods are disused and new methods tried, the feeling of necessity will be weakened as the uniformity disappears. The possibility of disentangling themselves from regulation will suggest itself to a larger and larger number of Germans. And yet the Emperor invites inspection, changes regulation, and listens to petitions. The first result will no doubt be that the octopus will spread new arms; but the last result will be that it will get itself throttled. A people will not swallow stones forever without indigestion; and the Germans are just now feeding on stones more than any other people, perhaps. The Emperor offers himself as the savior of laborer in his struggle for existence; but he will probably find that he has fished for popularity and caught a Tartar.

TWO LABOR LAWS.

There are some interesting facts in the last report of the New York State Factory Inspector to which it is scarcely to be expected that sufficient attention will be given by those who ceaselessly toil to increase the volume of "labor legislation." Speaking of the provision in the factory law which regulates the hours of labor for women under twenty-one and boys under eighteen years of age, the inspector admits that the "clothing 'sweat shops' do not always conform to the sixtyhour limit as a week's work." "Do not always conform" strikes one as a rather mild way of putting it, after reading the inspector's own description of the "sweat shops." Here is what he says: -

"The business of these 'sweaters' is carried on in out-of-the-way places, in bedrooms and rear lofts, so that their workshops are difficult to enter and locate. When a visit is made to one of them the boss and all hands take refuge in silence and shrugs of the shoulders, and claim they do not understand what is being said, even by the interpreter. . . . The small, badly-ventilated rooms in which they work are crowded with toiling women and children. A furnace for heating irons is generally going at full blast. If it be winter-time, the windows are closed tightly, and all chance of escape for the foul air is cut off. The same atmosphere - loaded with smells and impurities at best - is breathed over and over oftentimes fastening new diseases upon the unfor tunate inmates of the workrooms, and always hastening to the grave the sick as well as the physically sound. It would, indeed, be bad enough if this condition of affairs continued for only ten hours a day, but when it is the case fourteen, sixteen, and even eighteen hours a day, for six or seven days a

week, during a period of seven and eight months a year, the aggregate destruction to health cannot be estimated. If ever an epidemic occurs in this country these 'sweat shops' will be potent factors in distributing and propagating the germs of the plague. The clothing made in them affords exceptional means for distributing disease, more especially as it is usually of a cheap grade, and is mostly sold to people who have not always the opportunity, even if they had the desire, to guard against contagion by habits of personal cleanliness and home surroundings of a healthy character. Summed up in nutshell, the trouble with the 'sweater' workshops of New York is this: The hours of labor are too long, being sometimes as high as ninety a week the ventilating and sanitary arrangements are nearly always vile to the last degree, and the workrooms are excessively overcrowded."

Of course, the inspector recommends an addition to the present force of deputy inspectors, feeling quite confident that "constant espionage" will eventually compel compliance with the provisions of the law. It is safe to predict, however, that the inspector will be disappointed, and that next year another recommendation for a further increase of the force will have to be made. The inspector will not heed our opinion, that, even if the number of deputy inspectors should exceed the number of the employees of the "sweat shops," little could be done to remedy the abuses indicated; but some day he may make this discovery for himself, - that is, if he ever goes out of office, and looks at the matter with other than official eyes.

The inspector states with "pleasure" that, apart from the sweat shops, there has been practically but little disobedience of the provision referred to; but he does not proceed to consider what the case would be, in the places where the law is obeyed, if it never had been enacted. Is the inspector perfectly certain that it is the law, and nothing else, which makes employers conform to the sixty-hour limit, and that, were the law out of the way, they could and would exceed that limit?

On the subject of the Weekly Payment law, the inspector says:—

"No sooner had the Weekly Payment law been enacted than the officers of some few corporations set themselves to the task of defeating its purposes. This was sought to be accomplished, in some instances, by the posting of notices to the effect that, on a certain date and every week thereafter, any of the employees who desired it would be paid weekly by leaving word at the office that such was their wish. As soon as the notices were up quiet hints would be dropped from authoritative sources that whoever insisted on being paid weekly would be discharged. Naturally, very few men desirous of employment would have the temerity to ask for

their wages, with possible discharge as the result' and consequently no one would apply for his wages on the date set. The purpose of the officers of the corporation would be accomplished, and when the Factory Inspector would inquire why the wages were not being paid weekly, the notices were shown, and the triumphant answer given that not one man wanted his wages weekly. On more than one occasion this was the answer, when at that very time the inspector had in his pocket the statement of the men and a long list of their names, asking that the company be compelled to pay them, one and all, every week.

"To meet this very apparent corporate dodge, we pointed out the fact that by implication the terms of the law required the company to make a personal tender of his wages to each and every employee once a week, regardless of any previously-expressed wish to the effect that he did not want his wages, provided he was present at his place of labor at the regular time of payment. If the employee saw fit to refuse his money when thus offered he could do so, and the company need not force it upon him; but he must have the opportunity to so refuse, and the refusal once or oftener did not affect the necessity on the part of the company to again tender him the full amount of his wages on each succeeding pay-day. The enforcement of this rule brought quite a number of concerns to a reluctant obedience of the letter and spirit of the statute."

At first blush, this appears encouraging: the enforcement of the rule brought quite a number of concerns to a reluctant obedience. But soon misgivings arise: Why not all the concerns, but only "quite a number" of them? Presumably, then, the concerns that do not obey have hit upon a new "dodge," have invented a new method of evading the law; and if so, how long will it be before the less inventive employers will hear of the new dodge and practise it as successfully as the others? These employers, Mr. Inspector, are wicked people, while necessity has long been known as the mother of invention.

THE APPROPRIATION OF THE EARTH.

The proposition that private property in land is robbery, though not very definite, plainly implies either that those who have land are robbing those who have not, or that each owner of land robs all other men. The assumption of every one who speaks on the question is that the earth is man's and the fulness thereof. It might be true to say that man's possession of the earth is robbery; for how did he come into possession of it? By dispossessing other animals whose claim was at least prior to his; whom he would he slew, and whom

he would he drove to other habitations. Still, as the animals dispossessed have left no heirs, perhaps no serious error is involved in the assumption that man in general has a right to use the earth in whatsoever way he pleases; and a priori one would pronounce that the best use of the earth which would afford the largest satisfaction to the largest possible part of humanity.—the welfare of humanity being regarded as the supreme purpose aimed at.

The appropriation of certain places of the earth by individual men and families must have begun very early. Most animals have their lairs, which they permit no other animal to approach; so the earliest men must have had their caves, their trees, or their rude huts. As long as they remained in this stage of progress the alleged evils of the private ownership of land could not have been prominent. Certain caves may have been more commodious, dryer, and on the whole more desirable than the rest. For these there would very likely be a contest, the possession remaining with the strongest. After the attainment of some skill in throwing stones, the invention of rude weapons, and after the formation of groups or tribes and the increase of population, there probably occurred the first wholesale appropriation of parts of the earth's surface - by communities. objection to this kind of appropriation is made by our socialistic and single-tax friends, though it is difficult to see why one might not maintain that the absolute and exclusive ownership of large tracts by certain groups of men is just as much robbery of other groups, as the ownership of small tracts by individuals is robbery of other individuals.

As civilization progressed and men became skilful in the chase and in fishing, as animals were domesticated to serve as food and for beasts of burden, for which animals it was necessary to procure pasturage, the motives impelling a tribe to exclude from their territory members of other tribes grew clearer and stronger. Hunting-grounds

and waters for fishing would easily become exhausted if used by too many; and the same may be said of pasture-lands. Still, as long as nomadic habits continued, no very definite idea of perpetual appropriation of land could arise.

When, however, the discovery was made that fruits and vegetables yielded seed each after its own kind, and the first rude attempts at agriculture were essayed, two important effects were produced: it became necessary to remain in one place long enough to obtain the harvest of what was sown, and the impulse to individual appropriation of land was greatly strengthened. Moreover, defeat in war came to mean much more than it had meant previously. What was the origin of war may easily be conjectured; but it is difficult to give the conjectures much element of certainty. It may be that men, like so many other animals, followed the practice of fighting for the females, and as they gathered into groups the single combats developed into battles; or perhaps the custom of eating their deceased ancestors, common to many tribes, aroused the idea that younger and freshly-killed human flesh would be a greater delicacy; or possibly the pleasure derived from successful conflicts with wild beasts may have led to the discovery that man was a much more interesting antagonist. At any rate, it is safe to believe that war had become very common before agriculture had attained much development. As the latter progressed, it is plain that men would fight much more earnestly in defence of their home and country, their altars and fires, their wives and children, than they would to keep poachers off their hunting-grounds. But if agriculture has had great influence upon war, making it more intense and of greater magnitude. war has had no less effect upon the appropriation of the earth's surface; in fact, it is by the tribunal of war that the question has been decided Who shall inherit the earth?

The land might be cultivated either by a whole group of men working upon it in

common, and dividing the crop as they might agree, or by each man having assigned to him a certain portion and being allowed to retain what he could make grow upon it. Both systems are compatible with what is known as common ownership of land. The former has been tried in many small communities; the latter, apparently, prevailed among the Germans in the time of Tacitus. The land was divided at stated periods, so that no man should occupy the same spot more than for so long. purpose of the practice seems to have been that the men might not get attached to the soil, and thus be unwilling to follow the custom of their forefathers and migrate occasionally.

The study of savage tribes and the researches of M. de Laveleye and others make it extremely probable that some form of ownership of land by the community has been almost universal, and that the institution of individual landed property has developed from it by a slow process of transformation. In most of the countries of Europe, in several of Asia, of Africa, and of America, M. de Laveleye finds unmistakable traces of this primitive habit. Henry Maine during his residence in India was impressed on finding at the base of the Himalayas and on the banks of the Ganges institutions similar to those of ancient Germany. England, which had always been supposed, since the Conquest, to have been under the régime of feudalism, contains as many traces of collective land ownership and common cultivation as the countries of the north. The early records of France, of Switzerland, of Greece and Rome tell the same story.

Certain socialists and half socialists who are familiar with these facts see in them strong evidence in favor of their position. Quod semper, quod ubique, quod abomnibus; "universal agreement is an infallible sign of the necessity, and consequently of the legitimacy, of any institution." Since collective real property has been the universal custom, that alone is in

conformance with natural law. Socialists are frequently rather lame in their facts, but here their facts may be conceded: the fault lies with their reasoning. If we trace back our ancestry far enough we find that the original and universal mode of locomotion was on all-fours; hence it might be argued with much (socialistic) plausibility that this is the only mode which conforms to nature. If the argument were to be treated seriously, it might be pointed out, in the first place, that individual ownership of land has always co-existed with collective ownership, and, in the second place, that in all probability individual appropriation of certain portions of the land preceded the existence of political groups, and, therefore, collective appropriation.

But no serious answer to such an argument is possible. The only proper way to decide whether collective ownership of real property is preferable to individual ownership is to compare the results obtained from the one with those obtained from the other. It is just possible that the former was adapted to men in a low stage of civilization, and that the latter is better after a higher stage has been reached. The fact that collective ownership was almost universal among peoples in a state of barbarism, and that it has given way to individual ownership as men have become more enlightened, gives plausibility to this view. It is not impossible, however, that the present is a transition stage with respect to landed property, as with respect to other things. Take the case of personal liberty. A very large part of mankind has acquired the habit of deferring to and obeying certain persons. "The peace of the world is preserved by a habit nearly unconscious - of constant subordination. But men were not born with that habit; savage tribes are now wanting in it; old nations did what was right in their own eyes, and were defective in it too. A long history and a curious list of means were necessary to implant it." But as men became better adapted to the social state less and less subordination was necessary, and as they become perfectly adapted the subordination by which the adaption was chiefly effected will be entirely done away, and man will be as free as his pre-social ancestors. So, perhaps, it will be in the case of land. In very early times there is little motive for private land ownership. There is a superabundance of land for cultivation; the soil is soon exhausted by primitive methods of cropping it, and soon becomes worthless. When the practice is followed of "clearing a tract of ground, raising from it two or three crops, and then abandoning it," there is little temptation to claim permanent ownership of the soil. When, however, by improved methods, the land becomes constantly better the more it is worked, the desire for perpetual possession naturally arises; still more is this the case when, by the growth and concentration of population, land is ever increasing in value without any exertion on the part of the fortunate owner, and all he has to do is to collect the rent. Nothing is more certain than that the way in which property in land was individualized was by an unjust exercise of force - the force either of an external aggressor or of an internal aggressor. If private ownership continues to be for the best interest of society, as it undoubtedly has been in the past, except, perhaps, in the days preceding the downfall of Greece and Rome, - it will doubtless stand, no matter what its original basis may have been; but if, as is by no means impossible, the evils arising from it shall be found to be greater than the benefits, then there will in all probability be some sort of resumption of control by the community, and such resumption will be not unlikely to work some injustice to present land-owners. It is needless to point out the fact, so often insisted on, that no community ever has completely abnegated control. "In the soil the dominion belongs to Cæsar or to the Roman people; we have only the possession and usufruct," was the maxim of Gaius; in English theory, the owners of land are regarded as tenants of the Crown, and the by no means uncommon

exercise of eminent domain by the different States in this country is based upon the same hypothesis.

The great argument for individual ownership of the soil is that this has been the only method in which undisturbed possession could be secured, and unless a man is sure of being able to hold land as long as he wishes, and to sell it at a price which will remunerate him for whatever permanent improvements he has made, he will not use the land so well - he will sacrifice the present to the future, and in the long run the land of the country will not be so productive. "Who would plant a vine or set. out a tree if he could not hope to gather the fruit?" asks M. Maurice Block. The fact is that men do set out trees without any reasonable expectation of gathering the fruit, and tenants at will make permanent improvements and are rack-rented for them. On the other hand, absolute ownership by the occupiers will not always secure the best treatment of the land. The practice of "skinning" farms is not entirely unheard of. The process is to buy a farm, cut off the timber take off three or four crops without making any return to the land, and then sell for the best price that can be obtained. Nevertheless there can be little doubt that private ownership on the whole offers greater incitement to im_ proving cultivation of the soil than any other which has yet been devised. A man will work much more earnestly for his own benefit than for the benefit of the community; all are agreed that he ought to be secure in the possession of any improvements he may make, and none of the plans vet proposed for separating the land from improvements made upon it will bear serious examination.

The objections to the present system of land tenure are manifold. The one which has the most weight with superficial thinkers is the same one of which socialists make so much in their attacks upon property in general, namely, the inequality of distribution. I do not mean to imply that there is

not a chance - perhaps a necessity - for deep and careful thinking upon this phenomenon, but those who are continually harping upon it are usually men incapable of serious thought. They have stumbled upon the fact that at Rome, during the period of the decline, landed property was very unequally distributed. "Six persons owned half of Roman Africa when Nero had them put to death." An acqueduct six Roman miles in length traversed only eleven domains, belonging to nine proprietors. "What!" says Seneca in effect, "a land which has sufficed a whole people is too confined for a single proprietor! Whole rivers flow for one individual from their source even to their mouth." Certain landed estates in England and in this country are just as alarming: a single individual owns a large part of London, and another a large part of New York. The downfall of Rome may be dated from the immense aggregations of landed property; and nothing is easier (for a socialist) than to leap to the conclusion that they were the cause of the downfall.

It would be very interesting and very profitable to trace the exact effects which follow when a small number of families get possession of the greater part of the soil, wherever this has occurred. But this would be a very laborious undertaking, and the records are probably too meagre to admit of our conclusions having much value. may be pointed out, however, that the large estates in Rome were brought about in an entirely different way from those in this country; there, they were the result of war, civil or external: here they are the result of industrial causes; agriculture, like manufacturing, is much more profitable on a large scale than on a small scale.

The most serious objection to individual ownership of land is that concerned with rent. The subject is worn rather threadbare, and there is little temptation to discuss it, especially when one has no new solution to offer. There can, however, be no objection to inquiring what the real difficulty is. Economic rent is defined as

the "revenue obtained over and above what labor and capital united are able to produce; it is the more or less spontaneous product of nature." In ordinary speech, rent is the price paid for the use of land, as interest is the price paid for the use of capital; and this measures with tolerable exactness economic rent, but it is defective as a definition. It is possible for the owner of land to derive rent from it while cultivating it himself, though of course, in this case, he does not pay any money for the use of it.

It follows from the first definition that there must always be some land under cultivation which does not yield any rent, only interest on the value, and wages for labor applied; if all land were equally well situated and equally productive there would be no rent at all. In all cases, however, land of more than one quality is cultivated, and the better tracts yield rent in this way: the price of the products of the soil cannot fall below the cost of obtaining them from the poorest land under cultivation; men cannot permanently produce things and sell them for less than cost. But, by hypothesis, the cost of producing a given quantity of wheat, say, is less on the best land than on the poorest, while it will, of course, sell for the same price. The excess of profit is rent, in the economic sense.

Rent, evidently, tends constantly to advance as population increases. More and more land products are needed, and it is impossible to obtain the additional supply from the best soils; the scarcity will cause the price to rise, and so it will be profitable to grow food stuffs on poorer land, and with every step in this direction the rent of the better lands manifestly rises.

Fortunately, however, when it is said that the best lands are first brought under cultivation, "best" must be taken in a relative and not an absolute sense. The credit of pointing this out belongs to an American economist, Henry C. Carey. He ransacked history to prove that in reality the poorest lands are first cleared, and that

the progress is uniformly from high lands on the tops of hills, where the soil is thin, to the valleys, where it is deeper and richer. All this may be admitted without denying the maxim of Ricardo. The best soil for rude and hasty methods of culture is, undoubtedly, that which can be cleared and made to yield crops most readily. early settlers in this country would have starved before they could have cleared and drained the rich soil of the valleys. fact that progress is to soils capable of yielding larger crops, though requiring the application of more labor and capital to prepare them, nullifies to some extent the tendency of rent to advance; while the remarkable improvement in facilities for transportation made during the last halfcentury, which has had the effect of bringing an almost unlimited quantity of land within reach of the markets of the world, has entirely obscured such tendency for the present, as far as land used for growing crops is concerned.

It is very easy to over-estimate the injustice arising from the payment of rent to owners of land. Suppose a man to come into a country containing two kinds of land, the first of which for a given outlay yields thirty bushels of wheat per acre, and the second, for the same outlay, twentyfive; it obviously makes little difference to the new-comer whether he farms the first, paying five bushels rent, or the second, without paying any. If all the land of the first kind is rented at five bushels per acre, and the second kind is free, the cultivators of the two are precisely on an equality. There still remains the question, however, whether it is, on the whole, for the interest of the community that certain persons, whose title to the land rests either upon successful aggression or upon prior occupancy, should be able to reap the whole advantage of having land of the first class in the country; or whether it would be better for the benefit to be distributed throughout the community. The burden of proof seems to lie with the upholders of the

present system, and they are not able to furnish any convincing proof; they are much more inclined to talk about the blessings of individualized, landed property.

The so-called land question seems far from settlement. It is impossible to say whether any different system of land tenure would be better than the present, and, much more, just what system. Meanwhile, it would be a step in advance if the two parties could be brought to recognize the strength of each other's position; the one, that great advantages have been derived from the present land system, the other, that there are serious, and perhaps growing, evils connected with it.

POLITICS IN THE MAGAZINES.

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW (February). — The Review opens with the first instalment of a series of papers by the surviving corps commanders who led in the battle of Gettysburg, giving their impressions on revisiting the scene of the battle last October. H. R. H. the Count of Paris, and Major-Gens. O. O. Howard, H. W. Slocum, and Abner Doubleday contribute this month. The series gives promise of being interesting not only to the survivors of the late war but also to students of history generally.

Under title of A Deliberative Body, Speaker Reed expresses his views as to what should constitute such a body. The purpose for which, every two years, the voters of the United States go to so much trouble and expense is to elect to the House of Representatives a body of men who will formulate into laws the wishes of the people. The function of this body is lawmaking: to decide what laws to make, and how best to frame them. In this body, debating, while useful, is not an end or an aim; nor are mere words at all times so valuable as thought, except as they furnish food for thought. The Speaker further argues that listeners are necessary to debate, and that wise and oratorical as a speech may be, without listeners it is not debating.

As to rights of the minority, he sees no use for trying to be a majority, no use for convincing votes from the stump, or the editor's desk, in fact no use of an election, if the majority is not to rule. Obstructing legislation by debate has been on the increase, and tended to reduce popular government to a farce. The remedies that have been used to check this evil (an enumeration is modestly omitted by the Speaker)

will, he thinks, "after the unreasoning passions have subsided, lead to real debates and sound deliberation."

Doubting the wisdom of the Constitution, where it says that the House shall be "the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members," he fails to see why the performance of such a duty, while constitutional, should be obstructed by a minority and be vindicated in its action, as it has been asserted by Mr. Carlisle that it can be.

Curiously enough, Mr. Reed concludes with an array of "facts and figures" showing that debate in the Fifty-first Congress, instead of being restricted, exceeded in volume that of its predecessor.

The Silver Question Again, by Jesse Seligman. The argument of this article may be condensed somewhat as follows: Stability and certainty are essentials of production and commerce. Gold is used by all civilized countries as a standard most reliable. It is necessary to our financial prosperity that we trade with these countries. If, therefore, ours should be a silver standard, home producers would be paid in silver, and would be subject not only to a variation in price of commodities, but in their money as well. To quote the writer: "If we had no commercial relations with other countries, a silver standard would answer our purpose as well as a gold standard"; but as we have such relations, he considers a common standard more stable.

What free coinage of silver means, the absurdity of putting it into operation, and the disastrous effects it would have upon all industry are clearly demonstrated. The present unsatisfactory condition of our coinage is admitted; but he would recommend a careful consideration of the subject by each section of the country before exposing itself to "grave dangers in attempting the impossible." In conclusion, the writer explains the difference between free coinage and the coining of a fixed amount by the State, with sufficient gold back of it. in the control of the State, to meet all demands for redemption.

The Jamaica Exhibition, by Sir Henry Blake, governor of that island, furnishes a good description of the scope and purpose of the exhibition (which opened the first of this month), as well as of the natural resources of Jamaica, her growing commercial relations with other countries, the character of her people, etc. It may be a surprise to many readers to learn that the expenses of this exhibition are all guaranteed by the people individually, not one cent having been appropriated by the government. Jamaica. with a population of but 620,000, only 14,000 of whom are white, thus teaches a lesson to governments and municipalities the world over.

Other articles, of which want of space compels mere mention, are: The Talleyrand Memoirs, Sir Charles W. Dilke; Can Lawyers be Honest? Homer Greene; A Reply to Mr. Lecky, George McDermot; Fair Play for the Indian, G. L. Kercheval.

AMERICANA.

In the Washington Legislature, Representative Bowell introduced a resolution that whereas the orthography and construction of many bills introduced is very poor, a committee be appointed by the chair to correct the orthography and construction of said bills, and moved its adoption.

The motion was put and lost.

Representative Tyler, of Pierce, raised a good-natured laugh in the House this morning by presenting a resolution reading as follows:—

Whereas, Λ bill has been introduced in this House for the protection of sea-gulls, and

Whereas, There is a lamentable lack of information in regard to the habits of said gulls, be it

Resolved, That the Committee on Investigation now sitting be empowered to make such inquiry into all matters pertaining to these useful but untidy birds as may be necessary, with power to send for persons and papers.

Speaker Shaw ruled the motion out of order.

— Press Report, Washington Legislature.

Mr. O'Toole. — Sure, Oi understan' yer afther lookin' for a mon, sor, an' so Oi made bould ter shtep in an' inquire th' sort of a mon ye do be wantin'; bein' as Oi'm out o' a job jist at th' prisent toime.

Merchant. — Well, I want a man who doesn't know too much, and is in the habit of doing whatever he is told.

Mr. O'Toole. - That's me, sor.

Merchant. -- Where were you working last?

Mr. O'Toole. -- In Jersey, City, sor; inspectin'

Mr. O'Toole. — In Jersey, City, sor; inspectin illections. — Smith, Gray & Co.'s Monthly.

A Legislature which should adjourn with no bill hostile to life insurance having been introduced, and advocated with more or less vigor, would be an anomaly. There is something in the magnitude—and maybe the usefulness—of this vast interest which seems to invite the attention of designing or ill-informed lawmakers, and measures for its "regulation" bud early, but fortunately bloom late or never.—St. Louis Globe-Democrat.

Europe has 11,000,000 soldiers, hundreds of forts and war-ships, and the people are taxed hundreds of millions of dollars for armament. And yet no question of right or justice has arisen in Europe during the last fifty years which a Michigan justice of the peace could not have settled in ten minutes at a cost of \$3. — Detroit Free Press.

A new humorist has appeared in Congress and it is high time, too. He is Gen. Spinola, of

New York. The other day, Mr. Lewis, of Mississippi, a new member, in making a short set speech in reply to strictures upon his State by Mr. Kelly, of Kansas, cried out dramatically: "The gentleman from Kansas seems fond of crying Murder! murder! murder!" Mr. Lewis yelled the word "murder" in such a loud voice and so dramatically that Gen. Spinola jumped from his seat and startled the House by crying out in an equally loud voice, "Police! police!" Then there was such an uproar of laughter that Mr. Lewis was compelled to take his seat and wait for full two minutes until the House could be quieted. The fun that the law-makers invent for the country serves, in a way, as a palliation for the existence of Congress. - Memphis Daily Commercial.

An Iowa youth tied a thread to a nickel, dropped the nickel in the slot, got what he wanted, and then drew the nickel out by withdrawing the thread. He was arrested for theft but the judge discharged him, holding that he had committed neither burglary, larceny, nor robbery, nor had he obtained anything under false pretences. If this decision is sound, goodby to the slot machines. — Boston Herald.

An Ohio veteran who was recently granted a pension has declined the same on the ground that he is able to earn his own living. This looks very much like insanity, although it may be a new manifestation of the Ohio idea. Exchange.

Teacher - How many hours make a day?

Youthful Agitator—Ther' haint but eight. That's what my pa says, an' he 's a good deal older'n than you are. An' when he gets 'lected to office you bet ther' won't be but six.—San Francisco Examiner.

How many drinks should the American soldier be allowed to take for his day's allowance? The question is important, because post canteens are Government institutions, established and maintained on temperance principles, and so jealously looked after by an abstemious Congress that they were in some danger of being suppressed at the last session, on the charge of being grog-shops. According to a communication in the Kansas City Times, at one of the Texas forts the maximum of drinks fixed on, in the absence of general orders prescribing a number, is five; and the ingenious scheme is arranged of marking each man's name on a board with five holes behind it. Each time he takes a drink a peg is put into a hole, and when all the holes are full he is presumed to be full also. - New York Sun.

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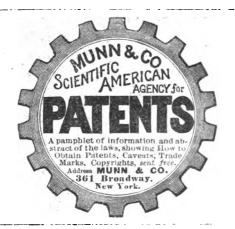
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POLITICS: EVENTS; COMMENTS; LITERATURE.

The conditions under which this paper is published render it impossible to give the weekly record of facts the character of news, especially in the case of the foreign items. The facts are, in the main, collected from daily papers. Their importance does not generally depend upon dates. Our record of them cannot have greater authority than the sources have, but is evidently more trustworthy than any single newspaper.

LEGISLATIVE.

Congress. - The Senate passed the Sundry Civil Appropriation Bill, with some amendments, the most important being that placing at the disposal of the President a sum, not to exceed \$250,000 for the year, to prevent epidemics. The Post-office Appropriation Bill, the Indian Appropriation Bill, and the Legislative Appropriation Bill were also passed. Among other bills passed are the bill to print 50,000 copies of the report of the Agricultural Department on the diseases of horses; and the bill providing for better supervision of immigration, and placing greater restrictions on the importation of contract laborers, with an amendment providing that persons convicted of political offences shall not be regarded as criminals within the meaning of the act.

Among the bills passed by the House are: the General Deficiency Appropriation Bill; the Post-office Appropriation Bill; the Immigration Bill (with an amendment requiring the Secretary of the Treasury to provide rules for inspection along the Canadian frontier that will not impede travel); the Agricultural Appropriation Bill; a substitute for the Shipping Subsidy Bill, providing that the Postmaster-General may enter into contracts with American citizens for carrying the mails on American steamships between United States ports and foreign ports, in order to promote the postal and commercial interests of the United States; and the Direct Tax Bill, which provides that the Secretary of the Treas-

ury shall credit each State and Territory and the District of Columbia with a sum equal to all collections, by set-off or otherwise, made under the terms of the Direct Tax Act of 1861; that all money still due the United States under the requirements of that act are remitted; a sufficient sum of money to reimburse the States and Territories for the collections under the direct tax is appropriated to be paid when the Legislatures shall have accepted the sums in full satisfaction on account of the levy; money appropriated to meet individual claims is to be held in trust by the State authorities, six years being allowed for the reception of these claims; payment is also to be made to the owners of lands in St. Helen's and St. Luke's parishes, in South Carolina, that were sold under the operations of the Direct Tax Act.

The House Investigating Committee reported that the testimony disclosed no evidence of any silver pool, and that no member of Congress except Senator Cameron speculated in silver while legislation on silver was pending.

New Hampshire.—Among the bills introduced are: establishing a bounty on crows; making nine hours a legal day's work; making eight hours a day's labor for State employees; establishing a bounty on dogs; forbidding the manufacture of water gas; licensing non-resident photographers; regulating the price and purity of gas; and compelling railroad companies to furnish half and quarter mileage books.

The Senate passed the bill making Election Day a legal holiday. The House passed the bill establishing a board of registration in dentistry.

New York.—Among the bills introduced are: making it mandatory upon the mayor of New York City to appoint only members of the bar as police judges; authorizing the Board of Arbitration to compel the attendance of witnesses and the production of documents; providing that no liquor shall be sold within one mile of the State camp: requiring railroad tunnels to be lighted by electricity and thoroughly ventilated; providing for five unsalaried commissioners to revise laws relating to school matters; establishing a board of embalming examiners and regulating the practice of embalming

human bodies: providing that elevated railroads must pull down all the advertising signs on its structures and do away with its news-stands; compelling gas companies to remove noxious fumes; allowing excise commissioners to grant licenses to continue in force one day under which wines and liquors can be sold up to 3 A. M. by persons giving balls or suppers in a public hall; providing for compulsory voting and imposing a fine upon delinquents; revising the laws for suppressing intemperance and providing that liquor may be sold on Sunday between 1 o'clock P. M. and midnight; and providing that prison authorities may change, when necessary, from the public account to the piece-price system of manufacturing, but must employ no more convicts on any work than five per cent of the number of free citizens who work at it in the State. (No product of such manufacture may be sold at less than the cost of the material, plus ten cents an hour, or the labor that has been put upon it. The goods must all be plainly marked "I'rison Work" before being put upon the market.)

New Jersey. — Among the bills introduced are: providing that horse-car railway companies shall provide transfer tickets over all their branches; requiring insurance companies and other corporations which do not pay municipal taxes to invest in bonds, securities, and loans of the municipalities in which the office is located, provided such bonds bear not less than four per cent; prohibiting employers from guaranteeing store accounts of their employees; providing that the public-school teachers, holding first-grade certificates, who have served acceptably two years, shall hold their positions during good behavior; forbidding street railways to maintain any obstruction to free entry or exit on cars; and making it illegal to pay workmen in anything except legal tenders.

Among the bills passed by the House are: repealing the charter of the Eclectic Medical College in Jersey City; preventing honorably discharged soldiers and sailors from being removed from office without cause; directing township clerks to make affidavits without fees; limiting time for hunting gray and black squirrels; limiting time for shooting reed birds; providing for the appointment of police matrons; establishing teachers' libraries in the State; and establishing a museum in the capitol building.

Pennsylvania.—Among the bills introduced are: authorizing chattel mortgages upon agricultural implements, farm machinery, etc.;

providing that every vessel propelled by steam, in whole or in part, shall be liable to inspection; providing for the recovery of damages to trees injured by telegraph or electric light companies; preventing begging and peddling by minors; prohibiting the exhibition of physical or mental deformities; prohibiting the placing of messenger boys in disorderly houses or unlicensed saloons; punishing neglect to support a wife and children; prohibiting employment of children under fifteen years in and around elevators; licensing and regulating houses for the boarding of infants; and preventing children under sixteen from gambling or pawning goods.

The House passed the bill providing for a uniform policy of fire insurance to be issued by all companies.

The Senate passed the following bills: providing for a sale on lease of the property of street passenger railway companies to motor power companies; providing for the organization, support, and maintenance of associations formed for the protection and saving of human life and property in case of fire in cities of the first class; House bill No. 32, regulating the issue of policies of insurance and certificates of inspection made by steam-boiler insurance companies in all cities of the first class; to permit growers of grapes to manufacture wine from grapes of their own raising that are not firstclass or marketable, and sell such wine to licensed dealers without taking out or paying for a license for such manufacture or sale.

Alabama. — The General Assembly adjourned on Feb. 10. Among the bills that have passed both Houses are: the bill appropriating \$10,000 for the Confederate monument, and the bill reducing the legal rate of interest to six per cent. There were two thousand and sixty-seven bills introduced in both Houses, not one half of which were passed. No appropriation for the World's Fair was made.

Among the new offices created by the Legislature just adjourned are a fifth Supreme Court judge, a judge each for the Colbert districts, a city court for Birmingham and Gadsden, and solicitors, a mine inspector, a convict commissioner, and another Congressman under the redistricting law.

One of the most important laws enacted by the Legislature falls because of an error in enrollment. The State levies a tax on all the fertilizers sold within its borders of fifty cents per ton. A bill passed both Houses making the tax twenty-five cents, but in enrolling the bill the sum of fifteen cents per ton was put in the bill as the tax, instead of twenty-five cents, and when the error was discovered the matter was investigated, and it was found that the enrolled bill is not the bill passed by the Legislature, and that in consequence of this the bill is void, and the old law remains in force, and the tax on fertilizers is fifty cents per ton, as heretofore.

Arkansas. — The House passed the bill taxing theatrical companies and auctioneers; the bill to protect the treasury from fraud, requiring the governor to appoint experts to examine books and accounts at any time deemed proper without previously notifying the treasurer; and the bill to exempt the offspring of animals under mortgage from the effect of the mortgage.

The Senate passed the bill regulating the practice of medicine, and providing that if any physician engaged in the practice of medicine by virtue of license issued under the laws of the State is guilty of unprofessional conduct the Board of Medical Examiners in the county where he is engaged in the practice shall revoke his license. Unprofessional conduct shall be held to be; (1) the procuring, or aiding and abetting in the procuring, of criminal abortion (2) employing cappers or drummers, or the subsidizing of hotels or boarding-houses to procure practice; (3) the obtaining of a fee on the assurance that a manifestly incurable disease can be permanently cured; (4) the wilful betraying of a professional secret to the detriment of a patron; (5) all advertising of medical business in which untruthful or improbable statements are made; (6) all advertisements of any medicines or means for the treatment of certain diseases peculiar to women; (7) conviction of any offence involving moral turpitude; (8) habitual drunkenness.

Texas. - Among the bills introduced are: prohibiting fire-insurance companies from reinsuring Texas risks in companies not authorized to do business in the State; requiring railroads to build depots at places where there may be a post-office and two business houses, and which is over two miles from any other depot; exempting from occupation tax medical specialists who successfully cure alcoholism and opium habits; prohibiting the sale and export of game, and the sale of trout, perch, and bass fish; repealing the clause authorizing city councils to force citizens to work on the roads; compelling corporations to make an annual report to the commissioner of statistics, etc., requiring certain corporations to give discharged employees the causes of their discharge; creating a board of medical censors and regulating medicine; creating a bureau of labor; prohibiting blacklisting; and prohibiting railroad companies from attaching any condition to passenger tickets, and compelling them to transfer the owner or assignee of the ticket over their line.

Among the bills passed by the Senate are: allowing the injured females to testify in prosecutions for abduction; prohibiting the giving of free passes to State, county, and municipal officers, and the receiving of passes by said officers; and appropriating \$150,000 for building a Confederate home and adopting it as a State institution.

The House passed the bill prohibiting parties to a contract from stipulating to limit time in which suit may be brought upon same; and the bill to prohibit prize fighting and sparring matches.

Missouri.—The Senate passed the bill prohibiting pools and trusts; the bill giving cities of the third class the power to erect light and water plants; the bill to restrain domestic geese from running at large; and the bill requiring corporations to have their general offices in the State. The bill requiring railroads to erect fences, gates, and cattle guards at farm crossings was defeated.

Among the bills introduced are: one prohibiting the Board of Health from refusing license to regular physicians because they advertise in newspapers; one to prevent brewers and distillers from owning dram-shops; one to regulate freight charges on the basis of one per cent per mile per ton of freight; one to abolish the distinction between married and unmarried women in reference to their property and contracting power; one to create the office of hog inspector; one authorizing the appointment of a State chemist; and one providing penalties for the sale of imitation cider vinegar.

Minnesota. - Among the bills introduced are: providing that judges at agricultural exhibitions shall be sworn to discharge their duties; regulating charges of livery stable keepers; providing for compensation by railroad corporations for the use of public roads and bridges; providing for refunding taxes erroneously collected; requiring that all personal references to people in newspapers, including discussion of their political opinions and actions, shall be signed by the writer; providing for pensions for school teachers; regulating the traffic in baking powder; fixing the compensation of agents in procuring a loan at not more than twelve per cent; compelling railroads to have depots properly heated and lighted half an hour before and after

departure of trains; licensing auctioneers; authorizing the appointment of bread inspectors; making it illegal for railroads and warehouses to pool against the people; providing punishments for corporations making false statements as to the value of their plant, stock, etc., and empowering railroad commissioners to see that no greater profit is made by the corporations than the legal rate of interest; providing for the recovery of damages by persons who may sustain injury by reason of the sale to any person of intoxicating beverages; authorizing a three-per-cent tax on premiums received by insurance companies; giving municipalities and countles option on the adoption of the single-tax system; amending the law for exemption of personal property by making the sum \$200 instead of \$100 (which is contrary to the constitutional provision); providing that during certain months of the year the wolf bounty shall be \$6.00 for the scalp of a she-wolf and \$4.00 for the scalp of a he-wolf, (nothing is said about the difficulty of distinguishing between the scalp of a male and the scalp of a female wolf); and fixing the rates of elevators and warehouses.

Among the bills passed by the Senate are: reducing capital necessary to establish State banks in small towns; prohibiting prize fighting and sparring matches; furnishing seed grain to localities where crops were destroyed; to loan money to certain persons for the purchase of seed wheat; restraining animals from running at large; and submitting a constitutional amendment authorizing an income tax.

Among the bills passed by the House are: appropriating \$55,000 to supply farmers with seed grain; preventing extortion by attorneys in making collections; making it unlawful for a railroad to close up or abandon any portion of its track after construction; and making daylaborers' wages on public buildings \$2.00 per day and all other laborers 25 cents per hour.

Wisconsin. — Among the bills introduced are: providing for the commitment of habitual drunkards as insane; preventing deception in the sale of cheese; providing for the appointment of three funeral directors to pass upon the capabilities of undertakers; providing for the death penalty when convicts in the State prison commit murder; conferring police powers upon agents of humane societies; providing that persons twenty-one years of age and of good moral character who have studied law for one year may practice before justices of the peace; exempting from taxation wearing apparel, libraries, kitchen furniture, portraits, and other household things not exceeding \$200; requiring corporations to

have a capital of at least \$25,000; creating the office of State commissioner of practical plumbing, and requiring plumbers to hold certificates; making cruelty to dogs a penal offence; compelling railroads to transport by the first train cars loaded with wheat, rye, corn, oats, and barley; regulating the manufacture and sale of vinegar; suppressing opium-joints; prohibiting non-residents from doing police duty; requiring railroads to carry poultry in special boxes; prohibiting the driving of cattle with boards in front of their faces on streets; prohibiting the placing of telephones in disorderly houses; obliging railroads to maintain joint platforms at crossings; and requiring railroads to get the consent of property-owners before building tunnels.

The House passed the bill abolishing the office of State veterinarian, and the bill allowing women to act as court commissioners.

Illinois. - Among the bills introduced are: providing for the appointment of a pension agent to prosecute the claims of Illinoisans who cannot employ attorneys; making it an offence for minors to get liquor under false pretences; cutting telephone charges; making it a misdemeanor for any person or political party to pay naturalization fees; requiring telegraph companies to file a statement of the number of miles of pole lines operated, so that a tax of one dollar per mile can be levied on one wire, and two cents per mile for each additional wire; providing that not more than two of the board of managers of any State charitable institution shall belong to any one political party; conferring the privilege of suffrage and office-holding in the cities, towns, and villages upon women; giving patients in asylums the right to hold correspondence without the espionage of officials; making it a misdemeanor to sell intoxicants to a minor without a written request from the parent or guardian; making criminal conspiracies the societies organized for the purpose of preventing persons from holding office because of nationality or religion; providing that nine persons may organize an accident insurance company and insure plate-glass and steam-boilers; making it the duty of constables to notify poor debters that \$400 worth of personal property is exempt from seizure; authorizing charitable societies to care for children under seven years of age; providing that when a switchman is injured through the fault of an employee the company shall be liable for damages; providing that persons whipped by White Caps may recover from \$2 000 to \$5,000 from the county; providing that when a farmer digs to a railroad or highway (in making a farm drain), the railroad or

highway commissioner shall furnish an outlet at their expense; conferring upon women the right to vote at school elections (women are allowed to hold office as school directors or trustees, but not to vote for such officers!); requiring the use or interlocking switches at railroad crossings; compelling railroads to pay the full value of the stock they kill; giving courts, in criminal cases, the right to stay proceedings when parties desire to make an appeal; and requiring the periodical weighing of grain by all warehouses issuing grain certificates.

Michigan. - Among the bills introduced are: directing railroads to transport free members of the Legislature and their baggage; protecting candidates against anonymous circulars and posters; making it unlawful for telegraph companies to receive more than one cent a word for a message, and providing that a minimum of fifteen cents may be charged for a ten-word message; amending the constitution so as to provide for civil verdicts by eight out of twelve jurors; making it unlawful to keep or sell liquor on any boat or water craft in front of any town or village; making marriage illegal if contracted within forty days of the dissolution of a previous marriage; prohibiting acceptance of free passes by judicial officers; authorizing Detroit to raive \$50,000 to entertain the Grand Army at the next encampment: making it unlawful for lawvers who are members of the Legislature to practice law; protecting the people from the liquor traffic; prohibiting the killing of partridge for five years; for the compulsory education of juvenile disorderly persons; making stockholders liable for bank debts; compelling saloonkeepers to obtain permission of county in which they wish to do business; providing for the death penalty for murder in the first degree; for death by electrocution; abolishing the homœopathic department of the Michigan University; and forbidding the opening of shops, stores, or the performance of any labor or business on Sunday.

The Senate passed the bill regulating hours of labor on street railways; the bill regulating charges of telephone companies; and the bill providing for the purchase of farm and dairy products for use in State institutions from citizens of the State producing them.

The House passed the bill preventing the use of oleomargarine or butterine in the State institutions; the bill authorizing banks of \$15,000 or upwards to be organized in villages with a population of fifteen hundred; and a resolution asking Congress to submit to the States a con-

stitutional amendment for the election of the President and United States Senators by direct vote of the people.

Kansas. - The House passed the bill giving women the right to vote at all elections and to hold office; the bill appropriating \$60,000 to aid destitute settlers in Western Kansas; the bill for the Australian ballot; the bill providing a system of irrigation for arid lands; the bill giving the railroad commissioners powers to provide and enforce joint rates for connecting railroads; and the so-called Railroad Bill, which provides for a maximum passenger rate of two and a half cents per mile, makes the board of railroad commissioners elective by the people, and gives them power to compel annual reports from all railroad, sleeping-car, telegraph, and telephone companies doing business in the State, and prohibits the issuing of passes to any person except railroad employees and shippers of live-stock.

The Senate passed the bill making a twenty-five-per-cent reduction in the salaries of county officials, and the bill providing for the appointment of a pension agent to prosecute the claim of poor Kansas citizens entitled to pensions.

Nebraska. -- Among the bills introduced are: to remove all chairs, screens, and decorations from saloons; prohibiting members of trust combinations from instituting suits for the collection of debts incurred by sale of articles affected by the unlawful combination; encouraging the building of public halls in second-class cities; prohibiting the practice of veterinary surgery without a permit; creating the office of loan agent to negotiate loans for the people at the lowest rates and to make abstracts of realestate titles; repealing the law requiring druggists in small towns to file bonds; establishing an industrial school for juvenile female delinquents; abolishing capital punishment; providing that a sewing machine shall be exempt from execution; requiring railroads to report immediately accidents sustained by employees to the labor commissioners; providing that life-insurance policies shall be incontestible after two years; and punishing by imprisonment adults voluntarily visiting houses of ill-fame.

Among the bills passed by the Senate are: the Australian ballot bill; the bill prohibiting insurance companies from doing business with less than \$200,000 capital; the bill repealing the bounty on beet sugar; and the bill providing for a fine or imprisonment of persons threatening others in a menacing manner.

Among the bills passed in the House are:

requiring railroads to name stations the same as the town or village; making railroads responsible for damages to employees, and making contracts restricting such liability void; reducing passenger fare to two cents per mile; rendering corporations liable for acts of employees; punishing persons engaged in "pool bookmaking"; requiring engines to be equipped with a "drive brake" and cars with automatic couplers; and providing for the punishment of persons harboring girls under eighteen or boys under twenty-one in houses of ill-fame.

Indiana. — Among the bills introduced are: fixing penalties for attending prize fights as spectator; providing that when a married man dies testate the widow shall get one third of the real and personal property; providing for the election of beef inspectors; making it unlawful to sell or give away intoxicating liquor where games of chance are played, or within one square of where such games are played; to suppress mpure literature; making twenty years a life sentence; requiring railroads to have blackboards at waiting stations showing the schedule time of trains; requiring building and loan associations to file semi-annually a statement showing their financial condition; and authorizing cities and towns to own and operate water works and natural gas and electric plants.

Among the bills passed by the Senate are: requiring pawnbrokers to procure licenses; making it unlawful for an officer of a banking corporation to act as notary public; providing for a board of arbitration; and requiring itinerant venders of merchandise to pay a license fee of \$50 and deposit with the city clerk \$200 as evidence of good faith.

Among the bills passed by the House are: requiring street railway companies to pave between the tracks and two feet on the outside of each rail; compelling vendors of imitation dairy products to brand or label them under the true names; prohibiting dealing in margins in grain and other farm products; creating the office of natural gas supervisor; requiring the heating of railway cars by steam or other safe and suitable appliances; requiring railroads to maintain suitable depots at all stations; making it unlawful to kill any duck, rail, or cock between sunset and sunrise and between April 15 and Sept. 1; authorizing cities to operate water works and gas and electric plants; and licensing dogs and making it unlawful for dogs to roam over the country unattended by the owner or his agent.

South Dakota.—Among the bills introduced are: requiring county commissioners to offer a | Paris, has been removed by order of the police.

bounty for the destruction of pocket gophers; encouraging the planting of fruit trees; punishing officials for contracting indebtedness without specific appropriations; changing age of consent from sixteen to eighteen; giving women the right of suffrage in cities of first and second class and in incorporated villages; compelling railroads to construct track scales; and making railroads liable for all fires and for stock killed along the lines where not fenced.

The House passed the bill for a uniform system of text-books in the schools. The bill to resubmit the prohibition question to the people at the next election has passed both branches.

California. - The House passed the bill permitting two lines of street railway operated under different management to use the same street; the bill requiring insurance companies to execute a bond in the sum of \$20,000; and the bill allowing a wife who sues for divorce one third of her husband's personal property, absolute, and a life estate in one third of his realty, provided a divorce is decreed her.

The Senate passed the bill limiting the power of judges to punish for contempt, and the bill for a State board of arbitration for the settlement of differences between labor and capital.

Oregon. - A bill prohibiting the use of profane language has passed the Legislature. The bill providing for the closing of saloons on Sunday was defeated.

In the English House of Commons a motion to reduce the army and evacuate Egypt was defeated, as was a motion to increase taxation on land. A new bill for dealing with England's offenders, boys or girls under sixteen, provides that the Court may, without prejudice to its other powers, decide that, if the offender be a boy, he may be whipped; that the parents may be fined not more than one pound sterling; that the parents be ordered to pay compensation to the person injured, not exceeding five pounds; or that the parents must give security for the child's good behavior. The whipping, when performed, shall be by a birch rod, and shall not exceed eighteen strokes.

IN GENERAL.

An official decree has been issued suppressing all Republican clubs in Portugal.

The statue of Marat, in the Parc Montsouris,

A Norwich, Vt., citizen of fifty has been sentenced to sixty-three years' imprisonment for selling liquor, being convicted on 723 out of 1,000 indictments. The evidence against him was collected by the professors of Dartmouth College, who wanted to remove the temptation from the college students.

The authorities of the village of Schoolcraft, Mich., have passed an ordinance prohibiting the sale and use of playing cards, and making such sale or use an offence, punishable by a fine and imprisonment. The law was aimed at the gambling place in the village, but it was so sweeping in its nature that it includes private parties. The officers say they will arrest any one caught in the act of playing cards, which pleases the gamblers exceedingly, as they think the ordinance will be very unpopular and will have to be entirely repealed.

Complaint was made to the county attorney yesterday that the circulation of the Kansas City Sunday Sun in this city was in violation of the State law prohibiting the circulation of indecent and immoral matter. Warrants were at once issued for the arrest of all parties found to be engaged in circulating the Sun. When the express train arrived from Kansas City last night a man named Campbell, from Wamego, who had been sent here by the proprietors of the Sun, was seen to take a package of papers from the express office. He was promptly arrested and the papers seized, but as no sales or distribution of the papers had been made he was released, with the understanding that the papers should be returned or destroyed.

The State Labor Commissioner has compiled a series of tables showing the condition of various trades-unions in Kansas, a summary of which shows that the average daily wages of the trades-unions proper was \$2.23, the average number of weeks during the year in which employment could be usually obtained was forty-two and one half, and that 78.3 per cent of the membership of the reporting unions were able to obtain work for this length of time. The average number of men in each trade represented who were thus fully employed was seventy-seven, and their yearly earnings \$675.55. In the case of the railway organizations reporting, the average daily wages of all was \$2.83; the time in which work could usually be obtained was fifty and three fourths weeks; the percentage thus fully employed was ninety-three, and the averge number of members who could obtain work for the full period in each of the five organizations was one hundred and eighty-three. The yearly earnings were \$864.51.

The New York Hat Finishers' Union have passed resolutions denouncing the action of those legislators "who are endeavoring to hoodwink workingmen with such measures as the amendment to the Weekly Payment Bill." This measure, the members of the union say, will affect only a limited number. Meanwhile, such measures, they declare, as are unanimously called for by the press and people of the State, such as the abolition of the sweating system, the "Life-and-Limb" Bill, and the eighthour law, are ignored.

The saloon-keepers of Terra Haute, Ind., protest against the new ordinance, requiring saloon doors to be locked after eleven o'clock at night, and on Sunday, holding it to be unconstitutional, because depriving property-owners of their rights. The Circuit Court has refused to dissolve an order restraining the city from prosecuting offenders under the ordinance until the constitutionality of it is decided.

Several Iowa saloon-keepers have been convicted and fined for selling intoxicating beverages. They had been selling what they termed "Indian soda," between which and beer, according to expert testimony, there was a distinction without a difference.

In a trial now in progress in St. Louis the defendant is charged with having murdered his wife, and the point as to whether the killing was deliberate or accidental rests almost entirely on the condition of the defendant's overcoat, from the pocket of which were fired the shots. The sheriff had the coat as a piece of court property, to be used during the trial. The prisoner's attorney burst in the door of the room, stole the coat, and then, while declining to surrender it, confessed the theft. The Court decided that he was justified in his action.

The Federal Supreme Court has decided to entertain Canada's application for a writ of prohibition in the case of the schooner "Sayward." Arguments on the merits of the Behring Sea controversy will be heard in April.

The Boston electrotypers are out on a strike. They demand a uniform rate of pay. The men have a strong union, embracing ninety-nine per cent of the craft, and they are confident of success. This strike interferes with the work of over two thousand others in the printing trade.

The Pennsylvania Supreme Court has decided that shaving on Sunday is illegal.

TO-DAY, MARCH 5, 1891.

A record of the facts and considerations which show that Individual Liberty is good for the people of the United States, and that, therefore, Legislative Regulation is injurious for them.

J. MORRISON-FULLER, WALTER C. Rose, Editors.

That an action or event is so because it is so, ought to be so, or because we ourselves prefer it to be so, are reasons too frequently given in sober earnest by all parties and factions. A Boston daily, however, captures the prize, and defies logic, when, speaking editorially of the failure of the Subsidy Bill, it remarks: "It is greatly to be regretted that the Shipping Bill has suffered defeat in the House of Representatives, all the more so since up to the last moment it was thought probable that it would pass." Regret and disappointment seem to have been sadly mixed in that editor's mind.

The census agents have gathered abstracts of 9,000,000 mortgages. This is almost two thirds the number of families in the United States. As no statistics of this sort with any pretension to completeness have ever been collected before, there is little with which the facts that are arrived at can be compared. Nevertheless, they are interesting in themselves, and afford a subject for much harmless speculation; though it is by no means impossible that valuable deductions may be drawn from them in the future, but hardly for several decades. The Census Bureau promises to tell us the number of persons in the United States who own their farms and homes free from incumbrance; and, as this is probably a smaller number than 9,000,000, we may perhaps hope to learn it soon.

Farmers, as a rule, are convinced that they pay more than their share of taxes; and there are some grounds for the complaint. To say nothing of the way in which the tariff operates, hardly any farm property can escape taxation; and farmers derive less advantage than the inhabitants of towns from the lighting of streets and the care of them, which is altogether disproportionate to that bestowed upon country roads, the maintenance of public buildings, the free delivery of mail, and other things, all of which they contribute to support. With this idea firmly fixed in their minds,—that they derive smaller returns from taxation han other classes,—it is strange that in their alliances and granges they advocate so many

socialistic measures which would call for an increase of taxation. For a farmer to be a socialist of the type common among that class seems to argue a lower degree of intelligence than the same opinions indicate among day-laborers.

The London County Council is again devoting its attention to municipal lodgings for the poor. The result of its exploits up to September, 1883, was to unhouse 21,000 people and provide lodgings for 12,000, — the other 9,000 wedging themselves in where they could, except those who were kind enough to take up their residence in the graveyard, and thus free the rate-payers of the duty of sheltering them. The latest proposal of the County Council is to tear down houses at present lodging 5,000 persons and build in place of them accommodation for about 3,500 It is said, or at any rate rumored, that in parts of London the poor are pretty well crowded together, uncomfortably so indeed. I think that has been stated. Some families live in single pens, in subcellars, others live in the gutter. I wonder why it is. So do the councilmen.

A brave Dakotian recently killed an Indian in a novel way. The Indian died from exhaustion chasing his would-be murderer. Much the same fate meets an imaginary "Public Speaker" whom the New Nation attacks, in a recent issue, on the subject of Nationalism. Unfortunate Mr. P. S. is supposed to meet a recent convert to Nationalism, and to ask the latter what he thought of his lecture. This leads to a discussion, in which Mr. P. S. is allowed only an occasional remark, and that the most commonplace. Meanwhile, his dread opponent chatters on, until, in despair, and too exhausted to murmur an objection, Mr. P. S. promises to revise his lecture.

Fortunately for Nationalism, its supposed advocate is said to have but lately espoused its cause. This accounts, of course, for the puerile arguments advanced, and should not reflect at all on the New Nation, which stands ready to prove that black is white, on a moment's notice.

Weavers' With a penetration rare among Fines. newspapers, the Boston Herald points out that the law proposed in Massachusetts to prevent manufacturers from fining operatives for imperfect weaving would entail upon the workmen evils in many cases worse than the fines

imposed at present. While there may be some justice in the complaint made by weavers that the practice of fining is taken advantage of by employers virtually to reduce wages, it is certain that a badly-woven piece of goods is of less value than one well woven, and that less pay should be received for the one than the other. The present system of payment seems to be based upon the assumption that the work will be done well, and deductions are made when it is done ill. The point made by the *Herald* is, that

"A careless or badly-trained weaver may now be continued in service by making good his or her losses to the company out of the fines imposed; but when fining is no longer permissible, the overseer of a weaving-room would have no alternative but to discharge the person whose work did not come up to a satisfactory standard."

Or, the law might be rendered nugatory by paying distinctly according to the quality of the work, instead of by fixing a normal price for perfect work and making deductions for defects.

We would not be understood as implying that it requires much penetration to perceive this, but neither the average labor agitator nor the workman nor newspaper has enough penetration to discern it.

Sardou's "Thermidor" having Socialism Dramatic been suppressed by the French Art Government, the manager of the Théatre Libre offers to produce the play, the censorship being unable to dictate terms to this "private" theatre. The motto of the Théâtre Libre is "By art and for art." It aims at giving young and unpopular authors, boycotted by the managers, who only seem to make money often necessarily at the expense of dramatic art, a chance to try their strength. In three years it has produced one hundred and twenty-five new and original plays, and presented the works of fifty-nine authors and musicians, of whom several are famous. Twenty-three of the pieces revealed at the Théâtre Libre have been produced since at the regular theatres. Within the same three years the two subsidized theatres, the Comédie Française and the Odéon, have produced ninety-two new pieces, and have cost the government more than a million francs. Communicating these and sundry other facts, equally interesting, the Paris correspondent of the New York Sun asks: "What is the conclusion?" and he answers: "Simply that the Théâtre Libre, with ridiculously small resources, has been doing the work which the Comédie Française and the Odéon

have neglected, although they are paid for the purpose. The Théâtre Libre has become a focus of art, a nursery of actors, a nucleus of enthusiastic reformers whose ideas and reasonings will inevitably influence the French stage for good."

About a year ago the farmers of The State v. The Gypsy Massachusetts became alarmed by Moth. the presence of the gypsy moth in a small district of that State. If the moth should extend its habitat it would probably entail a severe loss by its ravages. Accordingly, the Legislature, always eager to be about some business other than its own, established a Gypsy Moth Commission, and appropriated, J believe, \$25,000 to exterminate the insect. The commissioners, as might have been predicted, set about their work after an ignorant and wasteful method, - scraping the trees on which the moth worked, instead of spraying them, which would have been much less costly and more effective - exhausted the appropriation, and called for more money. The Governor has recently removed the commissioners, and turned over the work which they did not do to certain members of the Board of Agriculture. The reason given for the removal, however, was not that they had proved themselves incompetent, although this clearly appeared, but that they had been guilty of impropriety in using their official position to advertise their private business and to make the State a customer for their wares.

Nothing could be more absurd than to doubt that the Government of Massachusetts could exterminate a moth which exists only in a small area of the State. All that was necessary was to appoint a commission and furnish the sinews of war. The commission was appointed, and the moth flourishes. Conspicuous instances of failure to accomplish a simple object in this way are very numerous because the attempts that have been made are very numerous; but one would suppose that men would occasionally demand an instance of conspicuous success to sustain their faith in the efficacy of such methods.

Light breaking upon the
Clergy. the question whether it can be materially diminished have long occupied men's
thoughts. From lack of a clear perception of the
causes from which misery results, the means suggested for alleviating it have not usually been
well chosen. The superficial answer, the answer
of philanthropists, has been, if a man is hungry,

give him food; if he is naked, clothe him; build him a comfortable tenement house, provide him work, and if he will not or can not work, he must be supported by public charity. The experiment has been tried extensively upon this line, and it is an open question whether current philanthropy does more good than harm. The fact is coming to be recognized in certain quarters where, a few years ago, there seemed no hope of its ever obtaining recognition, - the fact that the community cannot support all its members in comfort. Certain powers of body and mind are necessary in order to get a living; many persons are born without the requisite powers, and they must suffer the consequences or the community at large must suffer for them. When this class is small the community does not feel the burden. Still, earning a living is by no means an easy thing for the vast majority of men, and as the class of incompetents grows the drain is felt more and more by those upon whom it is made. For whatever is gratuitously supplied to those unable to produce what they need for themselves is so much subtracted from the production of others, many of whom have hardly enough for their own needs. The most serious aspect of the matter, however, is that assisting the incompetent to live is assisting them to have children who are mostly like themselves. Consequently there is a larger and larger number for future generations to support, and by their presence the average individual human power is made lower. In order to relieve a comparatively little immediate distress, philanthropists have been unwittingly laying up a larger store of misery for the future. In order to do a little right they have been doing a great wrong.

The churches have been very active in collecting money for ill-judged charities, and clergymen would naturally be expected to be almost the last to perceive that nature has laws in accordance with which she works, and that it is useless to attempt to thwart her — that she will have her way sooner or later. The somewhat lively discussion of heredity that has been carried on of late in scientific circles seems to have pressed upon some clergymen recognition of the fact that there is such a thing as inheritance of ancestral character, and the partial application of this fact to the question of philanthropy is not very difficult. At any rate, Rev. A. M. Bradford, of Montclair, N. J., recently delivered an address on Heredity before the Congregational Club, of Boston, in which the transmission of criminal propensities was dwelt on, and the corollary drawn that the present treatment of the criminal and the unfortunate should be modified so as to conform more to nature's method of treatment. It is to be hoped that the ideas contained in that address will be made more definite and will spread among the clergy, because, though they are not usually the best exponents of scientific truth, they are in many cases the only ones to whom the laity will listen.

SOCIALISM IN VIRGINIA.

In 1606, King James I. granted the castern coast of North America to two companies, the London and the Plymouth. The former made a settlement at Jamestown in 1607, which settlement has developed into the Virginia of to-day. The object of the settlement was business-like; the incorporated company furnished the capital for the undertaking; the settlers provided the labor. The curious principle was that the land was to be held in common for a term of years, five in the present instance. The first charter failed to effect the purposes of the company so in 1609 a new one was prepared and delivered.

As regards the immigration and allotment of land the writer of Nova Britannia says: "Wee purpose presently to make supply of men, women and children . . . to make the plantation. Wee call those planters that go in their persons to dwell there. And those Adventurers that adventure their money and go not in person and both doe make the members of one colonie. Wee do account twelve pounds ten shillings to be a single share adventured. Everie ordinary man or woman if they will goe and dwell there and every childe above tenne yeares that shall be carried thither to remaine shall be allowed for each of their persons a single share as if they had adventured twelve pound ten shillings in money. Everie extraordinarie man as Divines . . . Gentlemen, Physitions and such as be men of worth for special services, are all to goe as planters, and to exerte their several functions in the colonie and one to be maintained at the common charge and one to receive their Dividend (as others doe) at seven yeares end."

According to the above sketch it is seen that the enterprise was a joint-stock company; that the shares were valued at £12/10 and that personal emigration or actual payment entitled any and every person to a share.

As regards the practical working of the

system, the anonymous author of "Nova Britannia" states: "All charges of settling and maintaining the plantation, and of making supplies, shall be borne in a joint stock of the adventures for seven years . . . during which time there shall be no adventure nor goods returned in private from thence, neither by master, mariner, planter . . . they shall be restrained by bond and search, that as we supply from thence to the planter at our own charge all necessaries for food and apparel for fortifying and building of houses by a joint stock, so they are also to return from thence the success and fruits of their labors, for the use and advancement of the same joint stock till the end of seven years."

From this account it is at once evident that private ownership of land, in fact of any property whatever, is done away with. The proceeds of the industry of the settlers accrue to the advantage of the members of the company, but after seven years the land is to be divided among the stockholders according to their respective shares. It was confidently expected that the returns would be ample, and that after the space of a couple of years, the colony would not only be self-supporting but would richly repay the adventurers for their outlays. The hopes entertained by the company were not at all extravagant, based as they were on the well-known physical characteristics of the newly-settled country. For instance, Sir Thomas Gates, one of the early governors wrote home: "The natural pease (peas) of the country returns an increase innummerable; and garden fruits with roots, herbs and flowers, do spring up speedily; all things committed to the earth do multiply with an incredible usury."

These glowing expectations were not in the slightest degree realized; the colonists were in constant want of provisions, so that supply ships had to be sent out from England at comparatively regular intervals. In fact, at one time the colonists at the point of desperation had forsaken their homes and were leaving the mainland when supply ships met them, and persuaded them after considerable difficulty to return.

The two principles on which the settlements were effected were that the land should be held in common, and that private trade and industry should be prohibited. But the settlers, unable to reap the proceeds of their labor, refused to work: "Many of them spent their

time playing bowls in the streets of Jamestown, while their homes (that is, the company's) were crumbling before their eyes. Content to trust to the chance of supplies from England, they had neglected to sow any corn." To force the men to work, resort was made to a penal code. For example, it was a capital offence to barter on tariff to the slightest extent with any of the trading vessels; and it was likewise a capital crime to kill cattle and poultry without permission of the Governor, or "maliciously to root up any crop." But even force, no matter how effective at first, failed within a very few years, and private industry was so far allowed that every man had three acres of land allotted to him that could be cultivated in the spare time allowed from public work. With this change in policy and the modified introduction of private property, Homor, an eyewitness, states that the colony throve better than under the old system of joint labor. With this first concession and the increased prosperity consequent upon it, the old method gave way rapidly. The colonists were soon given one month to work for themselves, in consideration for such privilege their supply of corn from the public store was reduced to two bushels.

Two years from the granting of the second charter to the company in May, the writer of "Nova Britannia" recognized the failure of the colony from an economic point of view, and in a new work, "The New Life of Virginia," he ascribed the first cause of failure to the character of the settlers sent from England to people the country; "and for the second," he says, "the land is before you to dispose to every man for his house and ground wherein to employ himself for his own benefit, that no man may live idle or unprofitable." That is to say, the company declared individual ownership and private industry to be a necessity within two years from the formation of the joint-stock company; and the entire system was silently and partially abandoned when little more than half of the "seven years" had passed.

STATE REPRESENTATION.

A resolution introduced some time ago in the House of Representatives calls attention to an important question of construction of a clause of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution

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of the United States, which, although never interpreted by a court of law, has been a subject of speculation among jurists. The resolution authorized the Committee on the Judiciary to ascertain whether, in the constitutions or laws of any states, there exist provisions which deny the right of suffrage to certain of their citizens, and whether in consequence the representation of such states in the House of Representatives should not, under the Fourteenth Amendment, be reduced. On the subject of the resolution there is said to have been a disagreement in the committee, followed by a majority report in a line affirmative of the resolution, and two minority reports in the negative.

The particular part of the Fourteenth Amendment here referred to is a portion of the second section thereof, fixing the representation in Congress of each state in the Union. It provides that representatives shall be apportioned among the states according to their respective populations. Then it goes on to provide that in case a state denies or abridges the right of suffrage it shall have the number of its representatives reduced accordingly. The latter provision is in full as follows: "But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of Electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twentyone years of age in such State."

A provision imposing this penalty upon a state for any limitation of the right to vote raises questions of widespread interest, not to mention importance. There are many states which have in force such limitations. Massachusetts and Missouri provide in their constitutions that no one shall be allowed to vote who cannot read and write. Are they denying or abridging the right of suffrage under the Fourteenth Amendment, and should their representation in Congress be reduced? But if to require ability both to read and to write constitutes a denial or abridgment of the suffrage, so does the requirement of ability to read taken by itself. This is contained in the constitution of Connecticut. And if these provisions are obnoxious, why are

not those requiring the payment of certain taxes as a prerequisite to voting? In Massachusetts Pennsylvania, and Delaware a voter must have paid a State, city, or county tax within two years previous to the election. In Rhode Island he must have paid all taxes assessed on him for the period of two years preceding. In Tennessee he must have paid all taxes to be prescribed by the Legislature. In Utah he must be a tax-payer. In New Hampshire no person can vote who is excused from paying taxes at his own request. In Vermont the constitution declares that every one has a right to vote who has a sufficient interest in the community. In Rhode Island no person not born in the United States can vote unless he has property of a specified pecuniary value. If the former provisions constitute a denial or abridgment, a fortiori will this.

On a cursory reading, the words of the Fourteenth Amendment as quoted above justify the view that such limitations constitute a denial of the right of suffrage. In the first place, they refer generally to any male inhabitant of a state twentyone years old and a citizen of the United States. Secondly, they enumerate many distinct classes of officials for each one of whom he must be allowed to vote. Thirdly, they name but one exception to the right to vote as specified, namely, in case of participation in rebellion or other crime. Fourthly, they provide the penalty of reduction of representation, to be imposed upon the state in case the right be denied or abridged. As there are no qualifications, save as above, the provision is general; and any state which in any way limits or restricts the suffrage abridges the right. Consequently, it is liable to the penalty.

This argument seems very strong, and laymen who are not familiar with the amount of ingenuity and freedom of construction that is continually required in the interpretation of written law will perhaps be surprised to learn that this is not the view commonly accepted by students of the Constitution. Here is the opposite argument. If I am the proprietor of an Art collection or a picture gallery, and open it to the public, and make a rule that every visitor shall leave his cane or his umbrella, as the case may be, at the door, I am not thereby depriving the public of their right to enter. I am simply imposing a regulation which is necessary for the preservation of the pictures and statues. Without regulation, there would not be any picture or statue. Careless visitors would poke their canes through

the canvas, rub the gilt off the frames, and knock fingers and noses from the nymphs and cupids. In the same way, it is not depriving people of their rights to provide that there shall be no loud talking during church service, that travellers on the road shall turn to the right, and that intoxicated persons shall not ride on street cars. These instances are merely applications of a well-known and often cited principle of law. Coming to the subject of suffrage, the state can make such restrictions as may be necessary to preserve the right. Thus, to provide for registration before voting is not a denial, because otherwise the exercise of the right of suffrage might degenerate into a farce. So, requiring the use of uniform ballots in order to facilitate their sorting and counting is not a denial. So, to require a person to have a higher grade of intelligence than a mule before letting him have a hand in governing a State is a reasonable requirement; and a natural test of this knowledge is to provide that he must read and write.

This brief summary of the arguments pro and con is not intended at all as a discussion of the question, but merely to show the vagueness and looseness of phraseology employed in this The inaccuracy is the important provision. greater because there is reason to suppose that the legislators who enacted the amendment did not intend to provide for universal suffrage. The Fourteenth Amendment was passed by the Thirtyninth Congress in 1866, although, because of the fact that the consent of the legal number of states was required, it did not become law till two years later. The time of its passage was one in which the question of the rights of freedmen was in agitation. In the previous year had been passed the Thirteenth Amendment, and subsequently the Civil Rights Bill, and there was much talk, some true and some not true, that the negro was not allowed his political rights. Under these circumstances, the Fourteenth Amendment was enacted; and we may reasonably suppose that it was intended, not to deal with universal suffrage, but to secure their rights to those who were benefited by the Thirteenth Amendment.

The Fifteenth Amendment does not make the provisions of the Fourteenth the less confusing, as it concerns the same subject, and is both broader and narrower in its terms. It provides that the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude, and that Congress shall have power to enforce the provision by legis-

lation. The Fourteenth Amendment, as we have seen, imposed upon a state a penalty for an abridgment of the right of suffrage of any person. The Fifteenth, on the other hand, gives Congress power to secure the right to vote of the negro by direct action. It is this latter article which gives Congress power to pass enactments providing for Federal supervision at State elections. It is impossible for these amendments, passed as the occasion required, to be free from the faults of all casual legislation, and to possess the harmony and clearness which we see in the Constitution.

AN UNRIGHTEOUS STRIKE.

Two strikes remarkable for their magnitude, the Scottish railway strike and the strike in Australia, have taken place in the last six months. There is little in common between them, except that both were conspicuous for bad leadership and that both were failures. In case of the former the workmen seem to have had a grievance, though the movement probably did not represent the will of the general body. In the latter there was no grievance, but the men held together tenaciously. The remarkable things about the Australian strike, however, were its universality - extending to nearly all the trades - and its object. Here was the first instance in the long conflict that has been waged between capital and labor where almost all the trades-unions of a country were united against almost all the capitalists united. This is the kind of contest which the president of the Dockers' Union predicted last year in the Nineteenth Century as certain to come in the near future, though it is certain that he did not foresee this particular strike. The first battle has resulted in the complete defeat of the unions.

Nearly all strikes have had for their object an increase of wages, resistance to a reduction of wages, or the securing shorter hours of labor. The object of this strike in Australia was to coerce all laborers to join a union — to prevent all men not members of some union from obtaining employment. In the early stage of trades-union-

ism, belonging to a union was frequently a bar to a man's obtaining employment. Now the tide is turned, and the unions put pressure upon employers to prevent them from hiring non-members. No great battle had been fought on this issue, however, till last fall. If the unions had been successful in this contest they would have gone far toward realizing an ambition which possessed the Knights of Labor in the days of their glory, namely, the subjugation of the employer. The scheme was that, while the employer should still occupy his formal attitude in production, he should, in effect, only be the paid agent of the "producing classes" He was still to be superintendent, still to risk his capital, still to exert his administrative and financial skill; but he was to engage no one and to discharge no one without the consent of a council or committee of the labor organization. From this it would be only a short step for the council to decide for him all questions of his relation to the workmen,the hours and general conditions of labor, the rates of wages, the times and modes of payment, etc.

One would naturally suppose that the United States and Australia would be the two countries where labor unions would find it the hardest to obtain a hold, because in those countries wages are higher and the condition of workmen more bearable than anywhere else. As a matter of fact, unions are a comparatively recent growth in those places, and have not attained near the degree of development they have attained in older countries, like England. Nevertheless, the fact that a man is getting two dollars a day does not keep him from wanting two and a half; and if trades-unions enable workmen to obtain higher wages, they may be expected to flourish.

Sheep-shearing in Australia is an occupation which furnishes work for a large number of men during part of the year. Some men devote themselves almost entirely to shearing, travelling from one place to another for six or eight months; but most of the work

is done by permanent residents of each community. The labor is hard, and had always been well paid till about three years ago, a man being able to earn from sixty dollars to a hundred and fifty dollars in a few weeks besides board and lodging. At that time the sheep-farmers tried to reduce the rate of shearing, and where they supplied the men with food, charged exorbitant prices. The result was the formation of the Shearers' Union, which, at the outbreak of the strike, numbered not quite half of the workmen engaged in that business. The Union had grown and acquired strength very rapidly; had won several victories, and redressed most of the grievances complained of, and, encouraged by its success, conceived the project of coercing those out of the union to join it. The shearers, however, did not feel strong enough to effect this independently, but applied to the maritime unions at all the ports not to ship any wool except that which had been sheared by their own members. The Seamen's Unions readily assented, and induced the Coal Miners' Unions to assist them, by cutting off the supply of coal necessary to the ships. All the labor unions gave their sympathy and support to the strikers. Never was there a stronger coalition of laborers, and it doubtless seemed to them that there could be no doubt about their being able to enforce their demands.

But there are some objects which it is impossible for any combination of men, however strong, to accomplish; and in this case the strikers proved unequal to accomplishing the very unjust purpose they had in view. The capitalists and employers of labor were driven to combine to a greater extent than had ever before been done. This might have been foreseen, and probably was foreseen by some of the wiser labor leaders; but the workmen seem not to have been under the guidance of their wisest members. It has long been asserted almost as a truism that capitalists are able to endure a cessation of their profits for a longer time than workmen can endure a

cessation of their wages, and this strike afforded an unneeded confirmation of the axiom. When it is remembered that the public opinion of Australia, though usually favorable to trades-unions, was in this case strongly against the strikers, and that the battle was waged not only against the united capitalists but also against the nonunion laborers, who actually outnumbered the unionists, any other result would have been indeed surprising. The details of the conflict are very interesting, but the facts of chief importance are, that the unions attempted an entirely unjustifiable object, that they were very badly commanded, and that they failed utterly after suffering very heavy losses. In no other country at the present time would be so good a chance for such an attempt to succeed, and in no other country would defeat in such an attempt impose upon the strikers so little suffering.

The temptation to draw lessons from so striking an occurrence is very strong, but it is doubtful whether the right ones will be drawn by the majority. The article in the Nineteenth Century concludes that "the most gigantic federation of labor, unless it is handled with greater strategic ability than is at present available in Australia, will break like an egg against an iron-clad when faced by the resolute opposition of employers who are also federated"; and that "a community composed of men of British descent draws the line very firmly at demands based on the idea that any power outside Parliament should coerce a man into striking, and has no sympathy with methods forbidden by law." The Westminster Reviewer thinks that "if the present contest does nothing more than lay down clearly definable lines on which labour contests can be legitimately carried on [sic], by making it plain that an abuse of power and the pursuance of means which are in their very nature illegal not only fail to secure the object sought but result incalculable injury to the cause of labour itself - then, disastrous as the immediate effects may be, it will not have been fought in vain."

The notion that Parliament could rightfully coerce a man to strike and to suffer want in consequence, though it would be wrong for any other power to do this, will hardly commend itself to right reason. Both writers quoted, moreover, appear to use "illegal" and "forbidden by law" in the sense of unjust, as if the law could make an action right or wrong. Not many years ago in England workmen were "forbidden by law" to combine and form unions; now their right to do so is recognized. Shall we say that it was wrong for them to combine then, but that it is right now? Still the conclusions are probably correct as set down, because the communities of England and Australia are doubtless more concerned to know what is legal than what is just. If the unions had been at all concerned, the strike certainly would not have occurred. One of the most surprising features of the whole matter is that men of Anglo-Saxon race, who have always prided themselves on their love of fair-play, should have attempted such injustice. It has been remarked with truth that no tyranny which laborers have suffered from their employers exceeds the tyranny they are willing to inflict upon one another. If this strike could have shown the workmen that they cannot afford, in the long run, to be guilty of injustice, any more than other men, it would 'not have been in vain. But in order to show this, the strike would have had to succeed.

POLITICS IN THE MAGAZINES.

THE FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW (February).—
Russian Finance: The Racking of the Peasantry
is an exceedingly strong article appearing over
the nom de plume of E. B. Lanin. The writer
shows that the rapid financial progress which
Russia has seemed to be making under the guidance of its present Minister of Finance (M.
Vyshnegradsky) is, in reality, only a borrowing
on the future, and that succeeding generations
will have to pay the penalty. Every possible
method has been employed to enrich the government. Its policy of protection is said to amount

almost to prohibition, and to put the McKinley Bill quite in the shade. Russians pay several hundred per cent more for Russian sugar than do English consumers of the same article. Scythes are so scarce that the average peasant farmer uses a crude reaping-hook instead. The rate of interest paid in Russia seems hardly credible. "100 per cent is the usual rate of interest; it often, however, amounts to 300, and sometimes to 800 per cent." The peasantry's condition grows continually worse, and in some sections is already in a state scarcely imaginable.

Public Life and Private Morals, by M., is another contribution on a subject still agitating the public mind in England, and in many respects is the best that has appeared. That this moral outcry is genuine with individuals, and even with certain sections of the nation, he does not question, but he does question its genuineness as coming from the nation as a whole. He does not believe that the character of the nation is such as to demand that its public men should be saints, nor does he see the wisdom or justice in singling out adultery as a crime of crimes, especially since, by granting divorce, marriage becomes but a civil contract.

Two authors attempt to deal with Socialism in this number. The one, David F. Schloss, maintains that The Road to Social Peace, leading out of the slough of Individualism, terminates in a paradise of Socialism. The other, Oscar Wilde, writing under title of The Soul of Man under Socialism, would have us believe that "Socialism itself will be of value simply because it will lead to Individualism." We would recommend that Mr. Schloss take a post-graduate course in Social Economics, and that Mr. Wilde return to the finer arts, with which he seems to be more at home.

THE POPULAR SCIENCE MONTHLY (March).—
Supposed Tendencies to Socialism by Wm. Graham is a chapter from the author's book, "Socialism New and Old," now in press. The paper discusses the prophecies of Karl Marx, Cairnes, and Comte, based on the tendencies of the times in which they wrote, and points out in what respects subsequent history has shown their mistakes. We fail to see the propriety of in-

cluding Herbert Spencer among such prophets, or of his being styled a prophet at all. While Mr. Spencer ventures to predict what will happen as a result if certain events come to pass, we were not aware that he had said that those events were as yet realities.

In Mr. Graham's opinion, the real tendency of the present is toward a "union of capitals for a common purpose," rather than toward a concentration in single hands. If the power thus concentrated should abuse its privileges, he considers the State would in most cases check the abuse, and if correction failed, it could assume its function. He joins the ranks of the optimistic prophets, who think they see in the dim future a better state of affairs, and leaves little doubt in the mind of the reader that he wishes to be classed with the Socialists, though some of his views scarcely accord with that school.

The Tyranny of the State is brought to our notice by Samuel Williams Cooper. No attempt is made to deal in smooth figures of speech. On the contrary, the writer dashes in medias res with a vim quite commendable, and, what is best of all, seems never wanting proofs for his statements.

While we cannot here cite the various instances mentioned wherein the State has exhibited its tyrannical power, we may be allowed the following quotation as one of the writer's conclusions:—

"The influence of custom is so great that the rules laid down by the superior power seem selfjustifying. The struggle between liberty and authority - the man and the tyrant - has given place to a more representative government; but success in politics, as in persons, sometimes brings with it infirmities, and popular control may perpetuate in other forms the wrongs of despots long gone. The question is not new. In some form or other it has been before mankind from the remotest ages. The law that the king could do no wrong has been declared inapplicable to our republican Government. But in the monarch's place appears the hydra-headed tyrant - the State. The authority of this body, more dangerous than the power of the king, presents itself under new conditions that require deep consideration and fundamental treatment."

Other articles are: Government among the Lower Animals, by J. W. Slater, and International Congress of Americanists: Paris Meeting.

AMERICANA.

The record of the first session of the Oklahoma Legislature, filed in the Congressional library, closes with the following resolution:

"WHEREAS, It is now the day of final adjournment of the first Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Oklahoma; and

"WHEREAS, All the members of said Assembly who filed their certificates of election for record among the archives of the Territory of Oklahoma are nowalive. after having passed through the ordeal usually attending legislators without any perceptible danger or marks of displeasure of the Creator of all law-makers; therefore be it

"Resolved by the House of Representatives of said Assembly, That the adoption of this resolution by the House shall be an expression of the members of thanks to him, the Speaker of the Upper House in Heaven, to which House all members of this House should hope to be elected.

The following is an extract from a letter of a South Dakota legislator to his wife: "i cant hardly tell whats goin on when we are all in the meetin to legislat we have so much fun, but i dont have to worry any, someone always tells me what to do and the boys say that i am getin along all rite, and i herd one of them whisper thet he thot i was to be defended on and the other feller said you bet, and they all seem so friendly like, and one of the fellers got drunk today and he come up to me and says old boy youve been bulletined today. You see he was full and so i says i aint trying to bulldoze anythin my friend and he seemed satisfied cause he lasted, i want to be friendly with everybody. You orter heer em when i told em how i was lected i tole em thet i had run for some kind of offls every year sins i came hear and never had any luck afore, but they put me on this year to bust the wring, and i said what prinsipuls will i run on and they said hang the prinsipuls, but get thar eli, then you orter herd em laff. Well i must stop now for the prayer meetin and i will stay till its out and now good by."

And now a New Haven judge decides that the boy who has been dropping three-cent pieces into the stot and taking out ten cent cigars is guilty of stealing. It begins to be apparent that slot-machine law needs elucidation. — Boston Herald.

There is scarcely ever a session of Congress in which bills are not found to contain mistakes in orthography or punctuation. The only wonder is that many more do not occur when it is remembered that all such work, near adjournment, is performed under extraordinary circumstances. All is haste, noise and confusion. Restor sleep is unknown oftentimes for two or three days and nights in succession. The clerks become nervous, wearied, and sometimes wholly exhausted by the intense strain and prolonged physical labor.

Probably the smallest, and apparently most insignificant, of all such blunders was the most expensive one of the kind ever made. It occurred in a tariff bill more than twenty years ago. There was a section enumerating what articles should be admitted free of duty. Among the articles specified were "all foreign fruitplants," etc., meaning plants imported for transplanting, propagation or experiment. The enrolling clerk, in copying the bill, accidentally changed the hyphen in the compound word "fruit-plants" to a comma, making it read "All foreign fruit, plants," etc. The consequence was that for a year, until Congress could remedy the blunder, all the oranges, lemons, bananas, grapes and other foreign fruits were admitted free of duty. This little mistake, which the most careful man might easily have made, cost the government about \$2,000,000. — Philadelphia Press.

The Missouri Legislature has invented a beer inspection bill and it is not patented. The measure is receiving some commendation on the ground that deputies can be had without paying a salary. Yes, but unless the number is limited, there will soon have to be a cheaper quality of beer for these who pay. — Galveston News.

A member of the Legislature who indulged in afternoon naps, requested his friend to awaken him when the lumber act came on. His friend forgot to do so, but accidentally gave him a jog as the House was discussing a bill to prevent fraud. The sleeper started up suddenly, rubbed his eyes, and exclaimed: "Mr. Speaker, a word upon that bill, for more than half my constituents get their living in no other way."— New England Magazine.

When George Washington Quay's father asked the young man if he had been plying his hatchet on the cherry-tree, George's breast heaved with emotion as he exclaimed in manly tones, "I cannot tell a lie, my dear father. I have n't had my hatchet in my hand for a week."

"Rush to my arms, my dear son," cried the old gentleman. "I'd rather have a thousand trees than one boy."

When George got out of earshot, his first act was to congratulate himself upon his happy deliverance. "How lucky it was," said he, "that I did it with an axe and not with a hatchet!"—Boston Transcript.

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LEGISLATIVE.

Congress. - Both branches reached final adjournment at noon, March 4, after passing all the appropriation bills. The Post-office Appropriation Bill retains the amendment appropriating \$1,250,000 for transportation of the foreign mails. The General Deficiency Bill retains the amendment making an appropriation to pay the French spoliation claims. The Senate Meat Inspection Bill was passed without amendments. The bill for the relief of the Supreme Court, as passed, provides for the appointment of an additional Circuit Court judge in each of the nine existing circuits, and creates in each circuit a court of appeals, to consist of three judges, of whom two shall constitute a quorum, and which shall be a court of record, with appellate jurisdiction. Each one of these nine courts is to have a clerk and a marshal with about the same powers as now provided for the marshal of the Supreme Court of the United States. The three judges who are to constitute this Court of Appeals in each circuit are to consist of the two circuit judges and a district judge, or a justice of the Supreme Court and two circuit judges. One or more of the district judges within the circuit are to be competent to sit in the court by general or particular assignment. All appeals from the district courts hereafter are to be taken to this Court of Appeals, or to the United States Supreme Court, which will leave the existing circuit courts free to transact original business.

The appropriations made by the Fifty-first Congress are as follows:—

Agricultural .		•				\$ 4,827,253
Army			•			48,810,000
Diplomatic and	l Cons	ılar				3,367,740
District of Col	umbia					11,372,669
Fortifications .						8,007,738
Indian						23,389,016
Legislative .						43,084,278
Military Acade	my					837,360
Naval	٠.					55,677,689
Pensions						233,672,246
Post-office .						150,133,920
Rivers and Ha	rbors					25,136,295
Sundry Civil .						67,247,645
Deficiency .						76,617,448
Miscellaneous						27,737,905
Indefinite App	ropriat	ion s			•	2,236,000
Total annu	al.					\$782,155,210
Permanent .	•	•		•		227,115,261
Grand Tota	al.				. :	\$1,009,270,471

The Copyright Bill was passed, the Senate receding from the amendment admitting the importation of books on payment of duty.

The Senate rejected the Brussel's treaty for the suppression of the African slave trade and traffic in spirits and firearms, on the ground that the treaty would involve interference with private enterprises and entangling alliances.

The bill to prohibit pool selling in the District of Columbia was vetoed by the President.

Although the House disagreed to the appropriation in the Agricultural Appropriation Bill of \$150,000 for seeds for destitute persons in the West, and by a yea-and-nay vote struck the appropriation from the bill, the engrossed act as signed by the President, and as it will go on the statute-books, contains the provision appropriating the sum for seeds. The paragraph was inserted in the bill by an error of the engrossing clerks, but as the President is empowered to withhold any appropriation, the sum for seeds will not be paid this year.

The legislation enacted in the ratification of various treaties heretofore concluded between commissioners on the part of the United States and the various Indian tribes will result in the opening up of over 8,000,000 acres of the public land to settlement. The aggregate cost to the

Government of this land will be about \$9,000,000. About 5,000,000 acres of the land that will be thus thrown open is in the vicinity of Oklahoma, and includes lands occupied by the Sacs and Foxes, the Iowas, the Pottawatomies, the Cheyennes, the Arapahoes. The remaining 3,000.000 acres is made up of lands heretofore occupied by the Sisseton and Wahpeton Indians in Dakota, the Cœur d'Alene in Idaho, the Crow Indians in Montana, and the Sioux Indians on the Fort Berthold reservation in Dakota.

The number of bills and resolutions introduced in the Fifty-first Congress exceeded by twenty per cent the number introduced in the Fiftieth Congress. Of the number introduced (nearly 20,000) only 2,186 are now on the statute-books. Altogether, only fourteen bills were vetoed by the President.

Among the bills which have become laws are: the copyright bill; the private land court bill; the postal subsidy bill; the Indian depredations claim bill; the timber and pre-emption law repeal bill; the customs administrative bill; a general land forfeiture bill; the bill to relieve the Supreme Court by the establishment of intermediate circuit courts of appeal; the United States judges' salaries bill; the world's fair bill; the Wyoming and Idaho admission bills; the anti-lottery and anti-trust bills; the reapportionment bill; the immigration bill; the bill to ratify agreements with various Indian tribes and to pay the friendly Sioux \$100,000; to reduce the fees of pension agents; to pay the French spoliation claims; the meat inspection bill; the bill to prevent the importation of adulterated food and drink; the live-cattle and hog inspection bill; to permit sorghum sugar manufacturers to use alcohol without payment of tax; to limit to sixty per cent of the rates charged private parties the rates the land grant railroads shall charge for transportation of Government troops and supplies; for the relief of settlers on the Northern Pacific Railroad indemnity lands; to permit the export of fermented liquors to a foreign country without the payment of a tax; to apply the proceeds of the sales of public lands and the receipts from certain land grant railroads to the support of agricultural and industrial colleges; to amend the interstate commerce act so as to give the Commissioner full powers in respect to making inquiries; providing that applications to purchase forfeited railroad lands shall begin to run from the date of the restoration of the lands to settlement and sale; to extend the time of payment for public lands in cases of failures of the crops; to issue one thousand stands of arms to North and South Dakota, Wyoming, Montana, and Nebraska; for the inspection of cattle steamers in order to secure more humane treatment of cattle; providing that the life-saving appliances act shall not apply to the lakes and bays of the United States; to enable the postmaster-general to expend \$10,000 to test the free delivery system in small towns; to create the customs districts of North and South Dakota and Puget Sound, and for the erection, repair, or enlargement of many public buildings.

The Blair educational bill, the bill for the appointment of an alcoholic liquor commission, and the "eight-hour" claims bill are measures which were defeated on test votes; while among those which, after passing one House failed of action in the other, are the bankruptcy bill, the Conger lard bill, and the army reorganization bill.

The Paddock pure food bill, the Nicaragua Canal bill, the Pacific Railroad funding bill, and the interstate commerce bill (to permit limited pooling of earnings by railroad companies) are among the measures which failed to reach a vote in either House.

The following are some of the Senate bills which failed to pass the House: To provide for the free coinage of silver; enlarging the rights of homesteaders and pre-emptors on the public lands; reviving the grade of lieutenant-general of the army; for a boarding vessel at Chicago, and for the exploration and survey of the interior of Alaska.

The following House bills failed to pass the Senate: To transfer the revenue marine service to the navy; to authorize the construction of a tunnel under the Detroit River at Detroit, Mich.; for the relief of telegraph operators during the war.

Among the measures on which neither House acted (except in some cases by committees) were the sub-treasury and farm mortgage bills; the service pension bill; the Canadian reciprocity resolution; the bill to encourage the construction of an inter-continental railway; the postal savings bank and postal telegraph bills; the Butler bill to aid negroes to immigrate to Africa; woman suffrage and prohibition constitutional amendments; the income tax bill, and various other radical financial and political measures.

At a meeting of Conservative members of Parliament and influential representatives of the British colonies to-day, called to consider the trading relations existing between the colonies and the motherland, a committee was appointed for the purpose of organizing a free trade association.

JUDICIAL.

Judge Pryor, in the Court of Common Pleas, New York, handed down an opinion in a suit brought by the DeWitt Wire Cloth Company against the New Jersey Wire Cloth Company to recover for goods sold and delivered. companies were members of the Wire Cloth Trust. The New Jersey company had deposited two thousand dollars with a trust company, to be forfeited to the other companies in the trust in case it should violate the trust agreement. It was declared to have violated the agreement, and the two thousand dollars was forfeited. The DeWitt Company received five hundred dollars of the forfeit money as its share. When later it sued the New Jersey Company, as above stated, that company interposed as a counter claim the five hundred dollars forfeit money, claiming that the DeWitt Company was not legally entitled to it. The DeWitt Company challenged the validity of the counter claim in a demurrer.

In his opinion sustaining this demurrer, Judge Pryor says: —

"The declared purpose of the agreement is to enable the association, as between its members, to regulate the price of the commodity in which they deal, and this result is accomplished by empowering the association to fix a price and by binding its members under a penalty not to sell below the sum so prescribed. Since all the members are to sell for the same price, of course competition between them is impossible, and, having power to fix the price, they will be impelled by the irresistible operation of self-interest to raise that price to the highest attainable figure. Here, then, is an agreement of which the inevitable effect is, in conformity with its proclaimed design, to restrict competition in trade and to arbitrarily enchance the price of a commodity of commerce. That such a contract is is repugnant to public policy, and so unlawful, is a settled principle in the jurisprudence of this country. The people have a right to the necessaries and conveniences of life at a price determined by the relation of supply and demand, and the law forbids any agreement or combination whereby that price is removed beyond the salutary influence of legitimate competition.

"By the overwhelming, if not uniform, current of authority the agreement under criticism is condemned as contrary to public policy and as illegal. Nor is the operation of the rule forbidding contracts, restricting competition, and enchancing price limited to trade in the necessaries of life, but, as appears from the cases cited, extends equally to all commodities of commerce. Neither need the agreement or combination, in order to expose it to the denunciation of the law, constitute a complete monopoly or effect a total suppression of competition, but the language of courts and of writers is that if the agreement or combination tends to

monopoly, or to reduce or lesson competition, it is contrary to public policy and unlawful, because operating pro tanto an artificial enchancement of price.

"It results, therefore, that as defendant's counter claim demands the repayment of money received by plaintiff upon an illegal agreement, the Court will not interpose for its restriction."

The Supreme Court of Missouri has just made a decision of considerable political interest. Patrick O'Malley and J. J. O'Neill were candidates last fall for the Democratic nomination for Congressman from the Eighth District. Both claimed that they had been nominated at the nominating primary. O'Malley's claim was evidently not regarded as well founded, for the Secretary of State denied his application for a certificate of nomination under the State Election law. Meanwhile the State Democratic Central Committee determined to settle the dispute. They directed that another primary should be held, both contestants agreeing to submit to its decision. O'Neill got the nomination and was elected. O'Malley applied to the Supreme Court for a writ of peremptory mandamus to compel the Secretary of State to give him a certificate of nomination. His chief ground was that the Democratic Central Committee had no authority to interfere in the affair. The Court has denied the writ, and holds that, as a State Central Committee is accepted as the executive machinery of a political party, its decision must be regarded as conclusive. Both parties to the contest, having agreed to accept the decision of the Democratic Central Committee, are estopped from appealing to the courts against that decision.

An interesting question in connection with prohibition is to be brought to a judicial test in Iowa. The United States Government, in the administration of the Internal Revenue law, grants a permit for the sale of liquor, in return for the tax which it collects. In so doing, it pays no heed to the policy of States, but it is much more watchful than State authorities in seeing that liquor is not sold without its permit and the payment of the tax. Liquor sellers in Maine and Iowa, where their traffic is prohibited by State laws, get certificates from the United States internal revenue officers permitting them to sell in return for the payment of the prescribed tax. Of course, this is permission only so far as the Government has authority to grant it, and may convey no privilege and afford no protection to the holder. That is the question which an Iowa dealer who is under prosecution proposes to test.

He has obtained a writ transferring the case under injunction proceedings to the United States Court.

In the case of The Georgia Railroad Company v. Dougherty, it appeared that the appellee purchased at night from the agent of the railroad company a ticket for passage over its road to Atlanta, paying for the same. When called upon she presented this ticket to the conductor, but it appearing to be for passage to Asheville, N. C., he declined to allow her to proceed. She stated to him the circumstances under which she bought the ticket, and the fact that her trunk had been checked to Atlanta on it (which he subsequently ascertained for himself), and that she had no money with which to pay fare; but he ejected her from the train at a station where there were no accommodations, and from which she had to walk about two miles to secure a place to lodge. The court, in sustaining a verdict in favor of the appellee, held that, having applied for a proper ticket, she was entitled to rely upon the one delivered by the agent as the proper one without examining it, there being no intervening circumstances requiring her to do so.

In a case against a railroad company for damages from the flooding of lands by an opening made through the roadbed of a passing railroad contrary to an act of Legislature, the New Jersey Supreme Court held that the partial removal of the roadbed was not actionable, and that the iaw forbidding the cutting through such roadbed was void, as the Legislature cannot circumscribe the right of the land-owner in the legal use of his own property.

A point of banking law was recently raised before a New York judge. A depositor had sent the sum of \$533 to the North River Bank on the day of that institution's failure, instructing his messenger to inquire of Pres. Gedney whether the bank was sound, and to deposit or not deposit the money according to the answer he received. Rumors of an impending crisis in the bank's affairs were at that time in circulation. The president assured the depositor that the money might safely be left, and it was. A few hours later the failure was announced. Now, the Court decides that the depositor is entitled to receive the whole amount of his deposit with interest, and that the president ought to have warned him of the approaching trouble.

In the United States Circuit Court at Keokuk, Ia., an opinion was handed down in the case of the United States v. The Keokuk and Hamilton Bridge Company. In the petition it was alleged that the Secretary of War, having reason to believe the Keokuk and Hamilton bridge was an obstruction to the free navigation of the river by reason of its location, gave due and legal notice to the company to alter the bridge so as to render navigation through and under it free and unobstructed. Judge Shiras decides in favor of the bridge company, holding that Congress can't, without abdicating its paramount and conclusive authority in the regulation of the commercial highways of the country, confer upon the Secretary of War the right to declare that bridges lawfully erected are obstructions to free navigation, and must be remodelled or removed.

The federal Supreme Court has made an important change in its rules, the effect of which is to compel the docketing of each case brought before it within thirty days from the time the appeal is taken from the decision of the lower court. All appeals, writs of error, and citations must be made returnable to the Supreme Court by the lower courts within this period of thirty days, unless for some good reason a special order is made in any case. This change in the rules is of equal force whether the court is in session or in vacation, and unless cases, with the records, are docketed within the prescribed period of thirty days they will be dismissed.

The Michigan Supreme Court has declared the law fixing railroad fare at two cents per mile constitutional.

INDUSTRIAL.

At the conference of the different labor and farmers' organizations recently held in Washington, the delegates have decided to form a confederation of State organizations, and have adopted a common platform, which presents the following demands:—

"1. The abolition of national banks as banks of issue, and as a substitute for national bank-notes, we demand that legal Treasury notes be issued in sufficient volume to transact the business of the country without damage or especial advantage to any class or calling, such notes to be legal tender in payment of all debts public and private, and such notes when demanded by farmers shall be loaned to them at not more than two per cent per annum upon non-perishable products, as indicated in the sub-treasury plan, and also upon real estate, with proper limitation upon the quantity of land and amount of money.

"2. A free and unlimited coinage of silver.

"3. The passage of laws prohibiting alien ownership of land, and that Congress take prompt action to devise some plan to obtain all lands now owned by aliens and foreign syndicates, and that all lands held by railroads and other corporations in excess of such as is actually used and needed by them be reclaimed by the Government and held for actual settlers only.

- "4. Taxation, national, State, or municipal, shall not be used to build up one interest or class at the expense of another.
- "5. All revenues shall be limited to the necessary expenses of the Government.
- "6. A just and equitable system of graduated tax on incomes.
- "7. The most rigid, honest, and just and national control and supervision of the means of public communication and transportation, and if this control and supervision does not remove the abuses now existing, we demand the Government ownership of such means of communication and transportion.
- "8. That the Congress of the United States submit an amendment to the Constitution providing for the election of United States Senators by the direct vote of the people of each State; also the President and Vice-President by a popular vote.
- "9. That in each State a system shall be provided and faithfully executed that will insure an honest and accurate registration of all voters, a free, fair, secret, and official ballot, and an honest, public count, and that each State Legislature shall make it a felony for any improper interference with the exercise of the registration, ballot, or count."

The Chicago Trades Assembly, representing 47,000 workmen, one of whose members was given a seat in the World's Fair directory in recognition of the \$300,000 subscribed by workmen to the Guarantee Fund of the fair, is indignant at the directory's indicated intention of refusing to recognize Union labor on the works of the fair. The following resolution was adopted at a meeting:

"Resolved, That we, as union men, protest against this treacherous action of the Directors of the World's Columbian Exposition, and unless immediate action is taken by that body to redeem their implied pledges given in regard to Union labor, that we shall deem it our duty to oppose in every way any further legislation, either Municipal, State or National, in favor of said World's Columbian Exposition; and we hereby recommend all workingmen who have subscribed for said stock to decline to pay any further assessments until proper assurances are given by the Directors that said implied pledges will be kept.

"Resolved, That unless satisfactory assurances are given by the Directors, that their indicated action will be changed, we shall deem it our duty to ask the co-operation of every body of organized labor throughout the country to assist us in making our protest emphatic."

In New Jersey a co-operative town is to be built and called Graceland. The work is going on rapidly, contracts for a complete system of water works and asphalt drives and walks having been already given out. It has been known for some time that an experiment was contemplated in the vicinity of New York on a sort of modification of Edward Bellamy's principles.

While the plan of management of this new settlement is not by any means an exact copy of Bellamy's principles, its projector has taken many hints from "Looking Backward," for in Graceland there will be the proverbial co-operative store, opera-house, public library, water works, roads, and all other institutions, on the plan suggested by Bellamy and other advocates of co-operation. Speculation will be discouraged as much as possible, the management having declared that no one shall be allowed to purchase any of the building lots for speculative purposes, and every one one who buys must build at once or forfeit his claim to land in the settlement. The plans for the opera-house provide for an elaborate two-story building, the ground floor of which will be occupied by the co-operative store. These institutions will be managed by a committee selected by the settlers. and no profits will be allowed above the cost of management. Accordingly, it is argued there will be no greedy managers and ticket speculators to harass and annoy the theatre-going public.

An attempt is being made to keep the settlement as exclusive as possible, by a rule which provides that no residence shall be erected at a cost of less than \$1,500, while the houses erected on the principal avenue must cost at least \$3,000. Then there is a system of sick benefits for the members of the settlement who may be in financial distress, and in case of a member's death his family will be given a receipt in full for the amount of his indebtedness. This will, of course, make it necessasy to rule out invalids. The projector says that the settlement is to be founded and carried on on the principle that landlordism should be abolished, as it is a menace to the happiness and high development of the human race.

It is believed by the carpenters of Boston and vicinity that in order to succeed in establishing the eight-hour day during 1891 they must have the support of every workman directly connected with the building trade. A conference of the different branches of the trade will be held to adjust matters and decide upon the terms of support.

The Railway Employees' Club, of Minnesota, has presented a memorial to the Committee on Railroads of the Lower House in the Legislature asking for the rejection of the bill enlarging the powers of the Railroad Commissioners. The memorial says:—

"The Currier Bill makes it the duty of the Railway Commission, within sixty days, to fix the rates for the roads in this State; in other words, they are arbitrarily to say how much each company shall earn; they are to say how much each company shall have to pay wages with. That means that the bread and butter of every railroad man depends upon what three politicians, — meeting in a room in the Capitol, — who know nothing about the business, shall say. Is that fair treatment to 19,000 as good men as there are in this State or in any other State, who earn their living by their labor? Is that fair to the families depending on them?

"How has the Iowa law affected the railway employees of that State? It has reduced the number of men employed from 30,236 to 24,622, and the wages paid them from \$15,619,417.16 to \$14,212,590.27. Over 5,000 men have lost their jobs. It is safe to say that their families amount to 15,000 more people, who have lost their dependence for support. The solid business men of the State, farmers, manufacturers, merchants, are opposed to the law, as we believe. It has stopped all railroad building in the State; there was only one mile built in Iowa in 1890, as we are told. It has helped one set of politicians turn out another set. What do they care whether men get good wages for good work or not?"

The Central Labor Union of Chicago has presented the following demands to the directory of the World's Fair Committee:—

- "1. The employment of union labor as far as possible.
 - 2. Eight hours.
- 3. Preference given to local residents and American citizens.
- 4. A minimum rate of wages of \$1.50 per day of eight hours for unskilled, unorganized labor.
- 5. The establishment of a system of arbitration to include all cases of disputes between employers and employees."

There is a lockout in all the planing mills of Indianapolis, Ind., on account of the refusal of the employers to grant an increase of twenty-five per cent in wages demanded by the workmen.

The extensive railroad shops of the New York, Lake Erie & Western Railroad in Susquehanna have been placed on eight hours' time.

At a meeting of the Pavers' Union of Boston, it was voted to send the following notice to all contractor pavers and corporations: "That nine hours shall constitute a day's work, with

eight on Saturdays, and that for overtime and Sundays men shall be paid time and one half." It was decided to make these demands on April 1.

A nine-hour work-day and \$3 per day for floormen and \$4 for firemen is what the Journeymen Horseshoers of Boston and vicinity demand of their employers. The master horseshoers are in favor of granting the request, and of forming an association for the purpose of advancing the price of setting shoes.

The granite-cutters, tool-sharpeners, and quarrymen of Concord and West Concord, N. H., have given notice that they expect manufacturers to adopt a new bill of prices shortly.

The labor troubles in Great Britain and the demand for labor legislation have led Parliament to order a labor commission to whom shall be committed the task of devising a settlement of the industrial difficulties. The causes and remedies for strikes will be considered, as well as agricultural interests.

The Labor Council of the port of London is considering the expediency of ordering a general strike in response to the manifesto issued against the dockers by the Shipping Federation.

The police of Berlin, Germany, have entered upon a conflict with their superiors. Underpayment is at the bottom of the trouble. The policeman receives from thirty to thirty-five marks per month, aside from his clothes. He pays eighteen marks per year into the pension fund. The pensions these men receive after ten, twenty, or thirty years of service are 108, 147, and 215 marks per annum respectively. Recently the Police President decreed that pensioners who are still able to perform any kind of remunerative work will hereafter be excluded from the benefit as long as their ability te earn a penny lasts. The overburdening of the fund is given as the reason for this arbitrary decree, which came like a thunderbolt on the heads of the poor men who now for the first time learn that they have been paying half their lifetime into a fund the control of which is entirely at the discretion of their chief officer, who manages it after regulations laid down in the year 1848. Long and demonstrative petitions have been drawn up by the victims of red-tape protesting against the proposed forstalling of their pensions, and a mass meeting is to be held if the Chief of Police gives his consent. If this fails to bring about the recall of the order an appeal will be made to the Emperor.



IN GENERAL.

At the final session of the National Council of Women, at Washington, resolutions were adopted as follows:—

That the National Council of Women of the United States send a memorial to the clergymen of the Methodist Episcopal Church, asking, inasmuch as 62 per cent of the membership of that denomination has already, by formal ballot, expressed a desire that women be admitted to the general conference, that the clergy shall, in accordance with the will of the laity, grant the admission of women to that body.

That the council ask that women be placed on the Sunday School Lesson Committee, and on all committees appointed in the various churches for the revision of their creeds.

That the council urge upon the National Reform Divorce League the eminent fitness and consequent obligation of placing women on its board.

That the National Council of Women shall present to the proper authorities a formal request that in all departments of its service the Government shall pay its employes equal wages for equal work, and that, both in engaging and promoting its employees, it shall consider efficiency and not sex, and thus set a standard for the country.

That the general officers shall appoint a committee of women, whose duty it shall be to report within a year suggestions for a business costume for women which shall meet demands of health, comfort, and good taste.

That the council approves the movement for preventing the slaughter of birds for the sole purpose of ornamentation.

Before the Society of Medical Jurisprudence Judge McAdam, of New York, stated recently that out of 17,000 alleged insane patients in that State not over 1,000 had been sent to insane asylums through a properly constituted court, with a competent jury to decide upon their sanity.

Farmers' Leagues are being organized in Connecticut for the purpose of obtaining a balance of political power. Each member is pledged to do all in his power to advance the Leagues' interests in politics.

In the Canadian elections the Tories have won by reduced majorities. In the new House of Commons they will have a majority from twenty to twenty-six less than in the last House.

The Norwegian Cabinet has resigned, the Storthing having adopted by a vote of 59 to 55 a Liberal motion censuring the diplomatic arrangements of the government. The Liberals demanded greater independence for Norway in the foreign

policy of Scandinavia. The government opposed the demand on the ground that it would tend to the dissloution of the union with Sweden.

The Holy Synod of Russia has sent an address to Queen Victoria which is a paraphrase of the memorial of the Lord Mayor of London to the Czar on the subject of the persecution of the Jews, except that for Jews the Roman Catholics of England and Ireland are substituted. The Queen is begged by the Russian Synod to remove the yoke of exceptional and restrictive laws which oppresses her Catholic subjects, "making them a pariah caste, degraded as if an accursed race." As the Lord Mayor said of the Russian Jews, these Catholics are described as serving in certain regiments beyond their due proportion, and yet forbidden the liberty of striving for the loftiest civil places. Russia is held up to England, as England was held up to Russia, as an example of religious toleration. "We who have learned to tolerate all creeds," says the address, "beseech your Majesty to order the repeal of those laws that afflict the Catholics," "the representatives of a creed which is the mother of our religion and yours."

Three casual paupers charged at Bishop Stortford's the other day with refusing to pick oakum made the following defence. Three paupers, understand, - not three murderers, or three burglars, or three forgers, or three wifebeaters, - but three men whose only offence is that they are without visible means of subsistence: "The prisoners, in defence, said the oakum cages were in a field, on bare ground. They were exposed to the weather, and a human being would die if placed there twenty-four hours. It was snowing, and they refused to go into the cages, but offered to break stones. The lions in Wombwell's Menagerie were better housed. They could not sit down except on the bare earth, and they asked the magistrate to condemn the cages." Nevertheless, the magistrate came to the conclusion that "he could not interfere," and the men were awarded seven days' imprisonment. In the course of the case it was stated that the 'cages' in question had been 'passed' by the Government Inspector." -London Truth.

During the eviction of the families of the striking coal-miners from the houses on the estates in the coal district near Durham, Ireland, a furious fight took place, in which the police used their batons freely, and the strikers sticks and stones. Many persons were injured on both sides.

TO-DAY, MARCH 12, 1891.

A record of the facts and considerations which show that Individual Liberty is good for the people of the United States, and that, therefore, Legislative Regulation is injurious for them.

J. MORRISON-FULLER, WALTER C. Rose, Editors.

The Boston Journal is authority for the statement that of three hundred and twenty-two bills for the erection of public buildings introduced into the last Congress only eighty-nine became laws. It is not always safe to rely implicitly upon the statements of the Journal, but we hope this one may be accurate, because in that case it can be said that in one matter at any rate the Fifty-first Congress did not do nearly so badly as it might have done.

The appropriations made by the Congress just adjourned are estimated at a thousand million dollars, or sixteen dollars for each man, woman, and child in the country. It is not surprising that a beggarly surplus of a hundred millions could not suffice for such a Congress and that there will probably be a deficit to be made up by further taxation. This country may confidently look forward to occupying the proud position of the most highly-taxed country in the world—and the one, it may be added, whose public revenue is expended in the most rascally manner.

A thousand millions does not by any means represent the cost of the Fifty-first Congress to the country. In the first place, many of the appropriations run for a term of years, like the increase in the pensions; in the second place, the injury done to the economic interests of the country by the bad laws passed must be taken into consideration. There is no means of estimating the amount of this injury, but it would have to be placed at much more than a thousand millions. Then one might reckon the moral corruption produced upon the nation by the spectacle of such a body of men holding positions of honor and trust and giving laws and administering the public funds. Altogether, reckoning only the palpable and indisputable cost, a thousand millions seems a high price to pay for the performances of such a Congress.

A Right or a Duty?

Elsewhere in this issue we record two anti-trust decisions. For many years, in fact, the courts have outlawed trusts by refusing to enforce their agree-

ments, holding them to be in restraint of trade and legitimate competition. "It is a settled principle in the jurisprudence of this country," says a New York judge, that contracts whose effect is to restrict competition and enhance prices are "repugnant to public policy, and so unlawful." The people, he declares, have a right to the commodities they consume at a price determined by supply and demand, and the law forbids combinations removing prices beyond the influence of competition. Of course, if the law forbids such combinations, it forbids them, and that settles it. With the justice of the law itself the judges are not concerned; but the people are, and for them it is really high time to reflect upon the ineffable absurdity of such a law. Were it not for the nonsensical agitations of Socialists and other protectionists against all kinds of private combinations and associations, it could not but be conceded that competition is a right, not a duty, and that the man who is allowed to put his own price upon his article must also be allowed to act in combination with other men owning similar articles. That which one person may legitimately do cannot be illegitimate when done by many, The essential character of an act is not affected by the number of agents co-operating in its accomplishment. Men may certainly combine for purposes which individually they have the right to pursue. Suppose that a man who sells a given commodity at a given price becomes aware of the existence of a competitor in his neighborhood; suppose, further, that the competitor sells similar articles at the same prices as he: is he obliged to raise or lower his prices, - that is, compete with the other? May he not rightfully continue to sell at his old price? If so, can he be debarred from making an agreement with his competitor to sell at a certain prices? The simple truth is that the hue and cry against trusts is wholly irrational, and that the talk about the rights of the people in this relation is sickening cant, whether indulged in by judges on the bench or Nationalists on street corners.

Nothing can tend so powerfully to establish the principle that competition is a right, and not a duty, as the determination of the enemies of trusts to be consistent and logical. Referring to the necessity of anti-trust legislation, the New York Times said recently:—

"Commonly the suits have been brought by the Trust organization to restrain a member from violating the compact. The litigation has been the result of a quarrel in the ring; the people have not appeared as prosecutors. . . . The attitude of the

courts toward such agreements has been revealed only when the trusts themselves, or members of them, have asked for a decision. If the people must wait for the trust combinations to take their contracts into court, they can expect no substantial relief, for only under exceptional conditions will trust makers ask the courts for aid.

"But if the rule set forth in all these decisions is a sound one, —if such agreements are contrary to public policy, and so injurious to the public that the courts must denounce them and refuse to sustain them, — surely the people who suffer by reason of such contracts should be enabled in some way to proceed against them in the courts, and to prevent the harmful maintenance of them by the enforcement of some statute."

This position is certainly a sound one. If trusts are criminal conspiracies, the people should be afforded an opportunity to make a direct attack upon them. The friends of liberty may congratulate themselves over the demand for specific legislation against trusts, for only in this effort to define the status of trusts precisely and consistently is to be discerned the possibility of vindicating the fundamental truth, if not the self-evident maxim, that whatever is lawful when done by one person is not an offence when undertaken by a combination of several.

The Election in Canada. The Canadian elections just concluded have excited more interest in this country than such elections usually excite, because it was thought that on the result depended in some measure the chance of a reciprocity treaty between that country and the United States. The party supposed to be averse to such a treaty carried the day; so that trade between the two countries will probably continue to be obstructed.

The arguments used in the campaign were of much the same character as we are accustomed to in political campaigns here - that is, were not properly arguments at all. The only consideration of any real weight against reciprocity was advanced by the London Economist. As Canada has a so-called protective tariff a little more than half as high as ours, it might be thought that she would be conceding less to admit our goods free than we should to admit hers. But the goods which she sends to us pay an exceptionally low rate of duty. At present the Canadian government derives about \$7,000,000 revenue from imports from the United States. revenue would, of course, cease under the treaty, and would have to be made up by increasing other taxes. The treaty, with the extension of

trade which it would permit, would still be an advantage to Canada, however, if her inhabitants could buy goods from us for the present price minus the duty. But as her tariff would exclude the goods from other nations which would otherwise compete with ours in her markets, the effect would probably be that the \$7,000,000 now collected by the Canadian government upon imports from this country would be collected by American manufacuturers. It is not likely that we should sell goods to Canada any cheaper than we were obliged to, treaty or no treaty. If the duties now collected upon the goods we send there were removed, we could afford to land goods there for less than we can now; but there would be no temptation to do so. As the duties would be retained upon the same goods coming from other nations, we could keep prices up to where they are now, and pocket the amount now raised in duties. Here is a sound argument against a reciprocity treaty between Canada and this country, from the Canadian point of view. It is not likely that the former would wish to protect American manufacturers. It is not likely, however, that this argument had a tenth as much influence in determining the result of the elections as the appeals to ignorance and religious and national prejudices made by the Conservatives.

Many years ago, when Mr. Gladstone was becoming prominent as "the rising hope of those stern and unbending Tories who follow, reluctantly and mutinously, a leader whose experience and eloquence are indispensable to them, but whose cautious temper and moderate opinions they abhor," he published a work entitled "The State in its Relations with the Church." In this book he maintained that "Government occupies in moral the place of rò wār in physical science," and that therefore the state should establish a church and teach religion. In reviewing the work, Lord Macaulay said:—

"If government be indeed ro wav in moral science we do not understand why rulers should not assume all the functions which Plato assigned to them. Why should they not take away the child from the mother, select the nurse, regulate the school, overlook the playground, fix the hours of labour and of recreation, prescribe what ballads shall be sung, what tunes shall be played, what books shall be read, what physic shall be swallowed? Why should they not choose our wives, limit our expenses, and stint us to a certain number of dishes of meat, of glasses of wine, and of cups of tea?"

More than fifty years have elapsed since these words were written, and England has made great progress towards confiding to her rulers those functions which Macaulay thought so absurd. It is not an uncommon thing for a child to be taken away from its parents if they do not treat it as certain State officials think they ought to. The greater number of schools have been taken wholly in charge, and the rest are inspected and regulated. The hours of labor and recreation, especially for women and children, have been prescribed to a great extent. A man was recently ordered to enter recognizance in two pounds to keep the peace, the only crime alleged being the singing of a certain song. A kind of censorship of the press exists. While compulsory vaccination is not exactly the same as prescribing what physic shall be swallowed, the principle is the same. The State never has appointed officers to choose wives for citizens, but there is a large number who would like to see many men forbidden to have any wife at all; and a still larger number wish to prevent absolutely the drinking of wine. The ideas of Plato seem in a fair way to triumph - all except one. He thought that wise men ought to be selected as rulers, and he knew that there was no chance of this as long as they were chosen by the common people. Macaulay was not ignorant of history. He knew that many of the things he regarded as absurd had been tried by governments. But he knew, further, that the result of the governments' doing those things had been evil. The contrast between him and those who wish to extend State action is that most of them are ignorant of history, and the rest do not know that the result of the measures they advocate has been evil whenever they have been tried. Their minds are so filled with the fact that at such a time a certain law was passed with such and such ceremonics that there is no room left for the consideration, whether the results of the law were good or bad.

Legislation and York tunnel has directed public attention to the legislation against stoves in passenger cars. The indignation over the failure of the New Haven Company to remove the stoves and substitute steam heat is as boundless as it is universal. It appears that but a few days before the New York wreck the railroad commissioners of Massachusetts submitted a report to the Legislature in which

they declared that, "in the present development of train-heating systems there would be no excuse for the management of a railroad on which there should be any loss of life by fire started by individual heaters." The loss of life having occurred, the public indignation is great. But, as is commonly the case, the good people are slow in learning the real lesson of the deplorable accident. The New Haven Register unfolds this interesting tale:—

"For years the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad has been conspicuously opposed to the substitution of steam for car stoves. Every excuse that an elastic imagination is capable of making has been made to delay a peremptory order to make the change. The heater (stove) has been declared the only safe means of heating cars, all other methods being condemned as imperfect and unsatisfactory. Bills have been introduced in every Legislature for years prohibiting the use of car stoves by railroads in this State, but in every instance the magic of railroad influence has succeeded in strangling them at their birth. Occasionally an aroused public sentiment, the outcome of a timely accident and holocaust elsewhere, has required the use of extra influence, but, unless we are mistaken, no one of these bills ever succeeded in finding its way from the committee room into either House. They have all died a-borning, and a community not very vigilant in watching legislation has soon forgotten that the effort was ever made.

"A stringent law was passed a few years ago in New York State, but thus far the consolidated road has succeeded in escaping its enforcement. It has attacked it in every court up to the highest, and has been as persistently defeated. It is now, we believe, straining every nerve to secure from the General Assembly of that State an exemption from its operation on some one or more of the many plausible arguments successfully made in the committee-rooms of our own State Legislature."

The Register does not believe that the company will succeed in its object, for "general attention having been drawn to the fact that it is evading a law . . . public opinion is sure to assert itself." In other words, while legislation against stove heating has proved futile, public indignation, aroused by "timely" catastrophes and wrecks, has brought about certain improvements, and is expected to be productive of further improvements. But, then, what is the use of legislation? If nothing can be done without the aid of "timely accidents," why appeal to the legislators at all? It ought to be easy for those who admit that legislation has not prevented catastrophes to see the folly of depending on legislation, even though they may not see - what, nevertheless, is true and manifest — that between legislation against stoves, and fires from them, there is

a relation of cause and effect. Did not the people trust to legislation so much they would watch the policy of railroad companies, and compel them to adopt all necessary precautions. They would not need to be aroused by actual disasters; the possibility of disaster would make them viligant and careful in dispensing their custom, and under such conditions no railroad could afford to display indifference to public safety. The consciousness that legislators are regulating the matter removes anxiety and occasions a feeling of unconcern and a sense of security, - with what results, we know. The more legislation, the more catastrophes. Will the public ever discover that it is imperative to put an end to legislation against catastrophes? The wages of the public's sins of omission is disaster and death.

State School- One of the imaginary problems Books. that legislators of various states are constantly trying to solve is how best to procure school-books for the children of their states at an extremely low price. The same men who will pay ten or twenty cents for a cigar, without a murmur, will look at their children's books, and declare that the price thereof gives some one a monstrous profit.

For example, Mr. Solon, of Masonburg, observes that his son's geography cost one dollar and ten cents. "Extortion!" he exclaims, and proceeds to examine its contents. The only portion of the earth's surface that he knows much about is Masonburg and vicinity. This geography does not mention the town, and is pronounced inaccurate as well as expensive, and he forthwith declares war on the publishers.

Arrived at the State capital, he finds the same vague notion of reform prevailing among his fellow-legislators. At the State's expense, they spend days, perhaps weeks, framing bills to regulate an industry they know nothing about. All enterprising publishers have their agents on the ground to protect as far as possible their interests. Like all mankind, school-book publishers prefer to run their own business and object to State interference.

The common result is that a conciliatory measure is passed that does no great amount of good or harm, and allows Mr. Solon to return to his constituents with a replenished purse or a proud consciousness of having done a great good to Masonburg, and the rest of the State.

But some states have not fared so well, — notably California. A few years ago, the school-book

mania attacked its legislators with dire results. (In the light of subsequent events, it has transpired that the disease originated with the State printer, who had an eye on the State treasury. But that is neither here nor there). A bitter fight ensued. Tradition has it that one of the best agents who ever labored in the cause of education lost his life from over-exertion in that campaign. The legislators carried the day, and it was determined that California should try its hand at publishing school-books for its children. The committee appointed to take the matter in charge, after advising with the State printer, asked for an appropriation of \$40,000 to establish the business. This seemed modest, and was allowed; but, mind you, the gross annual sales of common schoolbooks in the entire state had not exceeded \$60,000 in any previous year.

It was soon learned that much more money would be needed to conduct such a business. The Legislature appropriated in 1885 \$170,000, and in 1887 \$197,500 more, and in 1889 \$80,800, making a sum total of \$488,300. Fully \$250,000 worth of books in use had to be discarded at a total loss to make way for these State books, thereby swelling the amount still further.

From these figures, even a Nationalist can understand that the citizens of California were not gainers in the operation. Indeed, the annual interest on the sum expended in these first years of the experiment would go a long way toward supplying every child in the State with requisite books. Financially, then, the state of California has proven itself a failure in the publishing business. How about the quality of the books it has produced?

At the Biennial Convention of School Superintendents, which met last December in Sacramento, the text-book committee reported that:—

"It is the sense of your committee that the State series of text-books, with the exception of the Language Lessons and Elementary Geography, is in no way adapted to the needs of the public schools of the State, and is working an irreparable injury to our public-school system. That we believe that the California State series is inferior to any other series of text-books now in existence. And we believe that to this series is due entirely the present overcrowded course of studies, and we earnestly recommend that immediate action be taken to revise the whole series, the books mentioned excepted."

This report, but slightly modified, was adopted, and evidences what a large body of the teachers of California think of the State books. The

State Superintendent, in a recent letter, testifies also against the books, saying in conclusion that he "would not advise any other state to enter upon the publication of school-books." As these opinions ought to be considered reliable, we are doubtless safe in concluding that the California books are of poor quality as well as expensive.

California is the only state, as far as we know, that has made an attempt of just this character. Other states have tried to meddle with the business in one way or another, and with poor, though perhaps not quite so inglorious, results. Of these later.

LAWMAKING AND LAWMEDDLING.

The report of the National Divorce Reform League for 1890 furnishes instructive reading. The league has always thrown its influence against legislation based upon insufficient data of the subject. Thus the rapid increase in the number of divorces in the United States which has of late been exciting so much attention, has been considered by many to be attributable to the looseness of the laws of divorce, and some have maintained that a migration existed to certain States conspicuous for their loose legislation on this subject. If this assertion is correct, the remedy lies in more stringent legislation, such as lessening the causes of divorce, making it more difficult to obtain and the like. This remedy has been strongly advocated, and particularly in the form of an amendment to the Constitution of the United States. Against this view the league has always protested, not so much because it doubted the conclusion, but on the eminently scientific ground that we were not in possession of sufficient data to justify one. It is a satisfaction to all those who are on the side of conservatism in legislation to find that statistics of admitted accuracy furnish a justification for this ground. The report of Carroll D. Wright, Commissioner of Labor of the United States, published in 1889, shows that in twenty years 80.1 per cent of the divorces from American marriages in the entire United States occurred in the State where the marriage was originally celebrated. Since then the agitation for a constitutional amendment has ceased.

The report of the league also insists on the importance of thorough and scientific investigation. For instance, what is the effect of the laws restricting the marriage of divorced

persons? Do they, or do they not lessen divorces? We are not in possession of sufficient data to answer. Until we are, discussion will be, as the report says, "fruitless and endless." To supply data there should be statistics; and these should be gained by a registration system. An applicant for a second marriage should be required to state in writing the date, place, and cause of dissolution of the former marriage. Think what would be, in a few year's time, the value of such statistics!

Another illustration of the same subject is the enumeration of some of the questions comprised in the general ones of marriage and divorce. The number is amazing. Here it is:—

"In marriage, we have such topics as the degrees of relationship within which marriage is forbidden; the grounds of void or voidable marriages; remarriage during the life of a former husband or wife; license fees, and the registration of license; age of consent parental and personal; form of celebration; returns of marriage, their record, publication, and the whole range of statistics both of marriage and divorce. In divorce, we may take up jurisdiction, legislative or judicial, including the class of courts, and places and regulation of trials; the limitations of residence, now running all the way from ninety days in Dakota to five years in Massachusetts; methods and times of entering applications; restrictions upon hasty or secret trials; and upon advertising the procuring of divorces, now the law of Illinois; the statutory causes; provisions for defence of suits by the States, and against collusion, connivance, etc.; punishment for the various offences leading to divorce; validity to be given to divorces obtained in defiance of the laws of domicile; and the possible adoption of some statute in the interests of comity, so that a State shall refuse to marry persons who cannot be married in the State of their proper residence; and for the collection and publication of statistics."

This report furnishes a good sermon upon the text that knowledge must be the precursor to legislation, and that bad legislation is worse than none. The methods pursued by this league are practical and scientific, as far as they go; though it is needless to point out that no amount of information of the class which it is so industrious in collecting can afford anything like an adequate basis for laws regulating the relations of the sexes. Nevertheless, the disposition to collect evidence of some kind before advocating any decisive steps is very refreshing in contract with the ordinary ignorant and haphazard lawmaking of the present day.

EARLY AMERICAN VIEWS ON THE NORTHEAST AND NORTHWEST FISHERIES.

Every independent State possesses and exercises the rights of complete internal sovereignty, and in addition to this jurisdiction maritime nations enjoy a limited and somewhat precarious control of their territorial waters. The internal sovereignty arises from the simple fact, that the land within certain recognized boundaries is occupied and appropriated by the country exercising jurisdiction. Complete occupancy and appropriation of the ocean is impossible; hence the external jurisdiction claimed and exercised by any country is usually limited to its marginal waters. "It being recognized," says Hall, "that States are unable to maintain effective control over large spaces of sea so as to be able to reserve their use to themselves, it is a principle of international law that the sea is in general insusceptible of appropriation as property." ("International Law," third edition, page 62.) As more or less extensive claims to American waters have complicated our foreign relations, and have nearly provoked war on several occasions, it may be well to look into the history and practice of England and the United States in reference to this doctrine.

As far back as the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the freedom of the seas was, at least in theory, recognized. For example: When the Spanish ambassador complained of the intrusion of English vessels into Indian waters, the queen refused to recognize any right of Spain to debar Englishmen from trade or from "freely navigating that vast ocean; seeing the use of the sea and air is common to all, neither can a title to the ocean belong to any people or private persons, forasmuch as neither nature nor public use and custom permitteth any possession thereof."

The argument of Grotius, some years later, in his "Mare Liberum" (1609), is similar in nature: "All property," he says, "is grounded upon occupation, which requires that movables shall be seized and that immovable things shall be enclosed; whatever, therefore, cannot be seized or enclosed is incapable of being made a subject of property. The vagrant waters of the ocean are thus necessarily free. The right of occupation, again, rests upon the fact that most things become exhausted by promiscuous use, and that appropriation consequently is the condition of their utility to human use. But that is not the case with the sea; it can be exhausted neither by navigation nor by fishing; that is to say, in

neither of the two ways in which it can be used."

Selden combated Grotius, and the great weight of Puffendorf declared against the doctrine of absolute freedom "There is no reason why the borderers should not rather challenge to themselves the happiness of a wealthy shore or sea than those who are seated at a distance from it." Puffendorf held the sea to be a defence, "for which reason it must be a disadvantage to people that other nations should have free access to their shores with ships of war without asking their leave, or without giving security for their peaceful and inoffensive passage." That is to say, the opinion of the seventeenth century was divided, but before the close of the eighteenth the principle contended for by Grotius is recognized by the practice of nations, and treaty stipulations declare in its favor. The marginal waters, however, are considered necessary to the safety of the country washed by them. The waters within a cannon-shot are considered as belonging to the bordering country as regards police and criminal duty.

The growth of the idea of the freedom of the seas is admirably illustrated by the claims of Denmark. Her "pretensions... to the northern seas," says Hall, "shrank, in the course of the eighteenth century, into a prohibition of fishery within sixty-nine miles of Greenland and Iceland; but the seamen of England and Holland disregarded the Danish ordinances; when their vessels were captured they were supported by their governments; and, though some threats of war were uttered, in the end the fishing-grounds were tacitly opened." Denmark still kept up a nominal claim to a breadth of twenty miles off the coast of Iceland until nineteen years ago, but in the fishing regulations of 1872 "she voluntarily accepted the ordinary three-mile limit."

The United States could, of course, have no claim of any kind till it became a nation by the Declaration of Independence, in 1776, nor could any of the claims formulated after that date be valid until the treaty of peace with Great Britain in 1783 recognized the independency of the country. As an integral part of the English possessions, the colonies possessed all the rights of fishing in the Gulf of St. Lawrence and off the coasts of Newfoundland that the native Englishmen enjoyed. Owing to the proximity of the fishing-grounds, the New England colonists were deeply engaged in the fisheries, and in fact possessed a monopoly of the trade." As it was source of great revenue to the settlers, and as a much capital was invested in the business, the

New Englanders urged Congress to claim the fisheries in whole or in part in any treaty of peace with Great Britain. It was expected the war would make a difference; instead of Englishmen, the colonists would be Americans; that is, they would be foreigners, and as such they could only claim the rights and privileges enjoyed by the most favored nation. When the question of terms for a treaty came before the Continental Congress, in 1779, the negotiators were instructed "not to consent to any treaty of commerce with Great Britain without an express stipulation on her part not to molest or disturb the inhabitants of the United States of America in taking fish on the banks of Newfoundland and other fisheries in the American seas anywhere excepting within the distance of three leagues of the shores of the territories remaining to Great Britain at the close of the war if a nearer distance cannot be obtained by negotiation." (Secret Journal of Congress, Vol. II., page 231.)

That is to say, Congress recognized the right of Great Britian to appropriate the marginal waters. The limit was indefinite, but was not to exceed three leagues. On this point Hall says: "In claiming its marginal seas as property, a State is able to satisfy the condition of valid appropriation, because a narrow belt of water along a coast can be effectively commanded from the coast itself either by guns or by means of a coast guard.

In fact, also, such a belt is always appropriated, because States reserve to their own subjects the enjoyment of its own fisheries, or, in other words, take from it the natural products it is capable of yielding. . . . The precise extent, however, is not so certain. Generally the limit is fixed at a marine league from the shore . . . and perhaps it may be said without impropriety that a State has the right to extend its territorial waters from time to time at its will with the increased range of guns." In no case would this exceed the ninemile limits proposed by Congress.

When the terms of the final treaty with Great Britain were under consideration (1782) the negotiators were "instructed to observe, ... with respect to this claim (i. e. the fisheries), that it does not extend to any parts of the sea lying within three leagues of the shores—held by Great Britain or any other nation. That under this limitation it is conceived by Congress a common right of taking fish cannot be denied to them without a manifest violation of the freedom of the seas, as established by the laws of nations and the dictates of reason; according to both

which the use of the sea, except such parts thereof as lie in the vicinity of the shore, and are deemed appurtenant thereto, is common to all nations. . . . That although a greater space than three leagues has in some instances been, both by public treaties and by custom, annexed to the shore as part of the same dominion, yet, as it is the present aim of maritime powers to circumscribe, as far as reason will justify, all exclusive pretensions to the sea." (Secret Journal, Vol. III., pages 156, 157.) Another passage of the same date (August, 1782) lays down the American conception of International Law in the following unmistakable language: "Our common right to take fish in the North American seas, and particularly that part of them which goes under the name of the Banks of Newfoundland, has its origin in the natural incapacity of the sea to be appropriated.

"The practice of nations, both for the sake of safety and tranquillity, abridged this freedom of the ocean, by annexing to the coast a reasonable tract of the water; and Great Britain, by availing herself of this usage, may possibly arrogate the exclusive enjoyment of the banks, as appurtenent to the island of Newfoundland." Here then follows this strong dictum, which ought not to be forgotton, especially at the present time: "These banks, the nearest point of which is thirty-five leagues distant from Cape Race, are too far advanced in the Atlantick, to be a dependence of the shores."

But Congress was not satisfied with a theoretic statement of the law of nations as it then existed, or ought to be. "If we pass from theory to the stipulations of treaties, we shall find better aid . . . and by better aid, we mean British precedents; for against these a British king surely will not struggle." There then follows a detailed examination of early English treaties relating to the fisheries and appropriation of marginal waters for that purpose, after which examination the report continues: "Thus it appears upon strict principles of natural law, the sea is insusceptible of appropriation; that a species of conventional law has annexed a reasonable district of it to the coast which borders on it; and that in many of the treaties to which Great Britian has acceded no distance has been assumed for this purpose beyond fourteen miles." (Secret Journal, Vol. III., 162, et seq.) Nothing needs to be added to the above declaration of the United States in the last quarter of the last century; the meaning is incapable of misconception, and that meaning clearly is, that only the immediate

territorial waters are capable of appropriation for any purpose whatever.

Mr. Jefferson, as Secretary of State (in 1793), said: "The greatest distance to which any respectable assent among nations has been at any time given has been the extent of the human sight, estimated at upwards of twenty miles, and the smallest distance, I believe, claimed by any nation whatever, is the utmost range of a cannon-ball, usually stated at one sea league. . . . The limit of one sea league from shore is provisionally adopted as that of the territorial sea of the United States." Nor was Mr. Jefferson at all singular in this respect. The same views are held and expressed by each successive Secretary of State until within very recent years.

Forty years after the settlement of the English dispute diplomatic complications arose between Russia and the United States. At that time (1821-24) Russia claimed extensive and undefined possessions on the northwestern coast of this continent. The ukase of 1821 contained the following claims: "Section 1. The pursuit of commerce, whaling, and fishery, and of all other industry on all islands, ports, and gulfs, including the whole of the northwest coast of America, beginning from Behring Straits to the fifty-first degree of northern latitude; also, from the Aleutian Islands to the eastern coast of Siberia, as well as along the Kurile Islands . . . to the 45° 50', northern latitude, are exclusively granted to the Russian subjects.

"Sect. 2. It is, therefore, prohibited to all foreign vessels not only to land on the coasts and islands belonging to Russia, as stated above, but also to approach within less than an hundred Italian miles. The transgressor's vessel is subject to confiscation along with the whole cargo."

The American ships had found their way to the northwest coasts immediately after the Revolution, and were unmolested, till the issue of the above-quoted ukase, in 1821. Of Russia's claim, Mr. Lyman, in his "Diplomacy of the United States" (1828), says: "Our commerce has never been assailed in a more fell, unsparing manner, and yet in the European seas it has passed through every variety and degree of vexation. . . . A Berlin decree or an order in council sealing and investing the distant and desolate coast of the northwest! The ancient and celebrated doctrine of "Mare Clausum," of Selden, applied to an ocean four thousand miles in breadth!" (Vol. II., page 289.)

The Russians based their extensive claims on three facts: first, the title of discovery; second,

the title of first occupation; and, third, the title of a long and undisputed possession,—all of which claims Mr. Lyman proves to be unfounded. The American public seem to have been easily persuaded, but Russia failed to see the force of Mr. Adams's arguments till 1824, when, by treaty, she yielded her extensive, and, it would seem, untenable claims. As Mr. Lyman pithily remarks: "An imperial ukase cannot affect the rights or subvert the laws of nations."

In conclusion, the following passage from Mr. Fish regarding some Russian claim of extraterritorial water in 1875 is of special interest: "There was reason to hope," he writes, "that the practice which formerly prevailed with powerful nations of regarding seas and bays usually of large extent near their coast as closed to any foreign commerce or fishery not specially licensed by them was, without exception, a pretension of the port, and that no nation would claim exemption from the general rule of public law which limits its maritime jurisdiction to a marine league from its coasts. We should particularly regret if Russia should insist on any such pretension."

"Mutato nomine, de te fabula narratur."

POLITICS IN THE MAGAZINES.

THE FORUM (March). An unusually good collection of papers is offered in this number, and nearly all of them of such character as to interest readers of this department. Little more than mere mention, therefore, can be allowed to each.

The opening paper, by Senator John Sherman, bears the title of *The Nicaraugua Canal*, and aims to explain the report of the Senate Committee, which favored an appropriation to aid that undertaking. The difficulties encountered in building such a canal, its commercial importance when completed, and its probable cost are quite fully set forth, and though the Senator may not convince all readers that Congress would have been wise in granting the appropriation, they can at any rate get considerable information from the article.

A former Secretary of the Treasury, George S. Boutwell, discusses Silver as a Circulating Medium. The writer predicts that silver is to be the chief factor of the currency of this country and of this continent unless the gold product increases faster than we can reasonably expect, reasoning from known facts. Free coinage he deems unwise, believing that "profits of coin-

age should inure to the country rather than to a class."

Do We Hate England? is asked by Bishop Coxe, and in the asking he makes a plea for a peaceful settlement of our dispute with Great Britain, not forgetting to aim a side blow now and then at the Irish in both English and American politics.

The Shibboleth of "The People," by W. S. Libby, discusses government by the majority, and the faith too often at the present time placed in numbers instead of moral force. In summing up, he says:—

"The truth in the people's gospel is that all men have political rights, natural, inalienable, and imprescriptible; the error is that all men ought to be equivalent in the public order."

In A New Policy for the Public Schools, which is set forth by John Bascom, we find a seemingly unbiased discussion of the question of parochial schools, with special reference to the recent conflict with these schools in the Northwest. Among the points of the question with which the writer deals is one, which, though not perhaps new, is nevertheless well taken and deserving a hearing. The Bennett law demanded only that children between the ages of seven and fourteen should be required to attend school not less than twelve weeks in each year, and defined the term school as applying only to such schools as furnish instruction in the so-called common branches in the English language.

The fact that this act recognizes the private school, providing the English language is taught therein, gives private instruction the same rights as public instruction.

"Those who are adequately educating their children under the inspection of the State should not be called on to bear exactly the same burdens as if they were in neglect of this duty, or to render the duty twice over—once in a way conceded by the State, and once in a way ordered by it."

The writer does not make it clear just how he would arrange matters and overcome the difficulties that would arise in the State's attempting to gather two separate broods under its motherly wings, but any fair-minded person can scarcely fail to recognize the force of the argument cited.

Our Bargain with the Inventor, by Park Benjamin, gives the practical workings of our patent systems, and shows how, in justice to the inventor as well as to the public, who also benefit from his work, an immediate and radical reform should be made in that department of our Government.

Railway under Government Control, by W. M. Acworth, is a timely and forcible warning to all who would have us believe that our railways should become the property of the Government. Coming as it does from one who has made the railway problem a special study, and is supposedly authority on all questions relating to it, even opponents to the views he entertains cannot fail to give credence to his statements in regard to the success of the experiment in other countries where the government has already assumed control.

Other important articles are, The Ring and the Trust, by Rev. Dr. Wm. Barry, and Russia's Treatment of Jowish Subjects, by P. G. Hubert, Jr.

THE ARENA (March). Nationalization of the Land as First Presented is the first of a series of papers published in the "Arena." The author, J. R. Buchanan, states in a footnote that

"This essay, published in the summer of 1847, in the "Herald of Truth," Cincinnati, was probably a premature announcement of doctrine for which the public mind had not been prepared."

The writer argues that the earth belongs to the race as a whole, rather than to individuals who may chance to claim proprietorship of a certain portion, and that this assumed proprietorship is "an infraction of the common rights of the race," and that "antecedent generations have not an unlimited power to prescribe the legislation of posterity." "Justice to all men, to each individual, to ourselves, to the future" is demanded, but we are left in doubt just what form this justice should assume. Perhaps more light will be furnished in the next instalment.

In Immigration, Rabbi Solomon Schindler speaks of the undesirable elements that certain foreign countries are constantly sending to our shores. He favors prevention, if possible; but if that proved impossible, not to attempt to sift the material after it arrives, but rather to legislate them into good and useful citizens.

What is Immoral in Literature? by Albert Ross, contributes some good ideas on the subject suggested by the title Those people who assume to be censors of the morality of their fellow-men may read this article with profit.

The Swiss Referendum, by W. D. McCrackan, describes the excellent system which the Swiss employ to pass judgment upon the laws made by their representatives.

AMERICANA.

The gavel fell, and the Republicans on the floor, under the leadership of Coleman, of Louisiana, broke the impressive silence with martial strains of "Tramp, tramp, tramp, the boys are marching." Two verses were sung, the galleries listening and applauding, and then the awestruck Democrats recovered themselves sufficiently to respond with "Maryland, My Mary-The ex-members of the Fifty-first land." Congress were now all on their feet, and when the Democrats had finished their song the newspaper correspondents in the press gallery above the speaker's desk began singing "Old Hundred." There was a respectful hush on the floor of the House, as if a benediction had been invoked. As the first line was sung Republicans as well as Democrats on the floor took up the strain, and everybody sang to the close:

Praise God, from whom all blessings flow, Praise him, all creatures here below! Praise Him above, ye heavenly host! Praise Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

There was a burst of enthusiasm as the song "America" followed from the floor; and then, as the ex-members began their leave-taking, the correspondents sang Hub Smith's "Listen to My Tale of Woe." Thus did the Fifty-first Congress take its departure. — Cor. St. Louis Globe-Democrat.

"Compulsatory" measures are not entertained by the senators who oppose an "extortious" rate of interest. The words in quotation marks may be new to some readers, but not so to the grave and reverend senators. — Pierre (N. Dakota) Capital.

Uncle Silas Brown is very much gratified over his election to the office of School Commissioner in the town of S -. He asserted that when he assumed the duties of his position he intended to make his influence felt. So no one was surprised at the first meeting of the new board to find him in a pugnacious mood. "I've heern lots o' complaints about the lack of eddication about these parts," he said. "Now, there ain't no excuse for this here state of afficirs. There's plenty of eddication in the world. More'n enough to go round, and our kids have got ter have it. So I move, Mr. Chairman, that this committee find out jest how many boys an' gals there are in town, 'n' then git enough eddication to supply 'em all, whatever it costs. I'd like to know whar we'd be if we hadn't got our full share of it. Give the kids a chancet."- Harper's Magazine for March.

A member of the Oregon State Legislature has introduced a new feature into forensic oratory. He was defending with great earnestness a bill providing for the payment of laborers at stated periods. As he continued to speak he grew more and more impressive, and at last sat down in his seat for a few moments and silently wept. After his paroxysm of grief was over he arose, and finished his speech. It is needless to say that so much earnestness and feeling carried the day, and that the legislator gained his point. Would it not be a good plan for our Washington Solons occasionally to vary the monotony of their speeches by interludes of weeping, silent or otherwise? The advocates of bayonets at the ballot, of high taxes, of special privileges, and other Republican doctrines could add greatly to their reputations for sincerity by stopping at the end of impassioned periods to indulge in a few moments of speechless grief. As it is now, the public do all the weeping. -Chicago Herald.

Several prominent ex-Republican members of the House are remaining in Washington, hoping that they may be appointed circuit judges under the law passed in the last hours of Congress, authorizing one new judge in each of the existing judicial circuits. It was discovered after the bill creating these new judicial officers had received the President's signature that by a serious inadvertence the Circuit Court of Appeals would relieve the Supreme Court of all of the cases now on the docket of that court. The discovery was made but a short time before the final adjournment of Congress, and a resolution was rushed through both Houses which corrected that mistake. The resolution also rectifled the palpable error with regard to the first term of the Court. In the bill it was stated that the first term should be held in January, 1891. - Cor. N. Y. Sun.

Senators have been known to sign petitions and glowing eulogies in the interest of some politician in their district, and then to write privately to the appointing power requesting him to pay no attention to their written requests. The lack of sincerity in the average written indorsement is such that neither the President nor the chiefs of departments pay any attention to them unless the senator calls in person and adds his verbal assurance to the first demand. It is a common thing for an official with the appointing power to send word to a senator or a member to ask him if he really wants such and such a place. — New York Tribune.

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POLITICS: EVENTS; COMMENTS; LITERATURE.

The conditions under which this paper is published render it impossible to give the weekly record of facts the character of news, especially in the case of the foreign items. The facts are, in the main, collected from daily papers. Their importance does not generally depend upon dates. Our record of them cannot have greater authority than the sources have, but is evidently more trustworthy than any single newspaper.

LEGISLATIVE.

Congress. — The act approved March 3, providing for the erection of three United Sates prisons, and the confinement therein of United States convicts, is rendered absolutely inoperative for the purposes intended through a blunder in drawing the bill. Its intention was to authorize the Attorney-General and the Secretary of the Interior to purchase three sites, and cause to be erected on them suitable prisons for the incarceration of United States prisoners convicted of crimes by any courts under the jurisdiction of the Department of Justice. One was to be located north and another south of the thirty-ninth parallel of latitude and east of the Rocky Mountains, while the third was to be located west of the Rocky Mountains, all to be within easy access to different sections of the country. Not a cent, however, is appropriated for the purpose of the site, etc., as authorized, although it is stated that the limit of cost for the guidance of the architects in preparing the plans and estimates shall not exceed \$500,000 on each. Moreover, not a cent is appropriated, even for the expenses of preparing these plans and specifications, preliminary to the purchase of ground and erection of buildings.

Under these circumstances, the second section of this Prison act, reciting "That the sum of \$100,000 is further appropriated" to be expended in the fitting of workshops for the employment of the prisoners, is rather bewildering, since no sum whatever is appropriated in

the foregoing section. It seems to be a clear case either of gross oversight or of stupidity on the part of those who had the affair in charge. The importance of speedy progress, however, in beginning work on the sites and plans makes this blunder a very serious matter. Not a cent for the object of the bill is carried in any of the appropriation bills, and, although the erection of three prisons is now properly authorized, the preliminary work must be unavoidably delayed for at least another year, and probably longer. From the urgent reports repeatedly made to Congress by Attorney-General Garland, and later by Attorney-General Miller, it appears that there is, and has been for several years, a crying need of such prisons. All previous efforts, however, to induce Congress to act in the matter proved ineffectual, but now that Congress has really given its authority, and, as it was believed, appropriated the money therewith to construct the buildings, the chagrin and disappointment of the Department of Justice may be imagined when it found the act useless.

New York. — Among the bills passed by the Senate are: providing for free lectures for working people in New York City; providing that police justices in New York City must be lawyers; allowing women to vote for school commissioners; making the appointment of police matrons compulsory in cities of over 25,000 inhabitants; and compelling scaffolds to be railed in New York and Brooklyn.

Among the bills passed by the House are: extending the provisions of the Weekly Payment law to the employees of steam railroads; exempting bank cashiers and tellers from jury duty; exempting soldiers and sailors from the poll-tax; providing that none but licensed plumbers shall tap water-mains; appropriating \$15,000 for free illustrated lectures to working people on legal holidays, and providing for free instruction in natural history, geography, and kindred subjects; and providing that keepers of boarding-houses and hotels having employees on board-wages shall not feed them on oleomargarine. The bill to license architects was defeated.

A year or more ago Gov. Hill of New York, in a message to the Legislature, advowitnesses in county jails; compelling pedlers to take out licenses; making it illegal to appoint non-residents as special policemen; making it unlawful to use or sell milk cans belonging to another; making it illegal to pay mechanics and laborers in anything except United States legal-tender; permitting corporations to increase their capital stock; and enabling mechanics, laborers, merchants, or traders to file liens against contractors for public buildings and improvements, and requiring the city where such improvements are made to hold the money till the courts adjudicate the controversy.

The Legislature has adjourned.

A serious error has been discovered by the attorney-general in the amendment made by the New Jersey Legislature to the ballot reform law. The intent of the amendment was to exempt towns of less than four thousand people from using the election booths. The word "not" was put in the wrong place, and it makes the use of booths applicable only to towns of less than four thousand inhabitants.

Wisconsin. - Among the bills passed by the Senate are: taxing telephone companies two and one quarter per cent of the gross earnings; compelling children from seven to thirteen years to attend school for twelve weeks in a year; allowing ten persons to form trust companies of twenty-five thousand dollars capital; making the minimum of interest on trust funds four and one half per cent instead of five per cent; providing for speaking tubes in factories; preventing locking lower doors in factories; and prohibiting the employment of children under fifteen years except that a county judge may grant to any child over ten years of age exemption from the operation of the act. The bill providing for free State public employment offices in cities of fifteen thousand inhabitants was defeated.

Among the bills passed by the House are: providing that every person or corporation employing a laborer shall keep in his book his name. age, residence, and the name and address of his parents or some friend; relieving members of the life-saving and light-house service from the payment of poll-tax; regulating the sale of liquor by pharmacists; granting civil and legal rights at hotels and in public conveyances to persons of every race and color; prohibiting the selling of cigars to minors under eighteen years, and the sale of opium except on doctor's prescription; prohibiting discrimination in insurance contracts; and providing that the State shall pay expenses of indigent blind and deaf children in going and returning from the State institution.

The bill reducing railroad rates to two cents

per mile, the bill creating a board of medical examiners, the bill providing for an examination for admission to the bar, and the bill compelling telephone wires to be laid underground were killed in the House.

Nebraska.- Among the bills passed by the Senate are: providing for the reports to be made by railroad companies to the State auditor; establishing a State board of health; fixing maximum freight rates; enabling county commissioners to compel railroads to construct proper crossings; enabling twenty people residing in any county and owning twenty thousand dollars' worth of property to organize mutual insurance against loss by fire, hail, etc; and providing that any publisher of a newspaper who shall, without just and sufficient cause, publish in his paper, concerning any person, any language of ridicule, censure, scandal, or criticism calculated to injure or wound the feelings of such person, which if spoken or uttered in the presence of such person would tend to provoke an assault or breach of peace, should be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and shall, upon conviction thereof, be fined in any sum not less than ten dollars nor more than one hundred dollars, or imprisonment in the county jail not less than ten days nor more than sixty days.

The billauthorizing chattel mortgages on crops before being planted, when given to secure a loan, to be used in purchasing seed, was defeated in the Senate.

Among the bills passed by the House are: providing punishment for taking usury: fixing the rates for telegraph charges; repealing the statute providing for inspection of illuminating oils; providing that no chattel-mortgage proceeding shall be instituted when the loan contained usurious interest; providing that railroads that acquire the right of way shall finish the grade in two years and have cars in operation within four years, or forfeit all interest in the land acquired; and providing for a board of health, and prohibiting the practice of medicine by unlicensed physicians, except in an emergency.

Missouri. — Among the bills passed by the Senate are: the milk inspection bill; taxing corporations at their real value; requiring all corporations, exclusive of railway companies, to make annual reports to the State secretary; and requiring a deposit of two hundred thousand dollars with the insurance commissioner by trust companies doing business in the State. The medical practice bill requiring a three-years' course, and the bill prohibiting sales of imitation butter were defeated.

Among the bills passed by the House are: making it unlawful for city officials in third class cities to be interested in city contracts; prohibiting farmers from stocking grain or hay within a hundred feet of a railroad track; providing for factory inspection; empowering cities of the third class to erect and maintain water works, gas works, etc.; providing for beef inspection in St Louis; providing that usury may be pleaded as a defence in civil suits, and that usurious interest paid may be applied in payment of the principal, proof of the exaction of usury to invalidate any lien or mortgage of personal property; re. ducing the legal rate of interest from ten to eight per cent; and the corporation bill, which makes it unlawful for any concern doing business in the State to abandon any factory in any city or town without first restoring with interest all property granted as an inducement for locating the factory in that place. The anti-trust bill has passed both Houses. The first section is as follows: -

Any corporation organized under the laws of this or any other State or country for transacting or conducting any kind of business in this State, or any partnership or individual or other association of persons whatsoever who shall create, enter into, become a member of or a party to any pool, trust, agreement, combination, confederation, or understanding with any other corporation, partnership, individual, or any other person or association of persons, to regulate or fix the price of any article of merchandise or commodity, or shall enter into, become a member of or a party to any pool, agreement, contract, combination, or confederation to fix or limit the amount or quantity of any article, commodity, or merchandise to be manufactured, mined, produced, or sold in this State, shall be deemed and adjudged guilty of a conspiracy to defraud, and be subject to penalties as provided in this act.

North Carolina. — Among the laws passed by the Legislature is the following, directed against ticket scalping:—

SECTION 1. That it shall be unlawful for any person to sell or deal in tickets issued by any railroad company unless he is a duly authorized agent of said railroad company and it shall be the duty of said agent to exhibit his authority to sell or deal in said tickets, and the company whose agent he is shall be responsible for his acts as such agent; that any violation of this law shall be a misdemeanor.

SEC. 2. That when any round-trip ticket is sold by any railroad company, it shall be the duty of said company to redeem the unused portion of such ticket, by allowing to the legal holder thereof the difference between the cost thereof and the price of a oneway ticket between the stations for which the said round-trip ticket was sold.

SEC. 3. That when any one-way or regular ticket is sold by any railroad company, and when unused by the purchaser thereof, it shall be the duty of the

railroad company selling the ticket to redeem said ticket at the same price paid for it.

South Carolina.—It has been discovered that the new revenue law is so erroneously worded as to tax all incomes and profits derived from property not otherwise taxed, as well as incomes from salaries. The workmen are indignant at the startling blunder of the legislators, and an extra session is talked of to change the law. On incomes and profits the tax is one per cent; on incomes from salaries one half of one per cent. The former exemption of \$1000 is stricken out.

JUDICIAL.

On April 27, the federal Supreme Court will take up the question of the constitutionality of the McKinley Tariff law. At an early day a decision is expected touching the various points raised, including that in regard to the reciprocity section, which gives powers to the President apparently inconsistent with the Constitution.

The Supreme Court of Georgia held in a recent case that a passenger need not wait to be forcibly ejected from a train, but that if, before or after the train reaches a station, he is ordered by the conductor to get off, he may leave the train and be entitled to redress for his expulsion.

The South Dakota Supreme Court has decided that the law requiring commercial agencies doing business in the State to deposit \$50,000 in cash with the State treasurer, as a guarantee fund for any judgment obtained for misrepresentation as to firms' credit, is constitutional.

The Supreme Court of New York held that a preliminary injunction to restrain an actor from breaking a contract by which he had agreed to perform services exclusively for a certain manager would not be granted except in cases where the abilities of the actor were exceptional, so that his place could not readily be filled.

A citizen of Missouri sued the Western Union Telegraph Company for damages for the failure of the company to deliver a telegram sent from a Missouri city to a city in Illinois. The judge decided that the section of the statute under which the suit was brought was unconstitutional in so far as it applies to business beyond the borders of Missouri, since it regulates interstate commerce in violation of the Federal Constitution, which confers the power of such regulation on Congress.

The Federal Supreme Court affirmed the judgment of the lower court in the case of the Covington Stock Yards Company against Keith & Wilson. This firm shipped cattle over the Kentucky Central Railroad, which, by an arrangement with the Stock Yards Company, would receive or deliver cattle only at these yards, charging an extra fee therefor. The Court holds that this charge is unlawful, and that the railroad company, when it contracted to transport cattle, under the contract to receive and deliver them, had no more right to make a special charge for this service than for the use of its station by passengers whom it transported.

The Supreme Court of Illinois held that, after interest is due upon a debt, the debtor may pay or agree to pay interest on the same without rendering the transaction usurious, but that an agreement in advance to pay interest upon interest after its maturity is usurious, except in the case of coupon notes given for the interest on commercial paper. An agreement in advance to make interest principal when it falls due, and thus bear interest, except in the case of negotiable coupons, is usury.

The decision of Newton Erb, referee in the case of the forecloseure of the Chicago, Kansas & Nebraska Road, has been approved by Judge Caldwell, and the road will now be sold. The decision is an important one, and will result in the transfer of \$28.000,000 worth of property and the wiping out of \$3,000,000 worth of stock held by the people of counties through which the Chicago, Kansas & Nebraska Railway passes, and who voted aid in bonds to that amount.

The Maryland Court of Appeals has decided that the law giving voters in certain districts the right to determine by election whether the taking of oysters by scoop or dredge in the waters of the county should be prohibited is unconstitutional, being a delegation of the legislative anthority in respect of a matter affecting the people of the entire State to the voters of several election districts.

According to a decision just rendered by the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of The Commonwealth v. Manchester, the State of Massachusetts has jurisdiction over the waters of Buzzard's Bay. The Court said it was an old doctrine that where the United States exercised jurisdiction, and there was a conflict between the general Government and any State, the jurisdiction of the United States was para-

mount and exclusive. But where the United States did not have sole jurisdiction, and where it failed to exercise its jurisdiction, as in the present case, a State might exercise authority. The United States never having asserted its power to control these fisheries, it followed that the State might exercise jurisdiction over these waters, which were within the headlands of its territory.

In an action by a passenger against a railroad to recover for money stolen from him while asleep in a sleeping-car, it appeared that the only employee kept on the car was a man who acted as conductor, porter, and bootblack. The New York Court of Appeals held that the railroad company had not exercised due care in protecting its passengers, and that a corporation running sleeping-cars separated from the aisle by curtains only is bound to have an employee charged with the duty of continually watching the interior while berths are occupied by sleepers.

The Massachusetts Supreme Court has overruled the verdict of the Superior Court in the case of a druggist convicted of a sale of liquor made to a minor by a clerk in his employ. The evidence in the Superior Court showed that the druggist had instructed all his clerks not to sell to any person under twenty-five years of age. The Superior Court held that the act of the servant was the act of the master. The Supreme Court holds that this ruling was erroneous, and says it does not seem reasonable or necessary to extend criminal responsibility for the act of a servant so far as to include a case like the present. The servant himself is no doubt responsible. But if he reasonably and honestly believed the purchaser to be of adult age, and that the sale might lawfully be made, his statutory guilt should not be imputed to the defendant.

INDUSTRIAL.

The New Haven, Conn., Trades Council has appointed a committee to start an agitation in favor of the purchase of the water works by the city.

A Pittsburg cork manufacturing company has locked out its one thousand employees and will take none back who do not give up their membership in the Knights of Labor Order.

The cigar-makers' strike at Hamburg, Germany, has collapsed, after months of resistance and the expenditure of 395,000 marks. The Socialist organization, which supported the strike, will suffer greatly from this defeat.

A despatch from Duluth says that wages have been reduced at all the mines of the Northwest about ten per cent, and that many of the mines have reduced their forces nearly one half.

The American Federation of Labor has issued a circular announcing that the demand for an eight-hour day will be made on the 1st of May.

The Association of Mill Men, at Fall River, Mass., has decided to pay employees by the hour instead of by the day.

The Manufacturers' Association of Fall River have issued a manifesto setting forth the effect, in Fall River, of the proposition before the Massachusetts Legislature to restrict the hours of labor in manufacturing establishments. They say:—

"Should the 54-hours' proposition become a law, the productive capacity of our factories would be reduced one tenth, thus wiping out of existence more than \$2,000,000 now engaged in furnishing employment to labor. It will cut down the wages of operatives ten per cent the day it becomes operative, and the so-called friends of labor will have succeeded in voting a loss to the Fall River operatives amounting to \$13,000 a week, or, say, \$650,000 a year."

The United Silk Workers have passed resolutions appealing to the friends of American labor to purchase silk fabrics of American manufacture, in view of the depression of the silk industry. The platform declares that the workingmen are not benefited by protection, and that they should protect themselves. Since 1889, it is asserted, the wages of ribbon weavers have been reduced fifty-eight per cent.

The lockout of the Springfield, Ill., freestone cutters, which took place one year ago, has just ended in a victory for the workmen, whose principal demands—eight hours of work, and a uniform scale at forty-four cents per hour—have been conceded by the employers.

All the mechanics of Morristown, N. J., are out on a strike. They wish the hours of work to be from 7 A. M to 5 P. M., while the employers have fixed the hours from 7.30 to 5.30.

A press despatch from Australia announces that at Brisbane, Queensland, telegraph wires have been cut by the union shearers, and attempts made to wreck the trains conveying troops to the scene of the troubles which have been going on for weeks past between union and non-union shearers. They have done much other damage.

Stagnation is spreading in the weaving establishments of Lancashire. Ten thousand looms are already idle, and at Blackthorne alone three thousand operatives are out of employment.

In 1890 there were in Germany 1,131 strikes. The total number of strikers was 394,440. In 420 cases they were unsuccessful; in 468, partially successful; in 187 all the demands were secured.

The Workmen's Congress lately in session at Madrid has approved of the proposition to order a general strike throughout Spain, if such a step should be necessary in order to secure an eight-hour work-day.

The crofters of Lewis Island, Scotland, are in open rebellion against the local authorities. A band of 100 crofters have entrenched themselves in the ruins of their former homes, from which they had been evicted, and announce that they intend to cultivate the land. The owner wishes to convert the tract of land in question into a deer preserve. The sympathy of the people is with the crofters, but the police have orders to drive them out of their camp at all costs.

The Workmen's Congress at Paris has adopted resolutions as follows:—

That eight hours constitute a day's work; that the minimum of wages be fixed; that children under fourteen be prohibited from working; that everybody declared by the workmen's syndicate to be unable to work receive public support; that masters be held responsible for accidents to workmen; that municipal butcher shops, bakehouses, and bazaars be formed; that communes be allowed to borrow money without consulting the central government; and, finally, that every trade organize in readiness for a general strike to vanquish the opposing employers.

An international miners' congress is being held in the hall of the Labor Exchange, Paris. Most European countries and America will be represented by delegates. The delegates will have one vote per thousand miners represented. The business of the congress will be confined to five propositions, of which three have been prepared by the Belgians, and two by the miners' federations of Great Britain. The Belgians deal with the new constitution of an international federation; with an international strike for an eight-hour day for all miners, whether employed by government or corporations; and with the attitude of miners, in different countries, in case of disputes between miners and employers in any section. The British are understood to be against an international strike.

IN GENERAL.

The Governments of the United States and Switzerland have concluded a treaty by which they bind themselves to submit to arbitration any disputes which may arise between them.

The Kentucky Constitutional Convention has adopted the report of the committee, recognizing the Deity, and inserting the words, "and invoking his blessing."

A negro was lately appointed to serve on the Brooklyn (N. Y.) police force. The white police officers of the precinct are displeased at the appointment and boycott the negro. They refuse to recognize him or sleep in the same room with him. The captain is unable to control his officers.

The Collector of Customs at Alaska has been informed by the Treasury Department, in regard to the compensation of persons giving information about the imports of liquors, and other prohibited articles, that the rule of the Department is to allow twenty-five per cent of the net proceeds of the sale to the informers, and thirty-five per cent of the net proceeds, less the amount of duty, to the detecter and seizer.

The press is discussing the probability of an extra session of the Senate, to confirm nominations of additional Circuit Court judges, under the new iaw for the relief of the Supreme Court. It is claimed that the Attorney-General is wrong in advising the President that he can fill these offices by temporary appointment, and in holding that the word "vacancy," in the Constitution, signifies the condition where an office exists of which there is no incumbent, and is used without limitation as to how the vacancy comes to exist.

The election to the new Congress in Chili has resulted in a Liberal victory. The Liberal party will have more than two-thirds of the Senate and the House.

The St. Petersburg correspondent of a Berlin paper writes that the crueities practised by the police of the Russian capital upon strangers in general and Germans and Jews in particular have become absolutely unbearable.

The Reichstag has rejected the petition to admit women to the liberal professions. But the Diet of Reuss-Greiz has instructed the ministers to open negotiations with neighboring governments for a joint consideration of the matter.

Great excitement prevails in Newfoundland, the people bitterly opposing the bills introduced in the House of Lords to make operative upon Newfoundland the modus vivendi entered into between Great Britain and France relative to the rights of the latter upon that island.

The Newfoundland Parliament has decided to allow free-bait licenses. The vessels will be held, however, to the limit of the amount of bait recently published. Early last year the license fee was one dollar for each ton of the vessel's register. Then this was reduced one half. When it was found that a high license was practically prohibitive, and that American vessels were going to Canada for bait, the license was reduced to \$10 a vessel. It is estimated that Głoucester fishermen paid about \$15,000 for licenses last year.

The delegates to the Australian Federation Congress are discussing resolutions intended to limit the field of debate. The principles embodied in the resolutions are, that the customs revenue shall be assigned to the support of the Federal Government; that the parliamentary and not the presidential type of a federal system shall be adopted; and that all powers not assigned to the federal administration shall belong to the governments of the respective colonies.

The Committee of the English Parliament appointed to consider the question of State aid to emigration, in the report just published, does not advise any general extension of the system, except in the case of the congested districts of Scotland and Ireland, and suggests that the provisions of the Irish Land Bill relating to congested districts be applied also to Scotland. The committee advises that the experiment of sending one hundred crofters and their families to America be repeated.

Recruiting sergeants in London are unable to secure the desired new material for the ranks, and threats of conscription are made by the military authorities. It is suggested by the London press that a good round sum as bounty money would tempt many to enter the service. Conscription, it is said, would not be tolerated.

English pickle-makers have been in the habit of making their pint and quart bottles to accommodate a little more than imperial measure, in order to avoid all possibility of conflict with the strict laws to prevent their giving less. Now they find that by the tariff law of the Dominion

of Canada any quantity exceeding a pint is liable to the duty on a quart. An official having measured the contents of a pint bottle and found the quantity to be slightly exceeded, the double duty was levied.

The London postmaster-general has summarily suppressed the district telegraph messenger service, on the ground that it is illegal for private persons to engage in the message-carrying service. The messenger company offered to pay a handsome royalty upon each letter carried, but the offer was rejected. The London press and public are indignant, and denounce the postmaster-general as totally unfit for his position.

The occasional arrests of labor leaders on the charge of conspiracy recall the times when in England all combinations of workmen for the purpose of raising their wages were forbidden by law. The query arises, why are not leaders in the formation of trusts sometimes arrested and imprisoned on the same charge? It is possible in this country for a man to obtain justice—sometimes—if he is able to pay for it, and it is generally possible for him to evade justice if he has the pecuniary means.— Exchange.

The Government has a difficult task to handle just now in the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, where all the paper money and internal revenue stamps are manufactured. The work of the bureau has fallen dreadfully behind, and a great outcry is raised by internal revenue collectors all over, of the scarcity and even dearth of stamps. Capt. W. M. Meredith, chief of the bureau, is working his force of plate printers two and a half hours overtime every day, and still he is unable to keep up with the demand. The law requires that a three-months' supply of stamps shall be kept on hand, but it has been absolutely impossible to comply. The output of paper currency has also been largely decreased for lack of facilities, and only a very small advance supply is on hand. As a result, the notes have to be issued green and uncured, and after a very brief circulation are returned to the Treasury as unfit for use. Accordingly, Chief Meredith is contemplating the advisability of starting up some steam-presses in order to get a stock of stamps ahead, and thus contrive also to lay up a stock of notes for future use. Should this be done, a violent outbreak on the part of the plate printers is expected. These steampresses were invented and patented by a man named Milligan, an employee of the bureau, now dead, after many years of labor and study. Their use is strenuously opposed by the plate printer's assembly of the Knights of Labor from motives of self-preservation, since the steam-presses, if used, would largely supersede hand workmen, and it is owing to the discontinuance of the steam-presses that the present difficulty in the bureau has arisen.

After the fight in Congress during the Fiftieth Congress against the steam-presses, a clause was placed in the Sundry Civil Appropriation Bill prohibiting the Secretary of the Treasury from using the Milligan machines after June 30, 1889, unless the owners and patentees would accept a royalty of only one cent per thousand impressions for their use. The royalty previously paid was one dollar per thousand impressions, and the patentees did not accept the one-cent rate. Thereupon the presses were thrown out. It is claimed that for every dollar paid for the use of the steam-presses the Government saved five dollars, and that each of the machines formerly in use saved the Government \$5,000 a year. The cost of doing the work by hand is said to be two and one fourth times as great as the cost of steam press work. Objection is made to the quality of the work executed on the steam-presses. but Chief Meredith thinks the steam-press is good enough for tobacco and liquor stamps, which are simply pasted upon packages, and used but once, and then only by authorized agents of the Government in the Internal Revenue Service. For bank-note work, Chief Meredith prefers hand-presses, for the reason that they produce more perfect results. The bureau prints annually about forty-seven million impressions, of which about thirty-two million are revenue The hand-press work costs the Governstamps. ment \$14 per thousand sheets, while the machine work costs \$4 per thousand. The report of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue last year shows that the printing of stamps cost the Government 3.95 cents per thousand sheets more than in any year during the Cleveland administration. Capt. Meredith believes that a saving of \$92,000 could be effected each year by printing the revenue stamps on the steam-presses. At the last session of the late Congress, the Federal Manufacturing and Printing Company of New York, owning the steam plate presses, offered to enter into a contract with the Government to do all the printing and engraving now done by the bureau and furnish all the materials for \$250,000 a year less than it now costs, the contract to continue not less than four years. The company further offered to take and use the Government building and plant at a fair price, to work their employees only eight hours a day, and to give bond for the faithful performance of the contract in accordance with the specifications prepared by the Government. Congress declined, however, to reopen the old fight of 1888, and this offer was not acted upon. Consequently the hand method is still pursued. — Associated Press Dispatch.

TO-DAY, APRIL 9, 1891.

A record of the facts and considerations which show that Individual Liberty is good for the people of the United States, and that, therefore, Legislative Regulation is injurious for them.

J. MORRISON-FULLER, WALTER C. ROSE, Editors.

A short time ago the newspapers contained a somewhat sensational item chronicling the arrest, for begging, of an old soldier who had served three years and been honorably discharged. The case might be regarded as a comment upon the wisdom of recent pension legislation, under which so many draw money from the Government, who do not merit it in the least; or it might raise a question as to the humanity of the law in most of the States making it a crime to beg. Begging has not usually been regarded as an eminently praiseworthy method of getting a living, but it seems a little hard to deny a man suffering from hunger the right to ask for bread. One kind of begging, however, continues to be safe, and respectable, and lucrative; namely, begging from the Government. This more often takes the form of asking the Government to assist certain people in their business - to enable them to obtain from purchasers a higher price for their wares — than of begging for alms undisguisedly. Still bounty seekers and subsidy hunters have been making considerable noise of late. One individual has been found, however, to refuse the alms when offered, Gov. Hogg, of Texas, - in behalf of his State, though, not for himself. It seemed to him beneath the dignity of a Sovereign State to accept from the National Treasury a bounty upon sugar made by convict labor. It would be a beautiful spectacle if a few individuals could be found who would regard it as beneath their dignity to receive assistance from the Government like paupers; but the practice of receiving such assistance has become so nearly universal that it is even regarded as honorable.

Commenting on the report that the number of deaths in New York last year exceeded the number of births (40,103 and 39,250 respectively), a Boston newspaper remarks, that the people there should decrease the death-rate or increase the birth-rate, "or, better still, both." The writer seems to have had in his mind the business maxim "Quick sales and small profits." Doubtless, there is great room for improvement in the population of New York, and if only the people to die and to be born could be wisely

selected, more rapid improvement could be brought about in this way. But, since no selection could be exercised, it is conceivable that a more rapid deterioration would be caused. The will of the people is not the chief factor in determining the death-rate, or the birth-rate either. A high birth-rate is usually regarded as evidence that the conditions of life are favorable, and a high death-rate that they are the reverse. The advice would seem to be hard to follow. The question suggested is one of the weightiest connected with the present civilization of the world. The concentration of population in large cities during the last hundred years has frequently been remarked, and the rapidity with which families "run out" in those places is also notorious. According to Mr. Galton's calculations, the children of artisans living in cities who reach maturity are little over half as numerous as those of country laborers. Cities offer attractions both to the best and to the worst inhabitants of other districts; they are sinks of pauperism, misery, vice, and crime, through which the most dangerous and unhealthy growths are thrown off from the social organism, and they also absorb the best blood from the rest of the nation. Those with the highest physique, the strongest characters, and the keenest intellects go there to find scope for their abilities. But their children do not attain to the full vigor of their fathers. "Only a very small proportion of those artisans to whom London owes its pre-eminence as a centre of highly-skilled work," says Prof. Marshall, "come from parents who have been born there; and there are scarcely any whose grandparents were born there." There is a grave question whether cities do not on the whole make for the degeneration of a race.

The text of the proposed ballot law for Illinois occupies nearly three columns in the Chicago Herald. Our statute-books threaten to become unmanageable, not only by the number but by the length of statutes they contain. The good old maxim, lex brevis esto, seems to have been wholly forgotten by our legislators. If only a law could be effective in proportion to its length, honest elections would seem to be assured in Illinois, provided this act passes; though it is doubtful whether, by any device, however ingenious and complicated, popular government can be a great success among a people who have not sufficient virtue to cast an honest ballot except in secret. Think of the men who in the past risked

life and liberty laboring for a government of the people, being confronted by the fact that, even after universal suffrage had been attained, a sufficient number to vitiate the result of an election could be hindered by intimidation or bribes, from voting for what they believed the best interest of the country. It would certainly have seemed to them that they were making great sacrifices for an unworthy cause, if they could have foreseen that one of the chief results of the revolution they were striving to effect would be that a large number of human bipeds would find in the right to vote an easy method of obtaining a few drinks and cigars once a year.

Legal language affords a striking example of striving after accuracy without attaining it; just as in the language of mathematics may be found a conspicuous instance of success in attaining accuracy. The similarity between the two languages is that they are both technical; but here the similarity stops: the one is a jargon, the other a language admirably adapted to its purposes. Take such a sentence as this, from the Illinois law, which is not bad at all for a legal sentence: "Any person or corporation who shall refuse to an employee the privilege hereby conferred, or shall subject an employee to a penalty or deduction of wages because of the exercise of such privilege, or who shall directly or indirectly violate the provisions of this section, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and shall be fined in any sum not less than \$5 nor more than \$100." It is easy to see that by striking out nearly three fourths of the words used in the above sentence the idea is conveyed much more clearly and forcibly: any person who shall violate a provision of this section shall be fined not less than \$5 nor more than \$100. If the proposition, "of all isoperimetrical plane figures the circles is the maxium," were to be expressed after the legal model, it might be expected to read somewhat as follows: "Of all triangles, whether equilateral, isosceles, or scalene, and of all squares, rectangles, parallelograms, rhomboids, or quadrilaterals, and of all pentagons, hexagons, septagons, octagons, nonagons, decagons, or polygons, whether regular or irregular, and of all plane figures bounded by straight or curved lines, or both, the perimeters, peripheries, or boundary lines of which are equal and not greater or less, the area, superficies, or square content of the circle is the greatest." The great defect in legal language is, of course, a lack of general terms having a precise denotation. Many more people have devoted themselves to the law than to mathematics; and this serves to show how much more can be accomplished by a few clever men than by a multitude of dullards.

Attention is directed to the long Short-Sighted
"Knights." and instructive account of the present troubles in the Government Bureau of Engraving and Printing, which appears in this issue among the "In General" items. The Knights of Labor are fighting against the use of machinery in the Government printing-house. At their dictation the Fiftieth Congress enacted a law virtually forbidding the use of machinery; and now the revenue collectors all over the country complain of the scarcity of stamps. It has been impossible to comply with the law requiring that a three-months' supply of stamps shall always be on hand; and the output of paper currency has also been decreased, while the notes that are issued in the hurry and haste - now the normal condition in the bureau —are returned to the Treasury after a brief circulation as unfit for use. The only thing that the Knights of Labor see and try to prevent is the supersession of hand labor by the use of steam presses. They do not want their members to be thrown out of employment. The facts which are not seen by the Knights are that the work now done is done badly, and that the cost of doing the work by hand is two and one-fourth times as great as the cost of steam-press work. Will the Knights say that this does not concern them? But where does the Government get the money - the \$92,000 a year — which it pays for the luxury of handwork? Why, the Knights of Labor, and the farmers, and the other workers of the country pay it in taxes. Of the other indirect evil results of the policy of the Knights it is not necessary to speak here. But one lesson may be emphasized. It is well known that the Knights, and "organized labor" generally, have been unsuccessful in opposing the use of machinery by private firms and companies. Their success is limited to the institutions under the control of the State and federal Governments. The politicians are of course ready to do the bidding of the "labor vote" wherever that vote is formidable. At the dictation of the labor vote, some State Legislatures have legislated their convicts into complete idleness, while others have been induced to forbid the use of machinery in the penitentiaries. This shows us what to expect from an extension of governmental functions, and how much truth there is in the contention that Government monopoly is in the interest of public

convenience and economy. Of course, the Socialists will here rejoin that the remedy lies in adopting the whole Socialist programme and in suppressing private enterprise altogether. be sure, then the use of machinery will not be opposed. But whatever the merits of the position of avowed and consistent Socialists, the important fact is that the claim of organized labor, that they are conservative, and do not seek the total suppression of individual liberty, can no longer be allowed. Their methods and proposals leave no doubt that their ideal is State Socialism. The labor organizations will not be satisfied with the concessions of the Legislature, for, after all, while industrial liberty remains, very little can be done by the Legislators. To approve and please the labor vote, more and more private functions will have to be transferred to the offi cials. So the choice is between complete slavery and complete liberty. The time to choose has come, or is coming fast.

In an essay with the heading Common and "From Freedom to Bondage," which serves as an introduction to a collection of essays entitled "A Plea for Liberty; an Argument against Socialism and Socialistic Legislation," and which appears in the Popular Science Monthly for April, Herbert Spencer draws attention to some of the ways in which common-sense inferences are flatly contradicted by facts. For instance, measures taken to suppress a book frequently result in an increased circulation of it; attempts to prevent usurious rates of interest frequently inflict great hardships upon borrowers, either by making it impossible to obtain loans at all, or by causing them to give a bonus sufficient to compensate the lender for the risk he runs in breaking the law; frequently it is more difficult to procure things at the place where they are produced than elsewhere. "One of the most curious of all is the way in which the more things improve the loader become the exclamations about their badness." When barley and rye bread was the chief food of the common people, when their clothing comprised hardly more than a single garment, and even among the gentry a linen shirt was esteemed of sufficient importance to be specially mentioned in a will, when the houses had only one room and no chimney, the popular welfare occupied almost no space in the public attention. Now, when in consequence of industrial development the condition of all classes has immensely improved, both outside and inside parliament, "plans to benefit the millions form the leading topics, and every one having means is expected to join in some philanthropic effort."

Thus far Mr. Spencer. After reading the essay, one cannot help wondering whether the next generation or the next but one will not have a chance to observe another falsification of the natural common-sense inference in this connection. Of course, when everybody is trying to reform society, when common-sense plans for the benefit of humanity, and plans directly the reverse of common-sense, are brought forth in the greatest abundance, the human race will progress towards happiness much more rapidly than when hardly any one gave much attention to the subject. But the truth of this inference depends upon whether the plans followed are the right ones or not; and unfortunately men are not sure to select the right course of action when several are urged upon them.

The sentiment which has developed most rapidly during the last two centuries is unquestionably sympathy with suffering. The contrast between the present and the past is strikingly shown by recalling that not many generations ago a cripple or a hunchback could not mingle with a crowd without being hooted at, and perhaps kicked or stoned. The sympathy which has developed, however, has not yet become discriminating. Suffering which has resulted from the ill-conduct of the patient frequently excites as much sympathy as that resulting from causes beyond his control. The first thought with a large class of persons on learning that a case of suffering exists is, that it ought to be relieved. The only reason why any suffering ought not to be relieved is that relieving it will cause still greater suffering; as giving water to a fever patient would, if the old theory of fever were true. That suffering has been self-caused is no reason why it ought to be endured, though this fact may well have an influence upon the desire of a third party to relieve it. If those persons whose sympathies are so very active (philanthropists) were content to relieve the suffering they deplore by their personal efforts they would deserve little but praise; they would doubtless cause some evil; but no one could complain of their course. When, however, they insist that others shall be compelled to join with them in their work, a new kind of evil is introduced. The people who administer the compulsory charity come to be actuated by quite other than altruistic motives, the quality of charity is deteriorated, so that the good done hardly compensates

or the burden imposed upon the self-sustaining part of the community.

It is these persons whose sympathies are more developed than their discretion who are largely responsible for the wave of Socialism which is at present spreading over civilized countries. There exists a great deal of misery in the present order, and to these persons it seems evident that this misery could be removed by a social revolution. The other class eager for a new order of things is composed of those who get little of this world's goods - some of them, doubtless, less than the amount they contribute to production. All these men see in the Government a means accomplishing the changes they desire. It is so easy to say, the work of producing goods shall be carried on in such a way, and the goods when produced shall be distributed so and so. The Government is to take possession of the means of production, and as labor is one of the chief means of production, the Government is to have the direction of labor. All men are to work under the direction of the Government, and in turn all men together are to manage the Government. The result will be that every one will have a fair share of the comforts of life, and no one will have a great superabundance.

The scheme seems very attractive to many, and just at present the world seems inclined to give it a trial. Not by any sudden and violent revolution,—the advocates of that are, as yet, comparatively few, - but every new industrial enterprise undertaken by government, every new regulation or inspection of industry, is plainly a move in this direction. And everywhere a legislature is in session the moves made are conspicuous. The results thus far have not been very encouraging; regulation and inspection seldom secure the benefits aimed at, and usually cause unforeseen evils; while municipal government, which more than any other engages in industrial enterprises, is the most corrupt and debased of all government; and this is saying a great deal. Advocates of the new order explain all this by saying that the Government is corrupt simply because it is not sufficiently industrial; as soon as it directs and controls all industry it will become pure. The world seems willing to allow itself to be pursuaded by them, and the advance goes on. Still it seems a pity that one nation cannot be allowed to try the experiment first, and then, if it succeeded, its example could be followed by others; while, if it failed, the others could take warning. Germany has gone further in the direction of Socialism than any other nation, and the character of her people seems excellently adapted to such a regime; why cannot other countries wait and learn from the experience of Germany, which is trying the experiment under exceptionally favorable conditions?

DIRECT POPULAR LEGISLATION.

The gross violations of the principles of representative government attempted during the second session of the Fifty-first Congress have directed attention to the defects in our system of legislation. The one thing which the elections last fall showed beyond cavil was that Congress as then constituted did not in any sense represent the people, and that its will could not harmonize with their will. True, the two worst measures contemplated, the Force bill and the Subsidy bill were defeated, so that not much was accomplished beyond plundering the Treasury; and the people are so accustomed to be plundered by Congress that a little matter of \$100,000,-000 or \$200,000,000 more in that line may be readily forgotten. But the people are possessed by the idea that their will must be carried into effect. After the controversy regarding Mr. Reed, it may be regarded as established that in Congress the majority must rule, and consequently if the majority in Congress does not agree with the majority in the nation, then the rule is in reality that of a minority. It seems as if the average man ought to be able to comprehend this, notwithstanding the politicians. There are the two bodies, Congress and the nation, and the majority and the minority in each. If the majority in the former carries out the will of the minority in the latter, the conclusion seems sufficiently obvious.

This Government might have been constituted on the theory that the people should have simply the privilege of choosing their rulers, and that the will of Congress should be supreme. In fact, however, the theory is that the will of the people shall be supreme, and that Congressmen are simply chosen to carry their will into effect. This Congress does not do very well, and the will of the people frequently fails to be accomplished for lack of suitable machinery for ascertaining it and carrying it into effect. Accordingly attempts have been made to devise some method of direct legislation by the people.

In local matters, as on the question of licensing, this kind of legislation is common, and in amendments to State constitutions; or in adopting new ones, many of which contain a good deal of legislation, and also when an amendment to the Federal Constitution is voted on. But the last occurs very rarely.

The objections to incorporating much legislation in constitutions are obvious and grave. It is important that the distinction between constitutional and statute law be kept clear. Moreover it is desirable that the general outlines of the form of government should be as stable as possible. But if these outlines are contained in the same instrument as matters about which public sentiment changes from time to time, much of this stability will be lost.

In the ancient republics, before representative assemblies were thought of, all legislative power rested directly with the people. Ac cording to Mr. Bryce, "the first reappearance in modern Europe of the scheme of direct legislation by the people is the provision in the French constitution framed by the National Convention in 1793, which directs that any law proposed by the legislative body shall be published, and sent to all the communes of the Republic, whose primary assemblies shall be convoked to vote upon it in case objections have been raised by one tenth of these primary assemblies in a majority of the departments." In Switzerland, also in some of the smaller cautons, it is provided that the people may veto a measure passed by the council, a vote being forced by the petition of a certain number of citizens. The veto has, however, given way to a modification of it known as the Referendum. In every canton but one the right of the people to have all important legislation referred to them for confirmation or rejection has been established by law. Laws passed by the Federal Assembly have also to go through the ordeal of a popular vote, upon the demand of 30,000 qualified Swiss citizens or of eight cantons.

It is perfectly plain that the people as a whole cannot execute the laws, and when representative government was first introduced it was impossible for them to assemble together and discuss the new measures necessary to be passed. Now, however, a measure can be discussed simultaneously over a whole continent, and the result of the discussion be made known in a few days. There is abso-

lutely no reason why the people should not have submitted to them every public measure of importance. The experience of this country during its national existence has produced a distrust of Legislatures, State and national, especially the former, as is evinced by the restrictions placed upon the powers of the legislators by many of the newer State constitutions. Of course Congress and State Legislatures would not be abolished under this scheme; they might have final action on unimportant measures, such as private pension bills and stage costumes, and they would perhaps be useful in bringing the more important measures into shape. The working of the Referendum in Switzerland has been to diminish party spirit; and that would be a most desirable result here. Measures rather than men would have to receive attention in a campaign. Personal gossip and scandal would be greatly diminished, and there would be less temptation to rich corporations to corrupt legislators. The people would take more interest in public measures than they do now, with advantage both to themselves and to the measures. In the days of Aristophanes, Greece presented the spectacle of a country dying from too much interest being taken by its citizens in public affairs and too little in private business. In this country the reverse obtains; too much interest is taken in private business and too little in public affairs and the doings of public bodies. Anything which would tend to correct this is greatly to be sought for. The greatest gain, however, would be in saving us from the tide of over-legislation, with which we are deluged. Of the 20,000 bills introduced into the last Congress only 2,186 became laws; the people would not have passed over 200 of them, and those not for several years. The gain in this way would have been incalculable.

THE INTERNATIONAL ASPECT OF THE NEW ORLEANS OUTBREAK.

The recent experience of New Orleans in mob violence opens up the vexed question of the rights of aliens to the protection of the country in which they are domiciled for the time being. From being a municipal question affecting New Orleans primarily and the body politic indirectly, the mob violence of a few days ago assumes the importance of an international episode in which the parties to

the dispute are the Italian Government and the United States.

In the first place, it will be best to state the Law of Nations regarding injuries to aliens inflicted by mob violence, and then to state the specific cases in which such international rulings were applied.

"The State," says Mr. Calvo, "is not only obliged to maintain peace and justice among the diverse members of the society of which it is the organ, it must take especial care that all those placed under its authority shall injure neither the government nor the citizens of another country. . . . In its application, this principle cannot be said to be absolute, for there are exceptions inherent in the very nature of the things; for there are certain facts, certain private acts, that the most vigilant exercise of authority cannot prevent, and that the most careful legislation on the subject is not always able to prevent or to repress. All that other nations can ask of a government is that it shall be absloutely impartial; that it shall require its subjects to fulfil their international obligations by all the means in its power; that it shall not let such violations go unpunished, and finally, that it shall act in good faith, and in conformity with the precepts of national law; to ask more of a government would be to elevate private injury to the height of a public offence, and to impute to an entire nation the fault of one of its members."

Under the section on the extent of national responsibility, the same authority lays it down that

"The reponsibility of governments toward aliens cannot be greater than the responsibility which the same governments assume in regard to their own citizens. It cannot be asserted for a moment that the rights of hospitality can limit the rights of a government to use all legal means for self-preservation; or that aliens can obtain a privileged position in the state compared with the natural citizens thereof." [Le Droit International III., pages 133-138.]

When a government in the case of an insurrection or other civil commotion is unable for the time being to control the actions of its citizens, it is an international axiom that the residents or private citizens have no claim for compensation for any and all injuries which they may have suffered.

In American commotions, however, European governments fail to see the binding force of the above axiom as clearly as in their own cases: "The rule that they have tried to impose on American States in more than one case is that aliens merit more consideration... than is accorded by the nations in question to their own subjects."

The whole problem resolves itself, according to Mr. Calvo, into the question: "Are or are not governments responsible for the loss and injury suffered by aliens in times of internal commotion or civil war? This question has been discussed for many years, but has been finally answered in the negative." To answer the question in the affirmative would be to divest a nation of its independence in internal matters and to grant to any and every foreign nation, strong enough to enforce its demands, a species of concurrent jurisdiction in matters of the greatest importance to the peace and prosperity of the granting power.

In the citations from Mr. Calvo, the term civil commotion and like phrases are used; but the distinction between an outbreak, a riot, and an insurrection on a small scale is very hard to draw, and when drawn it is of no immediate importance to the present case, as will shortly appear.

In 1850, 51 Cuba was invaded by Lopez and his partisans. The Spanish authorities quickly put down the insurrection, and shot some fifty of the American filibusters who fell into their hands. The news of the execution produced such an excitement in New Orleans that the mob arose, bloodshed followed, and the Spanish flag and residence of the Spanish consul was outraged. From this simple statement it is at once seen that a strong similarity exists between the Italian and Spanish case of forty years ago, but an exact parallel does not at all present itself. To the claim of damages at once instituted by the Spanish government, Mr. Webster, then Secretary of State, replied:

"The assembling of mobs happens in all countries; popular violences occasionally break out everywhere, setting law at defiance, trampling on the rights of citizens and private men. . . . In these cases public faith and national honor require not only that such outrages should be disavowed but also that the perpetrators of them should be punished wherever it is possible to bring them to justice; and, further, that full satisfaction should be made in cases in which a duty to that effect rests with the Government, according to the general principles of law, public faith, and the obligations of treaties." The consul, Mr. Webster states, is entitled to indemnification as a public officer, but the rights of public officers " are quite different from those of the Spanish subjects who have come into the country to mingle with our own citizens, and here to pursue their private business and objects. The former may claim special indemnity; the latter is entitled to such protection as is afforded to our very adequate reason for our high railroad fares:—

"The first obvious reason for the difference in passenger fares is a difference in the kind of service rendered. Continental Europe pays two thirds as much as America or England and gets an inferior article. India pays still less and gets still less. The difference is seen both in quality and in quantity of service. In India, express trains rarely run at a greater speed than twenty-five miles an hour. In Germany and France, their speed ranges from twenty-five to thirty-five miles an hour, and only in exceptional instances is more than forty miles an hour. In the United States and in England, the maximum speed rises as high as fifty, or, in exceptional instances, sixty miles an hour. With regard to the comfort of the cars in different countries. there is more room for difference of opinion; there can be no doubt that the average traveller in the United States, or even in the English third-class car, fares better than he would in the corresponding class on continental railroads, and infinitely better than the bulk of travellers in British India. No rates, however low, would induce an American to be content with Austrian third-class accommodation, or to tolerate that which is furnished the average Hindoo traveller.

"There is a second reason, of even greater importance, though it is less obvious at first sight. This is the difference in the number of trains. Taking into account density of population and amount of travel, Europe has more trains than India, and America or England more than Continental Europe. If there are five hundred travellers daily who wish to use a certain line in India, the authorities give them but one or two trains a day. They are thus able to secure very large train loads; and as the train rather than the passenger is the unit for many items of expense, the sacrifice of public convenience in the matter of hours of travel is a source of economy for the railroad. For a given number of people who can use railroads, Austria provides more trains than India, Germany more than Austria, England more than Germany, and the United States more than England. Each concession to the public convenience in this matter involves a loss which must be paid for somewhere."

Two very good reasons are also given why our railroad men cannot give us cheap service as well as plenty of it: "first, because it is not certain that low rates would be followed by greatly increased travel; second, because such increased travel would not be so economical to handle in America as it is in Europe."

The Professor also shows why the Hungarian "zone system" can never be adopted here.

THE ARENA (April).—Crooked Taxation is considered by Thomas G. Shearman as a term far more accurate and applicable to what it is intended to define than the more usual term, "indirect taxation," which sounds more pleas-

ant to the sensitive ear, and is less suggestive of fraud, oppression, and inequality.

The tendencies of indirect taxation, are shown to be evil in the extreme, aiding the rich at the expense of the poor, removing all checks upon the extravagance of Government, complicating the business of the country, and promoting bribery and corruption. Some interesting statistics are given, showing how the burdens of taxation are divided, and how unjust the division is when compared with the incomes of the various classes who are called upon to contribute their supposed share.

The following paragraph, which concludes the article, gives in round numbers the saving that would result from direct taxation, and the benefits in general to be derived therefrom:—

Under direct taxation, the tax burden of the American people would have fallen, in 1880, from over \$1,350,000,000 to less than \$600,000,000; because that sum would have paid for all the cost of Government. Production would have increased at least twenty-five per cent. The national savings would have increased far more. The laboring masses could have saved \$1,200,000,000, instead of \$250,000,000. But all this is just as true now. The abolition of crooked taxation to-day would diminish our burdens more than half. It would multiply the savings of the masses more than threefold, while allowing them to spend much more than they do now. The rich would continue to grow richer, as it is desirable that they should; but the poor would become comparatively rich. Many reforms are needed in this favored republic, but none can compare in importance or in far-reaching effects with this: let crooked taxation be utterly destroyed.

In Popular Leaders Past and Present, E. P. Powell writes of A'exander Hamilton, criticising Prof. Bryce's statement in his "American Commonwealth," in which Hamilton is said to be to Europeans the most interesting character in our early history, and that his countrymen have never fully appreciated him.

Prof. J. R. Buchanan's Nationalization of the Land, which appeared in the March "Arena," is continued in this number. Nationalism v. Individualism is the title of the "No-Name paper." The writer criticises Mr. Hamlin Garland's recent article "A New Declaration of Rights," and declares that what Mr. Garland describes as individualism is socialism, and that his idea of socialism is nothing more or less than individualism.

Owing to the continued illness of the editor To-DAY will appear fortnightly instead of weekly, until further notice.

AMERICANA.

Here is the story of an incident during the last all-night session of the House which bears on its face many marks of verity, not the least a nong which is the appropriation of some of the conversation direct from the pages of the Congressional Record. About five o'clock in the morning, when the House was in a reckless mood, ready either to fight or to have fun, a member who had been indulging freely in the hospitalities of the cloak-room came unsteadily down toward the bar of the House, and said, —

" Misht Speak."

The Speaker turned to see who it was that addressed him. He smiled, and then recognized the member.

- " Misht Speak, I risesh to parl'ment inquiries."
- "The gentleman can rise to only one parliamentary inquiry at a time."

The member with the inquiry on his mind looked at the Speaker with glazed fishy eyes for a moment and then sat down to consider the situation. After pondering it for a few minutes, he appeared to have solved the Speaker's meaning and rose again. He got up slowly, as one who lifts a great burden, swaying from side to side as he stood on his feet and held on to the desks for support.

- "Misht Speak, Misht Speak, I risesh to parl-'ment 'nquiry!" he exclaimed thickly and with difficulty.
- "The gentleman will state his parliamentary inquiry," said the Speaker.
- "Misht Speak, m''parlment 'nquiry thish: Ten days ago —"

Here he forgot what he was going to say, and stood mute but not motionless. He swayed. He gazed at the Speaker with a hopeless look in his eyes, and wavered backward and forward. The Speaker waited a full minute for him to continue, and seeing that he could not, he looked down on him with an amused air, and said in his dryest tones,—

"The gentleman is out of order: 'ten days ago' is not a parliamentary inquiry."

The House roared as the member with the inquiring turn collapsed into his chair, more hopeless and helpless than ever. — Baltimore Herald.

Two hundred and fifty thousand dollars a year is a little too much to pay for a falsified Congressional Record. — Courier-Journal.

The President says "A navy is the best guarantee against war; it is insurance." What the navy needs just now is accident insurance.—

Philadelphia Record.

Under the head of Motions and Resolutions, Senator Smith, of Detroit, offered the following verses, which he asked to be spread on the Journal:—

[Dedicated to the First Senatorial District.] -Once on a time, 't was long ago, When earth was filled with strife and woe. When superstition covered all That sea-girt island like a pall, An angle blest, in human form, Through forest drear and ocean's storm. Saw an emerald island lying there. Of all old ocean's gems most rare, And peopled with a noble race Who knew naught of the Prince of Peace. His heart was filled with holy zeal, That he might all their sorrows heal; His soul was filled with heavenly fire. To lift them from the bogs and mire Of pagan rites, and altars red With human blood. To them he sped. He left his pleasant, cloistered cell; He left the friends he loved so well; He traversed land, he sailed the sea, This island's people to make free. These simple folk the debt to pay Each year keep green St. Patrick's Day.

At the conclusion of the reading a half a dozen members demanded an explanation.

Senator Smith arose, and spoke as follows: -"There is a special propriety this day in having these verses spread on the Journal. They are dedicated to my constituents. The district I have the honor to represent is eminently American, because it is truly cosmopolitan. Among the foremost citizens are Americans to the manner born. It affords a home to the sturdy sons of Germany. It is proud of its members of the Norman race. It reckons among its best representatives the persecuted sons of Poland. And all these are true types of good American citizens. But my district also has the good fortune to have among its foremost and best representatives sons of the Emerald Isle, who, because of their devotion to their adopted country, love their native land the more. And in their name, I move that the verses be spread on the Journal."

And so it was ordered.

Senator Wheeler followed with a resolution "That the Senate do now adjourn, that we may do proper honor to St. Patrick, a saint whom not only Ireland and her sons delight to honor but all the world."

This was adopted by a yea-and-nay vote—yeas, 17; nays, 7. — Legislative Report. Detroit Free Press.

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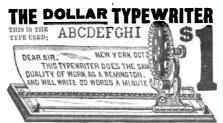
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POLITICS: EVENTS; COMMENTS; LITERATURE.

The conditions under which this paper is published render it impossible to give the weekly record of facts the character of news, especially in the case of the foreign items. The facts are, in the main, collected from daily papers. Their importance does not generally depend upon dates. Our record of them cannot have greater authority than the sources have, but is evidently more trustworthy than any single newspaper.

LEGISLATIVE.

Massachusetts. — The House defeated the bill providing that no minor under eighteen years, and no woman, shall work over fifty-eight hours a week in any manufacturing establishment. The Senate rejected the bill regulating the hours of labor of tour workers in paper mills.

New Hampshire.— Among the bills passed by both Houses are: the bill making Labor Day a legal holiday; the bill making Election Day a legal holiday; and the bill providing that every corporation issuing certificates whereby members become entitled to receive money or other benefits shall annually report to the insurance commissioner showing its financial standing, the amount of its income, the manner of its disbursements, etc.

The local option license bill, the bill abolishing capital punishment, and the bill regulating express and telephone charges were defeated.

Wisconsin.— The Senate passed the bill regulating the speed of railroad trains in cities and villages, and the bill for the punishment of habitual criminals, which provides that criminals shall not be released from prison at the expiration of their sentences unless the authorities think proper.

Among the bills passed by the House are: providing for speaking-tubes and electric bells in factories; preventing deception in the sale of cheese; taxing telephone companies 24 per cent of their gross earnings; prohibiting the use of imitation dairy products without advertising the fact; and providing for the election of United States Senators by popular vote. The uniform text-book bill was defeated.

The compulsory education bill, providing that children between the ages of seven and thirteen years shall attend school twelve weeks in a year, has passed both Houses.

Minnesota. - Among the bills passed by the Senate are: providing for the assessment and taxation of telegraph and telephone lines; petitioning Congress for the establishment of a postal telegraph; providing for milk inspection; compelling the Chicago and St. Paul Railroad to stop at a certain station; creating the railroad and warehouse commission; and regulating common carriers; preventing pools and combinations to restrict competition in food products: and making it a misdemeanor for "any female person" to appear upon the stage or platform in tights, or be dressed in any manner which makes the shape and form of the "nether limbs" visible. The bill prohibiting the sale of mileage tickets at a discount by railroads was defeated.

Among the bills passed by the House are: regulating the labor of railway employees; establishing farmers' institutes; regulating building associations; providing for a commission to investigate the Torrens land-transfer system; requiring candidates to file statements of moneys received and expended with certain officials; prohibiting pools and combinations to regulate the price of oil, lumber, coal, grain, etc.; and providing that all lands granted hereafter to any railroad company shall be assessed and taxed as other lands are taxed in the State, except such parts of said lands as are held, used, or occupied for right of way, gravel-pits, sidetracks, depots, and all buildings and structures which are necessarily used in the actual management and operation of the railroads of said companies.

The House defeated the Senate bill which provided that "all articles. editorials, items. and written accounts printed or published in any pamphlet, periodical, magazine, newspaper, sheet, circular, or handbill which shall therein

purport to relate, state, describe, or give an account of or give intelligence of any political, official, personal, or social act, writing, or speech of any human being, living or-dead, reflecting in any way upon such person's character, shall be subscribed by the full name of the person or persons who shall have written, composed, indited, or prepared for such publication such article, editorial, item, or written account."

Nebraska. — The House passed the bill providing that a national flag shall be placed over every school-house, the bill empowering the board of transportation to regulate express companies, and the bill authorizing the appointment of police matrons in cities having over 15,000 inhabitants.

Among the bills passed by the Senate are: requiring corporations to publish annually the amount of their capital stock; making eight hours a day's labor; compelling railroad companies to name stations after the towns in which they are located; providing for punishing infringement of labor-unions' labels; requiring railroads to equip engines and cars with automatic couplers; punishing the selling of liquor to Indians; regulating the catching of fish in Missouri River; and punishing parties found in houses of ill-fame. The bill appropriating \$100,-000 for the support of farmers in distress was defeated.

The bill fixing the maximum railroad rates has been vetoed by the governor.

The Legislature has adjourned.

Arkansas. — Among the bills passed by the Senate are: prohibiting the giving of a mortgage on prospective or planted crops; providing for inspection of oils and liquids in cities of first and second class; adding to legal holidays the birthdays of Washington and Lee, and Thanksgiving day; compelling railroads to ditch and drain their right of way; requiring prompt delivery of telegraph messages; prohibiting the bringing into the State of private police or armed detectives by private parties; and requiring a poll-tax receipt as a prerequisite of voting. The separate coach bill was amended so as to permit railroads to put in partitions in the cars, and to huddle the races together in case of wrecks.

Among the bills passed by the House are: pensioning disabled confederate soldiers and their widows; repealing the act prohibiting the exportation of fish and game; protecting citizens from frauds of venders of patents and patent rights; compelling railroads to drain their roadbeds; requiring railroads to put up bulletin boards at their telegraph stations giving the time of

arrival and departure of passenger trains; requiring insurance companies to execute a \$20 000 bond before doing business in the State; prohibiting the building of barbed-wire fences without timbers at the top; limiting the time of service of jurors to four weeks; taking the license off pediers in farm products and merchandise exchanged for farm products; and favoring the election of President, Vice-President and Senators by popular vote.

The Legislature has adjourned.

Tennessee. — The Senate passed the bill compelling foreign building and loan associations to deposit from \$25,0.0 to \$50,000, according to the capital stock, and taxing each \$50 a year; and the bill preventing trusts and pools for the purpose of controlling prices.

The House passed the bill providing for a board of examiners and regulating the practice of dentistry, and the bill making it unlawful to keep barber-shops open Sundays. The bill prohibiting the running of freight trains on Sunday, and the bill making unbelievers competent witnesses were defeated.

The law for the regulation of immigration that was adopted by Congress just before adjournment gives the rules that are to be enforced at all ports by the agents appointed since the Federal Government took control of immigration last year. It reaffirms the laws previously enacted for the exclusion of lunatics, felons, paupers, polygamists, contract laborers, assisted immigrants, and persons with contagious diseases. It provides for the more vigorous enforcement of the alien contract-labor law of 1885. It declares that immigrants coming here through the solicitation of advertising agents in Europe shall be treated as violators of the law; and it prohibits steamship and transporta ion companies from encouraging immigration to this It provides that the names and nationality of all immigrants shall be reported on their arrival, and that immigrants shall be promptly inspected by authorized agents empowered to decide upon their right to land. It provides that State and municipal authorities may exercise such jurisdiction over immigrant stations as may be necessary for the public peace. It provides that all immigrants who come in violation of law shall be immediately sent back on the ship that brought them here; but, should that be impracticable, they may be returned at any time within a year after their arrival. Any aiien who may become a public charge during his first year here shall be sent back to the country from which he came.

The Kentucky Constitutional Convention has adjourned. It has cost the State \$200,000, having been in session one hundred and ninety-nine days. The principal changes are as follows:—

The Bill of Rights provides that no grant of exclusive privileges shall be made except for public services; that no property shall be exempt from the taxation except as provided in the constitution; that every franchise shall be subject to amendment and revocation specifically allows the passage of a compulsory education law, and forbids involuntary servitude except for crime.

The constitution forbids armed persons to be brought into the State except upon application by the General Assembly, revokes all lottery charters and prohibits such privileges. Legislative sessions are limited to sixty days, and all special laws prohibited where general laws can govern, and upon many, special law is prohibited. An official secret ballot is provided for, with provisions modelled after the Australian system, to prevent bribery.

School money must be distributed to white and negro alike, and separate schools for the races maintained.

The Ohio Legislature passed a bill preventing the employment of persons under fourteen years of age, and defeated the bill prohibiting the bringing of detectives into the State to do police or military duty.

The French Chamber has rejected an amendment to the law providing for one day of rest in seven, designating Sunday as the legal day of rest.

It appears, from a question asked in the English House of Commons, that it is the duty of the police to watch men partly drunk to see if they are served or not in the public-houses they enter.

The motion in the British House of Commons against allowing the opium traffic in India was carried by a large majority, and the government leader asked the House to compensate the Indian Revenue Department for the deficit entailed by the loss of the duties on opium.

A bill has been passed by the Hungarian Diet providing for the observance of Sunday as a legal day of rest, with the exception of necessary labor which may be pursued under the authority of the minister.

The Medical Department of the Russian Ministry of the Interior has issued a price-list for medicines by which the prices of seventy-four staple drugs have been reduced to a very low rate. Druggists charging higher prices are liable to a heavy fine.

In the debate on the Trades Regulation Bill in the Reichstag, the Socialists moved that the maximum work-day be immediately fixed at ten hours; that the maximum be reduced to nine hours in 1894, and to eight hours in 1898, and that eight hours be immediately adopted as the maximum for underground and continuous labor.

Pursuant to the policy adopted in the Reichstag, occupations involving human labor are to be discontinued on Sunday, except in certain special cases. A resolution of the Assembly requests the Imperial Chancellor to communicate with the different federal governments for the purpose of securing the uniform restriction of Sunday railway traffic throughout Germany to the conveyance of passengers only; and the Emperor is authorized to extend the obligatory cessation of work to other employments than those requiring purely manual labor. No shops are to remain open on Sunday more than five hours, and the municipal authorities are empowered to restrict the time still further.

JUDICIAL.

Judge Lacombe, of the United States Circuit Court at New York, has granted an injunction in favor of the plaintiffs in the case of The National Typographic Company et al. v. The New York Typograph Company et al., restraining the defendants from making or using automatic type-printing machines, which the plaintiffs assert infringe on the Mergenthaler patents. Judge Lacombe said: "That the machines manufactured and sold by the defendants may be lighter, smaller, and cheaper, more easily operated and more efficient; that they may be a decided improvement on the Mergenthaler machine, and may as such commend themselves more readily to the public; that they are themselves patented, and that if put in open competition with the earlier machines they would prove more attractive to purchasers and users, each of which points is pressed with great force by the defendants, — is wholly immaterial, if the complainants' main contention is a sound one, viz., that the Mergenthaler 'linotype' is covered by a foundation patent; that it embodies a combination wholly new in the printing art, which marks the first great step in advance taken for over four hundred years, and which, though susceptible, as all new foundation patents are, of subsequent improvement, has yet demonstrated its ability practically and efficiently ot perform the work which it was designed to do. . . . Some of the advantages secured by the

Mergenthaler machine had existed separately before, but all of them could not and did not exist until some one made the combination which lies at the foundation of that machine. When that was once made the way was open for a new departure in the printers' art."

The New York Court of Appeals has reversed a judgment on account of the action of a Brooklyn judge in permitting the counsel for the plaintiff too much latitude in summing up the case. The correctness of the trial in all other respects is unquestionable, but the Court held that it was impossible to say that the amount of the verdict was not augmented by reason of the appeal to the passions and prejudices of the jury. From the New York Sun we gather that

"the suit was brought against the Brooklyn Elevated Railroad Company, to recover damages for the interference caused by the erection of the defendant's structure, with the rights of the plaintiff as an abutting property-owner, upon the line of the railroad. In summing up, the counsel for the plaintiff called the attention of the jury to 'the utter disregard of the rights of the private citizen by corporations.' He then read an article from a New York newspaper, entitled Only a Boy Pedler. This article described the death of 'a little fellow fifteen years old, a Roumanian, a stranger in this great city, selling collar buttons and pocket combs from a modest tray, to help support his mother and eight brothers and sisters.' The boy was killed, according to the article, by touching an electric wire which had been left swinging for months from a pole in the street; and after denouncing the neglect of the New York officials to have the wires buried, the writer concluded by saying: 'It is shameful that where such perils are in question there should be procrastination, shiftlessness, and incompetency, which would not be tolerated in a private business.' ''

The Court of Appeals, while holding that the right of counsel to address the jury upon the facts, and upon all matters relevant to the case, is of public as well as private importance, declares that the privilege of counsel does not justify the introduction of irrelevant matter, and that the newspaper article, Only a Boy Pedler, could have been read for no purpose except to inflame the jury against corporations, and lead them, under the influence of anger, to award liberal damages to the plaintiff.

Judge Altgeld, of Chicago, has decided that a wife can maintain a civil suit for damages against her husband. The decision grew out of the suit of Mary F. Williams against her husband, Aaron Williams, for \$29,000 damages for slander. They were married in 1889, but, living

unhappily, separated after a few months, the wife being given some property to live upon, and she released all claims upon Mr. Williams. After the separation however, Mrs. Williams claimed her husband had circulated scandalous stories about her, and on these statements she began her slander suit. The case came before Judge Altgeld upon a demurrer of the wife's attorney. Williams's contention was that action could only be maintained by a wife against her husband when her property rights were involved. In sustaining the wife's demurrer, Judge Altgeld said: "The idea is monstrous, that a man can pound his wife to a jelly and yet not be held liable for damages in a civil action brought by her; and I cannot listen to any such reasoning by any court, no matter how high."

According to a decision of the Virginia Court of Appeals, no railroad can lay its tracks within sixty feet of the dwelling of any person who objects. If the tracks are down, the person who is injured thereby can demand and recover damages.

The Indiana Supreme Court has decided that, where candidates for office receive an equal number of votes, the election may be determined by lot

The organized printers of Indiana succeeded in having a State printing board created, but failed in having the board composed of printers or members of their International Union.

A correspondent of the New York World. writing from Galway, Ireland, says that in all the coast parishes where relief works are carried on by the government men are getting twenty-six cents, women, twenty cents, and little girls and boys, sixteen. All work under the eye of a policeman. Upon the relief from the Balfour fund, which is very small, many limitations are placed. No family is eligible to relief if it has an able-bodied man, or a boy over fourteen, or which is in receipt of a shilling a week from the poor-law guardians. Nothing can be given to families holding less than a quarter of an acre of ground. In regard to the importation of seed potatoes from Scotland, the correspondent writes: -

"As in all government business, the price paid is enormous. The government charges the potatoes to the local poor-law guardians, who sell them on credit to the peasants, and these poor fellows are already overburdened with debt to the shopkeepers. These potatoes in the Clifden Union cost the people about two cents a pound, and they are terrified to have this new debt hanging over them."

An adverse decision has been rendered by Secretary Noble on the question of the California Communists' title to the land on which the Kaweah Co-operative Colony is settled. The secretary finds that the lands for which they made application to perfect forty-three entries were reserved by Congress for the Sequoia National Park by the acts within of Sept. 25 and Oct. 1, 1890, and although the colonists made filings on the lands five years previously, their entries were invalidated by information of alleged frauds, and that it was competent for Congress to reserve this land It is estimated that the colonists have spent in the construction of public roads and other improvements about \$100,000, and, while the secretary's decision may result in hardship to the colonists, any relief to them must come through Congressional action.

The United States Express Company has recently issued an order providing for the collection of portraits of all employees of the company, with a description of their personal appearance. The employees number 10,000, or more. Employees will also be compelled to furnish bonds to secure the company against loss. Heretofore, the employees have obtained individual bondsmen, but now the company has its own bonding system, and the men are to provide the indemnity fund. Employees may be discharged without notice. No attempt has yet been made to enforce the new order, which is opposed by the men, but it is certain to be carried out. A strike is probable.

The freight handlers of Boston want the State to assist workingmen in acquiring homes. They have prepared a bill for introduction in the Legislature providing for the collection of information regarding tenements and land held for speculation. In the preamble they say:—

The undersigned petitioners, citizens of Boston, respectfully represent that, as many millions of feet of land are controlled and held in this city and vicinity by land companies, land syndicates, and land corporations for speculative and other purposes, which we believe to be contrary to the general interest of the public and retogressive to the welfare of the community, We, believing that Boston is rapidly becoming a city of tenants, rather than a city of homes, and that life in many of these tenements is not conducive to health, morals, or good citizenship, pray that steps be taken to protect the families of honest, industrious wage-workers from the blighting and contaminating influences common to the congested condition of tenement districts in certain large cities. Land companies should not be permitted to control all the available homestead sites in the suburbs of Boston, and hold and manipulate such sites until the price is beyond the means of the working masses.

The following circular has been issued by the secretary of the Knights of Labor:—

The superintendent of census has just issued a circular to all labor organizations soliciting answers to a series of questions. Believing that this action is beyond the scope of legitimate investigation, and is wholly unwarranted, we recommend secretaries of district, State, and local assemblies to refuse the desired information. The superintendent requests the names and addresses of the officers of the local assemblies of this order, and we do not desire that these should be published by the census department.

A remarkable meeting took place recently at New York: Thirty-five hundred journeymen painters who want a reduction of the hours of work without a reduction of wages, and the master painters who are willing to allow their employees to work as few hours as they like, but with a corresponding decrease in pay, met in Cooper Union for the purpose of discussing their differences and sustaining their respective sides by argument. There were six speakers, three on each side.

It is almost certain that all the bituminous coal-miners of Pennsylvania, Ohio, West Virginia, Indiana, and Illinois will strike on May 1, to enforce the eight-hour demand. Seventy-five thousand miners will stop work, directly affecting 500,000 people.

Manufacturers throughout Germany are forming associations to resist the labor organizations.

At Bradford, England, the police and military attempted to disperse a meeting of strikers, and a riot ensued; many were injured.

An Agricultural Laborers' Union has been formed in Hungary, with the object of abolishing the titles paid to land-owners.

A German labor editor was fined recently for publishing the list of workmen killed in a mine disaster alongside of the amount distributed as dividends among the owners of the mines.

The entire weekly edition of a labor paper in Vienna has been confiscated by the police, because it printed an appeal calling for "shoes for the striking shoemakers," The authorities of Canton Zurich, Switzerland, have passed a bill providing that all contractors doing work for the government must share profits with their workmen, and have disputes settled by arbitration through the courts.

The girls employed in the big stores of London get higher wages than those in the New York stores. The hours are shorter in London, and the work lighter. But the girls in the London shops are provided with board and lodging, and are obliged to live according to certain rules, which require them to be in the rooms at a certain hour in the evening.

IN GENERAL.

So disgraceful is the penitentiary system in Georgia that juries hesitate to send women there.

The circulation of the works of Emile Zola, the French novelist, is prohibited in Denmark and Turkey.

The success of two Boston women in furnishing the two best designs for the women's building at the Chicago Fair has renewed the interest in the question of architecture as a profession for women.

It is said that since Philadelehia has municipalized the manufacture and service of gas, the gas is so poor that electric lights are used in the offices of the gas works.

The farmers of North Dakota complain of the extremely bad quality of the seeds distributed by the Agricultural Department. An Alliance paper says:—

"About thirty bushels of wheat and garden seeds were sent into this State the past year from the Agricultural Department, under the frank of Congressman Hansborough and Senator Pierce, which were a great damage to our people. The wheat, instead of being pure Saskatchewan, had no less than four different kinds in each quart package, also cats, barley, and cockles; hence it was a failure. The garden seed was too old and failed to grow."

Owing to the fact that federal taxes are collected from retail liquor dealers in prohibition States, the claim has been made that the Federal Government licenses the dealers to carry on their business. A circular has been issued by the Treasury Department pointing out that, while the Internal Revenue Commissioner sa-

deavors to collect the \$25 revenue stamp tax on the business of retail liquor dealers wherever such business is carried on, the Federal Government does not assume to give permission to carry on the business contrary to local legislation.

Some time ago repairs were completed upon the United States steamer " Alert," at the Mare Island Navy Yard, and the vessel was put in commission, which means that she received her full complement of officers and men, and was ready to go to sea. But the vessel did not sail, and she is to-day at her berth, awaiting orders. It was reported that the repairs were so unsubstantial in character that it would be dangerous for the vessel to go to sea. Boards of survey were ordered, - three, it is said in all . - and their reports indicated that the repairs had been scamped, that the inner skin of the vessel had not been properly renewed, that serious defects in it had been covered over with paint, and that the boilers were liable to sink through it.

The Secretary of the Treasury has recently ordered a new classification of "slik-stuffed cotton Italians,"—stuff used for sleeve-linings. According to the New York Times, importers claim that the operations of the new tariff are illustrated in the case of this article better than in any other. It seems that until recently the importer has paid a duty of fifty per cent ad valorem on these goods. The new classification has nearly doubled the duties. The Times says:

"Importers here have been studying the reasons for the change. They have found, they say, that Senator Aldrich, of Rhode Island, has a constituent at Providence who makes this class of goods. This man was not satisfied with the protection of fifty per cent afforded by the silk schedule, and Senator Aldrich, a member of the Finance Committee, communicated with the Treasury in his interest. A short time afterward the secretary instructed the appraisers to classify the goods under that section which includes cotton cloths."

It is to be noted that this stuff is used for lining cheaper goods,—those rich enough to afford pure silk linings are unaffected by the increase of tax.

A formal treaty of alliance between Russia and France has been concluded, presumably as an offset to the triple alliance between Germany, Austria, and Italy. The treaty strengthens the French Republican government.

German Socialists are uneasy over the increasing frequency of government prosecutions, indicating a return to the methods that were in vogue prior to the repeal of the anti-Socialist laws.

The blacksmiths and machinists of Denmark have invited their fellow-craftsmen to a conference for the purpose of organizing an international Union.

The German army is believed to be largely impregnated with Socialism. Over two hundred and fifty men, it is said, are imprisoned for being found in possession of Socialistic literature Barracks are searched at regular intervals. The newspapers are prohibited from publishing these facts.

The postmaster-general of England, who has undertaken to suppress the London companies engaged in delivering letters, parcels, and messages, and in performing other services, has officially announced that, as a substitute for these private enterprises, his department has organized an express-delivery service, subject to the ordinary post regulations.

It is early seen, however, that the private companies offer greater advantages and superior service. Their offices are open day and night, and they utilize their messengers in ways which the State would never follow.

A religious riot has occurred at Benares, one of the largest cities of British India, owing to the fact that the authorities demolished a temple to provide a site for water-works. Benares is the hollest place, in the eyes of the Hindoos, and the demolished temple has been a place of pilgrimage visited by worshippers from all parts of India. Although the authorities, assisted by volunteers have suppressed the outbreak and arrested some one hundred rioters, tranquillity is by no means restored yet, and serious trouble is apprehended.

In the proceedings of the English Royal Geographical Society for January, 1891, it is estimated that the population of the world in 1890 was 1,487,600,000, representing an average of 81 to the square mile, and an increase of 8 per cent during the decade. Of the continents, Asia has the largest population, 850,000,000, and the lowest percentage of increase, 6 per cent. Australasia has the smallest population, 4,730,000, and the smallest average per square mile, 1.4, but the highest rate of increase during the decade, 30 per cent. Europe is the most thickly settled continent, with a population of 880,200,000,

which is 101 to the square mile. The population of North America is estimated at 89,250,000, which is an average of 14 to the square mile, and represents an increase of 20 per cent during the past decade.

The federation convention lately in session at Sydney created the commonwealth of Australia and drafted a constitution which will be submitted to a popularly-elected convention in each colony. If three of the colonial conventions approve the constitution, the Imperial Government will be asked to take steps for its establishment. The constitution is modelled on that of this country. There is a senate having a territorial basis and a continuous existence; the members are elected for six years, one half retiring every three years. The membership of the house is based on population and universal suffrage; the term is for three years. There is a cabinet of seven members, who may sit in either house. The executive is the appointee of the Crown, but his term of office is not fixed. The judicial system is similar to ours, except that there is an appeal from its decisions to the home government. The National Assembly is to have authority over the commercial relations of the colonies, and the power to levy taxes and make appropriations.

Exact statistics of the Russian system of banishment to Siberia have recently been compiled for the first time from the scattered records of Russian courts, prisons, and police departments. They show that from 1807 to 1881. 642,000 Russians were exiled to Siberia - 100,-000 at their own instance, in order that they might accompany condemned friends. With the advance of the century, the practice of banishment to Siberia has assumed increasing proportions. In 1807-11, the number of exiles was 10,175; in 1857-61, 86,831; in 1877-89, 86,386. Of 210,000 banished in the exceptionally fateful period of 1867-79, 51.8 per cent were condemned administratively, that is, without any due process of law or decision of any judge; 12.8 per cent were condemned to forced labor; 20.1 per cent to confinement within certain village limits; 2.4 per cent to exile for life; 18 per cent to obligatory colonization. Of all exiled in 1828-79, 15.1 per cent were women.

The most significant feature of the matter is the constant increase of the number of voluntary exiles, who choose to accompany and live with their doomed friends. In 1823-34 they numbered but four per cent of all; in 1870-79, however, they were 33 per cent.

TO-DAY, APRIL 23, 1891.

A record of the facts and considerations which show that Individual Liberty is good for the people of the United States, and that, therefore, Legislative Regulation is injurious for them.

J. MOBRISON-FULLER, WALTER C. Rose, Editors.

The new law to check immigration provides that the refusal or neglect of the steamship companies to return paupers, criminals, or other undesirable aliens shall make them liable to a fine, and that no vessel shall have clearance against which a fine has been imposed and remains unpaid. But inasmuch as a trial by jury and verdict of guilty must precede the infliction of penalty, it is obvious that—considering the present condition of things in our courts of justice—pauper and criminal immigration is in no immediate danger of receiving a serious blow. The companies show no disposition to obey the law, and the officials cannot enforce it.

The Railroad Commission of Massachusetts failing to satisfy the expectations of many people, it has been suggested that it might be well to endow the Commission with greater power. In California the dissatisfaction with the notoriously inefficient commission in whose hands is placed the entire regulation and control of railroads is even greater than here, and the reform suggested there is to take away the power of the board and make it an advisory one. A San Francisco newspaper says: "The new constitution attempted to put the railroads absolutely at the mercy of the Commission. The commissioners were vested with legislative, executive, and judicial powers; they could fix rates, make regulations, superintend their enforcement, receive complaints, take evidence, and decide cases. The result was that it became a matter of life and death to the railroads to have a friendly commission, and they

An instance of the effect of the new tariff upon the iron and steel industries of New England may be seen in the indefinite suspension of business by the New Haven Rolling Mill. Most of the employees, it is stated, had been earning very good wages, — from three to four dollars per day, — and, in consequence of the increased duty upon scrap-iron, a reduction of ten to twenty per cent was attempted. A strike ensued, and the result is suspension of business. The treasurer of the company stated that if the duty upon scrap-iron were abolished the mill would in a

short time double its capacity; if the duty were lowered one half, the business would yield a small profit, paying the old wages. The present duty upon a ton of scrap-iron, the raw material used, is \$6.72, or nearly eighty per cent. Pennsylvania manufacturers who compete with this and similar concerns will be benefited by the closing; but the policy of taking money out of the pocket of one man and putting it into the pocket of another man hardly seems calculated to increase the total wealth of the country. If it could produce this effect, highway robbery would be a praiseworthy occupation.

The legislatures of Wisconsin and Illinois have passed resolutions favoring the election of United States Senators by a popular vote. The hope of the framers of the Constitution was that the State legislatures would have better judgment, and would send abler men to the Senate, than the popular electors. The objection was that the Senate would become an aristocratic body. Both the hope and the fear turned out to be groundless. The debates in the Senate do not show a bit better grasp of the subjects discussed than those in the House. The Senate has become not an aristocratic but a plutocratic body. The privilege of voting for United States Senators is valuable from a pecuniary point of view, and it is not strange that the people wish to exercise it themselves instead of intrusting it to their representatives. The opening of the question may be unfortunate, however, because this other one is likely to come up: What is the use of two popularly elected bodies? If there were five Houses of the National Legislature and a two-thirds majority in each were necessary to pass a bill, there would still be too much legislation enacted.

The impolicy of making legislative bodies judges of the election of their members could not receive a better exemplification than is afforded by the action of the Michigan Senate, by which the Democrats stole two Senators, and thus obtained control of that body, and so of the State. It appears from the report that there were fourteen Democratic Senators and fourteen Republican; but the seats of two of the latter were contested. The Democrats took advantage of the absence of twelve Republicans who were attending a State convention, to seat the two members of their own party before any reports had been made by the committee appointed to examine the evidence. A more completely unscrupulous proceeding could not be imagined, though some

actions of the last national House of Representatives approach it very closely. The action is likely to be important in its results, as it will enable the Democrats to have their own way in the reapportionment of the Congressional districts, and to provide for the selection of Presidential electors by districts. The first, it is thought, will reasonably assure a Democratic majority of Congressmen for some years; the other is expected either practically to nullify Michigan's vote in the Electoral College or to furnish a majority of the votes for the Democratic candidate. But the most serious aspect is the flagrant dishonesty of the act. One of the duties intrusted to those men was to judge who were chosen by the people to represent them. The only question that entered their minds was, which of the contestants were Democrats? It is of course not certain that the men thus seated were not entitled to their seats; but where the control of a State can be changed by such means as this, representative government is nothing but a farce.

When the Farmers' Alliance caused the Kansas Lower House to report a bill providing that all obligations of debt contracted to be paid in money shall be payable (all stipulations to the contrary notwithstanding) in either the notes, silver, or gold coin authorized by Congress, or a legal tender, denunciations of the Alliance poured in from all sides, and the bill was killed, amid exclamations of horror and astonishment. Now we find precisely the same bill passed by a Republican Senate in Pennsylvania, which is anxious to protect the debtor by giving him the advantage of any depreciation of the currency. The lender is prohibited from making any special contract to protect himself from such a depreciation. Of course, it is obvious to the intelligent man that the debtor is not served at all by this provision; he will either be obliged to pay a higher rate of interest, or it will be difficult to procure capital. But, even if the legislature could serve him, it has no right to do so. Even the Philadelphia Press, which is no radical defender of personal liberty, is indignant over the measure, of which it speaks in the following terms: -

"The bill interferes with the liberty of private contract and makes a breach of contract a lawful proceeding. The Legislature might, with equal justice and propriety, ordain that a contract to deliver a horse sound in wind and limb shall be satisfied by the tender of a spavined, knock-kneed mule. Why should not a man be allowed to con-

tract to repay a loan in gold or in hogs, in corn or in land, as he sees fit, and, having made the contract, why should the Legislature say that it is sufficient if he tenders something else than he agreed to, and which may be much less valuable? If Congress continues to dicker with the currency at every session, and render its exchangeable value so unstable as to make calculations for the future the wildest guesswork, the only refuge for an outraged public will be a return to the old custom of barter and special contracts; and on what principle of justice or reason does the Legislature attempt to interfere with this plain, common right?"

In a lecture on "Social Equal-Fools and Experiments. ity," reprinted in the International Journal of Ethics Mr. Leslie Stephen devotes a few lines to discussing the functions of government. common-sense view, so dear to the hearts of certain thinkers, is maintained,—that it is hopeless to decide by any a priori principle what the limits of governmental action should be. "The problem is one to be worked out by experiment, that is, by many generations and by repeated blundering." It has been said that "a fool is a man who never makes an experiment; an experiment is a new mode of action which fails in its object ninety-nine times out of a hundred; therefore wise men make more blunders, though they also make more discoveries, than fools" But a wise man certainly ought to be able to form sometimes a correct judgment whether a proposed experiment will succeed or not. A fool might try experiments at random, and at last, by the law of chances, one would be successful. At any rate, he could hardly be called a wise man who should continue making over and over again the same experiment though it always resulted in failure. Reasoning upon the proper functions of government need not, at the present day, proceed by assuming some a priori principle. There are two or three thousand years of recorded history, and in those years countless experiments have been made, many of them hundreds of times. Of these experiments some have succeeded and some have always resulted in failure. There is surely no profit to be derived from trying the latter once or twice more, except for the fact that fools can learn by no experience but their own. Even in case an entirely new experiment in government and social organization is suggested, a wise man ought not to be utterly at a loss in

forming an opinion as to whether it is likely to succeed—any more than a physiologist would be utterly at a loss to predict whether a new chemical compound would be good for food. Something is known about the nature of society and government, and if the proposed experiment bears a strong likeness to others which have been tried in the past and have proved failures, the presumption would be against it.

Experiments in government and social organization are likely to be very costly, just as experiments with new foods may be to the individual. The amount of misery that has been caused by unsuccessful experiments undertaken by governments can hardly be overestimated. The fact that ninety-nine per cent, say, of experiments fail is not a sufficient reason for never trying a new one; but the fact that failures are costly, is reason why discrimination should be used in trying them. To talk as if nothing can yet be known about the proper limits of governmental action until many generations have tried many experiments and suffered the misery resulting from the failures, is not exactly the part of a wise man. Such a course involves disregarding the experience which has been recorded during the last three thousand years, every bit as much as does spinning a theory of the proper place for government in national life entirely from one's own inner consciousness.

RETALIATION.

During the recent political campaign in Canada, the London Economist furnished the only real argument brought forward against a reciprocity treaty between that country and the United States. Suppose that the Canadian tariff upon certain manufactured articles imported from the United States were removed, but that the same articles if imported from any other country were obliged to pay the present duty: the result might easily be that the duty now collected upon American goods would go to the American manufacturers, instead of to the Candian Government. As foreign countries could not sell goods any cheaper than they do now, we should have a monoply of the Canadian market to the extent of the duty, and therefore there would be no competition to force the price of American manufactures below its present point. The same periodical recently contained a communication from Mr. Wm. J. Harris setting forth a plan by which Great Britain might retaliate upon the United States for the McKinley tariff. The plan is very simple, namely, for Great Britain to place a discriminating duty upon American cereals, beef, and pork. This would, apparently, be perfectly feasible: countries other than the United States produce, or could easily produce, a surplus of those articles greater than England needs.

How much this might mean to us may be readily seen on reflecting that during 1890 our total exports of wheat, flour, corn, and the various forms of wheat and pork amounted to \$225,773,985, and that of this \$171,794,082, or more than seventy-six per cent, went to Great Britain.

Against the advisability of such a course on the part of Great Britain much might be said. It is not simply a question with her whether she shall buy these products of us or of a more friendly nation at the same price. The competition of American cereals, beef, and pork in the British markets being removed, the price would certainly rise. Again, our present tariff, though it cuts off considerable British trade with us, is not aimed solely at England. It would be perfectly possible for us to discriminate against English goods and do England more harm than we are doing her now. But the proposition is to do something to get even with us for an unfriendly act, and contemplates paying something for the satisfaction. The fact that the McKinley Act would injure British manufacturers was regarded by its advocates as a strong argument in its favor, and their protests were treated as the pleading of enemies. The question Great Britain has to consider, one gathers from Mr. Harris's article, is whether she can injure the United States more than the United States can injure her by discriminating duties. In 1889, the value of our exports to Great Britain was £95,500,000, while the value of her exports to us was only £30,300,000. It is not proposed, however, to discriminate against all our exports; cotton and other materials of manufacture from the United States would be admitted free of duty, as at present. Deduction being made for these, there would still remain exports to the value of £62,000,000, to which the retaliatory policy might be applied; that is, Great Britain can shut out twice as much in value of our products as we can possibly shut out of hers.

A really exhaustive analysis of the effects of such a policy as is proposed might modify the conclusion in detail, but there seems little doubt that by adopting it England might inflict more damage upon us than upon herself. The spectacle of two Christian nations trying to cut each other,s throats commercially in this way is not very edifying for the last decade of the nineteenth century, but the chief responsibility must rest with the one that began the battle.

England, however, is not the only country which is exasperated by the McKinley tariff; France and Germany would also like to do something in retaliation. As is well known, American pork has for some time been almost excluded from several European countries, on the pretext that it is unhealthy, and the exclusion has extended to Canadian pork also. A despatch to the Chicago Herald states that the Canadian High Commissioner, Sir Charles Tupper, lately made a protest to the French Government, and, after submitting to the authorities at Paris samples of Canadian hog products, secured the admission of those products, and some consignments have already been admitted. Steps are being taken to induce other countries to make similar concessions to Canadian pork.

It would be very easy to underestimate the possible importance of Canada as a competitor of the United States in those products which have hitherto formed the bulk of our exports. Excluding Alaska, the British possessions in North America are larger in area than this country; and the statement is boldly made, that "in minerals, in timbers, in fish, Canada far exceeds the United States in her sources of supply; while, as to . . . the possibilities of the growth of wheat for bread, the Canadian wheat areas largely exceed those of the United States, and are as absolutely necessary for the future food supply of the coming millions on the North American Continent as is the water to drink or the air to breathe." * While this is probably one of the overstatements by no means uncommon with this writer, the facts of which it is an exaggeration should not be lost sight of. Moreover, Canada is by no means the only competitor we have as regards food products in the markets of the world: Russia, India, Australia, and the South American countries have entered the lists against us. The great majority of our people are still engaged in agriculture; and to get our agricultural and grazing products boycotted by the nations to which we wish to sell our surplus would not seem to be the highest exhibition of statesmanship. No doubt we could stand the boycott; we could probably get along pretty well without other nations; but we could get along much better with them. Some of them produce certain articles which we want more cheaply than we can, and are willing to exchange them for articles which we have great natural advantages for producing. The famous objection to the McKinley bill, that it does open a market for a single bushel of wheat or a barrel of pork, seems enough utterly to discredit the measure; but if, owing to the irritation it produces among other nations, it results in contracting the markets for those articles, what words can be found adequately to characterize its asininity?

A CURIOUS PLEA.

The newly elected United States Senator from Kansas comes to the defence of those debtors who wish money to be made plenty, so that they can pay their debts easily, in a long article published in some of the Western papers. The following is put forward by him as an entirely just plea:—

He, the Western farmer, asks time and a renewal of his loan; but he is answered that his security is growing weaker every day, that it would not bring the amount of his debt in the open market, that the time will not be extended, the mortgage will be foreclosed — the home must go. "Why this injustice?" he asks. "When I borrowed the money my farm was worth three times the amount of the debt; you took it as ample security; now, when dollars have grown more than twice as large as they were then, you refuse to renew the loan because the same farm, though greatly improved since, has fallen in market value. Am I to blame for these changes of values in the dollar market and in the land market? Restore the value of my land to what it was, and restore the value of the dollar to what it was when this money was borrowed, and I shall be abundantly able to pay the debt."

If this were merely the rant of an ignorant, and probably dishonest, demagogue, it would not be worth notice; but this man is, or has been, a judge, and has been chosen to represent a State in the Senate.

It almost seems as if Kansas were ambitious to be represented there by the worst charlatan to be found within her borders. The fact that a piece of property given as security for a debt is not worth enough to discharge the obligation, and is growing weaker every day, would certainly seem to an unprejudiced bystander an exceedingly strong reason why the creditor should try to realize as much as possible, and make his loss

^{*} Erastus Wiman in "Contemporary Review" for April.

as little as he can. It is not a question as to whether the mortagor is to blame for the depreciation in the value of his farm. He has made a definite agreement to pay back a sum of money, or, in default of this, to surrender a certain piece of property. To ask for the renewal of a loan because the security has become worth less than the face of the loan is certainly to assign a very strange reason, especially if the request takes the form of a demand for justice. A man on the street may ask for bread, and assign as a reason that he is hungry; but if he demands it as a right of the first passer-by, and tries to enforce his demand, no sympathy is excited by his conduct. He is called a highway robber, and is locked up. When the Western farmer borrows money from an Eastern capitalist, some risk is incurred on both sides; the latter risks just that depreciation of the security which is alleged to have taken place; while the former risks losing control of the . property which he pledges for the debt. either to raise the cry of injustice because one of the contingencies distinctly recognized has arisen is absurd. The creditor could not collect more than the face of his loan, no matter how much the property might rise in value; while the debtor may be unable to pay back as much as he borrowed, even by surrendering his property. Whenever a man buys a piece of land or property of any kind he runs risk of its depreciation. Why one who merely borrows a piece of property should expect Congress to come to his relief any more than one who buys is beyond comprehension.

It is claimed that the value of Western farm property has been forced down by vicious legislation. In that case the farmers are partly responsible; an overwhelming majority of them in Kansas have supported the political party to which is due most of the legislation for the last thirty years. If they have for the greater part of that time been voting to depreciate the value of their property, to contract the market and cheapen what they have to sell and to increase the price of what they have to buy, they have only their own stupidity to blame for their impoverished condition. Their anger for this, if it must be directed against a personal object, would seem to be more appropriately expended upon those who have duped them than upon those who have loaned them money. Very likely, as matters have turned out, it would have been better for them if they had not run in debt, agreeing to pay so high interest, but it is not exactly fair to hold their creditors responsible.

This is precisely what is done, however. It is asserted, and implicitly believed by thousands, that the very men who are demanding payment and threatening foreclosure are responsible for the insolvency of their debtors; that the financial legislation since the war has been all along in favor of the creditor and at the expense of the debtor; that by contraction of the currency the amount of debts has been practically increased. Of course, those who borrowed money before the resumption of specie payments, and were obliged to repay in gold, suffered some injustice. The widespread belief that the banks, by design, alternately expand and contract the currency, lending money at one time and calling it in at the other, and the remedy proposed, that the Government issue money enough to do the business of the country with, and lend it to those who have security to offer at from two to four per cent, probably marks the lowest depth of political imbecility into which any considerable number of minds have fallen since the founding of the Republic. lt is a rather impressive example of the debauching effect upon weak minds produced by the Government's assuming a function which does not belong to it. It is no part of the duties of Government to regulate the currency: the natural laws of trade are perfectly sufficient for this; but, as Mr. Carey long ago observed, there is nothing which governments have attempted so much to regulate, and, he adds, there is nothing which is worse regulated. The statute regulations are so inconsistent and arbitrary that no wonder many think Congress can do anything with the currency it pleases; it might just as well issue more money for the next few years and lend to those who need. There is no incompatibility between coining money and lending it, and many are unable to see much distinction. Little thought is given as to the quality of the money issued. The chief essential is that it be legal tender, and so good enough to pay debts with.

OUTCAST LONDON.

A few years ago Montague Williams was a prominent barrister in London, when he was seized with a throat trouble which necessitated his retiring from practice forever. Active, and still in his prime, he could not endure idleness, and accepted the position of police magistrate in London, choosing a district in the notorious East End, the seat of

more vice and wretchedness than any other place in the civilized world, the home of Gen. Booth's "Submerged Tenth," and the subject of the famous pamphlet, "The Bitter Cry of Outcast London." He became the judge of the Worship Street district, which includes such resorts as Bethnal Green, Shoreditch, and Whitechapel, where he has worked faithfully for some years, and as a result has gained an accurate knowledge of the poor of London. In his reminiscences he devotes some space to this subject, and has much to say which is new.

It has been the common impression that the effect of legislation in England has been to make the condition of the East End of London superior to what it was five years ago, and the more so because the amount of private charity dispensed during this time has been enormous. Mr. Williams does not take this view. The condition of the poor is as bad as it has ever been; while some of the laws, instead of decreasing, have actually aggravated the wretchedness. Such, for example, has been the effect of demolishing unhealthy dwelling-houses. Many of the occupants are not able to afford better dwellings. They will then be obliged to depend upon the transient lodging-houses, which are of the worst character, where they will be forced to herd with the vilest of the vile, and must eventually sink to the level of their associates. He tells a touching story of a scene in St. Anne's Street, Shoreditch, where he went to inspect a building complained of as unsanitary, and entered a room where the walls were saturated with moisture, and the atmosphere a damp mist, and the family were working for their lives. He was deeply affected by the scene, and obliged to retire to conceal his feelings. But the woman of the family said to him: "Bad as it is, sir, it is a 'ome; and if we are turned out of this, goodness knows what 's to become of us."

Much legislation which would have been harmful has been inoperative, because those who were intrusted with carrying out the law have been apathetic; and some instances of this are worth noting to show the power-lessness of legislation. For example, there is a series of acts relating to unsanitary buildings in London, and authorizing their demolition. The mode of giving the power was, if the land covered by the obnoxious building was small in size, the vestries of

London were to do the work, but if large, the Metropolitan Board of Works, which is the central authority. The acts worked in this way. When an unsanitary district was complained of to the vestries, they referred it to the Board of Works. On bringing it before the Board they answered that the matter was for the vestries. So, between the two bodies, nothing had been done, and it has been a game of battledore and shuttlecock. Yet the Londoners, knowing these things, have elected the same vestrymen year after year.

A similar thing has happened with the Shaftesbury Acts, by which buildings could be erected for the poor by the authorities, power being given to borrow money, which was obtainable at two and one half per cent, it being stipulated that the rooms in the newly erected buildings should be rented at not more than two shillings a week. The acts have been put in operation at Liverpool. Not being compulsory on the local authorities, the London County Council has never adopted them, and they have therefore never been applied to the places they were aimed to help.

The Housing of the Working Classes Act, of 1890, which condenses and removes defects of the former acts, will probably succeed no better. The committee of the London County Council on the Housing of the Working Classes do not seem hopeful. They say, "If it is put into force in a determined spirit, much improvement may be effected in the unsanitary property which unfortunately exists in many parts of London." But as they are themselves the ones on whose determined spirit the success of the act depends, its prospects do not seem favorable.

The legislation which has been enforced has failed, as in the case of the night lodging-houses. There are in the East End three hundred of these "Doss" houses, as they are usually called. In the Worship Street district there are one hundred and twentyseven, affording accommodation for about six thousand persons. The lodging is let by the night, the charge for a single bed being four pence, and for a double eight pence. The state has undertaken to supervise these houses, and has failed utterly. The inspection seems to be a farce. The inspectors is sent around once a week, and generally at stated intervals, so everything is put in order when he arrives. Then he comes in the daytime,

when they are comparatively unoccupied. Finally, he has so many places to visit that he cannot make an adequate inspection of any of them. The state of affairs in these lodging-houses is awful. They are constantly overcrowded. It is not infrequent for a lodging-house to have fifty more occupants than the law allows. When the inspector makes his perfunctory visit, all the beds and bedding used for the extra fifty are conveyed to some house near by. Moreover, the houses are filthy to the last degree. An eyewitness reports one of them as swarming with vermin, while large blocks of creeping things can be taken from the walls and ceilings. They are also the scenes of crime of every description. The houses for single men are frequented by thieves, and the "doubles" are brothels. The lack of restraint existing there may be imagined, from the fact that the superintendent of the house is frequently a discharged convict or one who has been released on a ticket-of-leave. The houses are often receptacles for stolen goods, and are not even well built. The flooring is often mere tinder and the staircase matchboard. Should a fire break out, few of the inmates would escape. A more conspicuous instance of the failure of legislation to accomplish its purpose would be hard to find.

Another example of the same is the liquor traffic. There exist numerous so-called "clubs," to which any one is able to gain admission, and which are nothing but unlicensed public-houses. Immediately after the closing hours of the licensed houses these become crowded, and are kept open all night, Sundays and week-days. Being practically without restraint, they are the scenes of frightful orgies. It appeared in the course of a hearing one day before Mr. Williams that there were in the immediate neighborhood of the court eighty "clubs." Another species of traffic in liquor fully as disastrous in its effects is that by the "Doss" house superintendents who illegally keep on the premises a supply of it, of the most firebrand variety, and sell it at exorbitant prices to the inmates.

The government inspection of dwelling-houses furnishes a third example of the failure of legislation. The appointment and removal of inspectors is in the vestries of the different parts of London. But as one of the strong inducements for electing people to the

vestry is that they own property in the parish, frequently the vestrymen themselves are the owners of the bad dwellings. So it comes about that the inspectors of buildings are under the control of the ones who own them.

There are two circumstances mentioned by Mr. Williams — although their significance is not pointed out—which would seem to prevent any state scheme for the general relief of the East Eud. The first is the rate of taxation in London, which has already reached highwater-mark. Small incomes could not bear any greater strain. The only suggestion made by Mr. Williams to meet this difficulty is a scheme of graduated taxation for incomes, by which the small incomes would not be taxed any more than now, but the higher would be taxed at a rate increasing with their amount. But, as he suggests, this scheme would not be entertained for a moment.

The second circumstance, which is of even greater importance, is a result not hitherto dwelt upon, which must nullify any extensive plan of state relief, and which a fact related by Mr. Williams illustrates. Immediately after Gen. Booth published his plan for relieving the East End, the poor from all parts of England began to pour into London in such numbers that the roads were choked with them. They did not come from the country alone, but from the large towns. In two weeks' time the number of tramps on the roads leading to London increased ten per cent. If such consequences follow the mere announcement of a plan, what would they be if it were in operation! What in case the plan were not that of an individual, but having the prominence of a state measure! One result would be that, the poor of England being gathered in London, the East End would be worse than before. Unspeakably overcrowded, unsanitary, wretched now, it would be more so then. State interference would have aggravated the evil. Furthermore, foreigners, especially Russian and Polish Jews, of whom there is now a large and increasing number in the East End. would be attracted in the same way, and London would become a dumping-place for the refuse of the Continent.

POLITICS IN THE MAGAZINES.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW. (April). — The discussion of the question of Wealth, so ably begun by Mr. Andrew Carnegie in the pages of

the North American in June, 1890, and later commented upon by Mr. Gladstone and others in the Nineteenth Century, is continued in this number of the Review by Cardinal Gibbons, under title of Wealth and its Obligations. Steering clear of the dangerous tariff question, of which both Mr. Carnegie and one of his critics had much to say, the Cardinal takes the optimistic position of believing that the party that is in the right will eventually prevail, and concerns himself with stating the Catholic view of wealth and its administration.

The Catholics of the United States, he maintains, are, as a class, charitable, and generous in their almsgiving, although few are millionaires. They are generous not only in support of their churches but of the various asylums, schools, etc., which the Church undertakes to support. Exceptions are taken to Mr. Carnegie's statement, that nineteen-twentieths of the so-called charity of to-day is unwisely spent; nor does the Cardinal believe that we may ever hope to see poverty done away with, believing that it would be as impossible "to legislate vice out of existence as to legislate poverty and suffering out of the world."

The Catholic Church "encourages her children to give not their wealth alone but themselves," as is evidenced by the army of "Sisters" and "Brothers" who spend their lives in "healing poor humanity's sores." Recognizing the widening gulf between the rich and the poor, the writer answers the question as to "the duty of all good men to avert the crisis" by pointing to Christ and his teachings as an example, and declares that "there is enough, and more than enough, within the pages of the four gospels, to disarm at once this array of class against class."

Prof. Richard S. Ely's paper on Pauperism in the United States contains considerable valuable information regarding the paupers of this country, and the causes, direct and indirect, that lead to such an unfortunate state. We are told that there are three million paupers in the United States, who are an annual pecuniary loss to the country of one hundred million dollars, if the loss of productive power and other indirect losses are taken into account.

To show that pauperism is a curable disease the results of the Elberfeld system, and the work done in Buffalo, N. Y. by the Charity-Organization Society in that city, are set forth, and shown to be most gratifying.

The principal causes of pauperism are said to be heredity and environment. Intemperance, although a prominent factor, plays a minor role when compared with the other causes. Lack of employment. child-labor, employment of women, and industrial crises are among the many causes that flood the country with helpless paupers; but most powerful of all is environment, and this the Professor considers fortunate, as it is the most easily controlled. Tract distribution and preaching, and miscellaneous almsgiving have been proven failures. The more rational means are recommended, viz.: The forming of public sentiment on the subject of early and thoughtless marriages; a further development of charity-organization societies, and the encouragement of friendly societies and trades-unions.

The chief agency of reform, however, must be sought in the helpful co-operation of citizens with public authorities, particularly those of the city. Private societies have made a failure of efforts to improve social conditions. The Elberfeld system, so often quoted, means precisely this co-operation of private effort with municipal authorities. This organization of charities is a municipal one, which drafts into its service the best citizens as friendly visitors in such numbers that there is one to every four poor families.

Following the above papers is found one by the editor of the Review, entitled *The Example* of a Great Life, in which is set forth the example of that eminent philanthropist, Peter Cooper. The paper is made up of incidents in the career of that great man, and is well worth a reading.

The Duty of the Hour, according to the Hon. J. M. Rusk, secretary of Agriculture, is that people of wealth and intelligence, "who have for years enjoyed a large share of the country's prosperity, who have never lacked opportunity to make their wants and wishes known in legislative halls," undertake at once to acquaint themselves with the needs and conditions of the American farmers. He believes that the farmer in politics has come to stay, and, that in spite of his blunders in the new field of public affairs, his influence will prove beneficial to the country at large.

The fact that the farmers' condition as compared with that of their forefathers is vastly improved counts for nothing, when we consider the increased wealth and prosperity that has come to all other classes rather than the farmer. Inasmuch, then, as he considers agriculture "the basis and foundation of the entire national superstructure," his warning to those engaged in other pursuits to acquaint themselves with at least the rudiments of the all-important industry would seem timely. It is this ignorance of American agriculture, says Mr. Rusk, that mars the usefulness of "some of the most capable and eminent men in the American Congress." Giving as an example his own department, he declares

that it "is the one of our national departments endowed with the smallest appropriations and receiving the least consideration."

Mr. Sidney Dillon, the president of the Union Pacific Railway Company, presents a very timely article on *The West and the Railroads*. The direct manner in which he presents his points compels attention, and we are inclined to think that, outside the ranks of ignoramuses and fanatics, what he has to say will have weight.

Mr. Dillon draws attention to the wonderful progress of the country west of the Alleghanies during the last fifty years, and shows how greatly this progress has been due to the railroads. Deploring the fact that there exists such a strong tendency among our legislators to interfere with the business of these railroads, which, with few exceptions, are private concerns, the writer says:—

All civilized communities in which self-government is recognized are perpetually trying to regulate matters of private contract by statute, and are perpetually failing to do so. It is a proverb in Great Britain and the United States that the chief wisdom of legislatures is shown in repealing the statutes enacted by previous legislatures. England is great to-day, not by virtue of what Parliament has enacted but by virtue of the intelligence and industry of her people working under natural conditions restored to usefulness by virtue of the repeal of acts of Parliament. Our citizen whose fields have been crossed by the railroad, and whose right of way over the turnpike is occasionally interrupted by the locomotive, may fancy that it is for the interest of himself and his neighbors to induce the Legislature to regulate the prices of fares and freights on the railway, but he ignores the laws that overrule all such enactments.

The long and short of the paper is that the greater majority of the railroads of the country are "the creation of private enterprise and capital, and that the people in the collective capacity have not been taxed to conduct them," and that they have therefore a lawful right to be left alone to manage their own affairs, instead of being compelled to heed the dictates of legislators, who, although perhaps versed in certain lines of business, are certainly not well grounded in railway economics.

In The Best Signs of Our Times, Emilio Castelar treats of the progress of democracy in Europe.

THE COSMOPOLITAN (April). — The Farmers' Alliance, by Senator W. A. Peffer, of Kansas, is an article likely to interest any one desircus of learning more of that new factor in politics. It affords an excellent sketch of the past history of the Alliance, as well as of its future plans and purposes.

The Grange, which was instituted soon after the Civil War, and which has now lost its importance socially and politically, was the parent of the Alliance. Texas seems to have been its birthplace, and 1882 the year of its birth. Other bodies working with a similar purpose have been from time to time assimilated, and at the general convention, in St. Louis, in 1889, a consolidation was effected under the name of the "Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union."

The latter part of the paper is occupied with setting forth the principles of the Alliance and the wrongs it would see righted, and the concluding paragraph sums up its mission as follows:—

Destroy the influence of money in public affairs, restore the homestead and save it to the citizen, secure to labor its just reward, cripple the arms of avarice, give employment to the workers, purify politics, enact just laws, lighten the burdens of the poor, protect the weak, abolish caste, establish justice, make commerce free, put the Government in charge of every public function, and the mission of the Farmers' Alliance will have been accomplished.

THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW (April).—Anglo-American Copyright, by Sir Frederick Pollock. The salient features of the American Copyright Act, that is to go into effect July 1st, are discussed in this article with special reference to its effect upon British publishers and authors. The writer does not seem to share the fears of those who apprehend that British authors will be compelled to become American authors; that is, in order to save expense, compel their English readers to procure their works from American publishers; nor does he believe that American print, paper, or spelling are specially obnoxious to more than a small minority of English readers.

Sir Frederick has not, apparently, a very good opinion of the American Congress's power to use the English language, if we may judge from the following:—

Having sometimes had occasion to criticise the form of our statutes, I must admit that this time the Congress of the United States has attained a pitch of very bad English, awkward and obscure construction, and general clumsiness wholly beyond any recent performances of Parliament, and barely surpassed, if at all, by the Copyright Act of 1842 itself.

Other articles in this number are:

The Savoy Dynasty, the Pope, and the Republic, by a Continental statesman, National Pensions, by W. Moore Ede, and Canada and the States: A Barbed Wire Fence, by Erastus Wiman.

Owing to the continued illness of the editor, To-DAY will appear fortnightly instead of weekly, until further notice.

AMERICANA.

The chiefs of police in Massachusetts will be called upon to exercise some peculiarly delicate judicial functions if the bill in regard to the punishment of drunkenness which has been reported by the House Committee on the Judici. ary, becomes a law. The bill provides that if any person arrested for intoxication shall, when he gets sober, sign a statement, "giving his true name and residence, and declaring that he has not been arrested for drunkenness twice within the twelve months next preceding, or that, having been so arrested, he was acquittedof the offence in one case, and shall sign a request to be released, the chief officer of police in any city or town having an organized police force, and, in Boston, the commanding officers of police divisions, if they have reason to believe such statement to be true, may release such person from custody; and no officer making an arrest under the provisions of this act shall be liable for damages in a civil suit for illegal arrest or imprisonment if the person arrested shall be released as herein provided."

The Massachusetts people are always building new dikes against drunkenness. This law, however, would give a man a chance to stay himself superabundantly with flagons once a year, and even oftener, and go scot-free if the chief of police was indulgent. There is a much simpler way of tackling the problem, and no necessity of adding to the duties of the chief of police: Let a Commissioner of Drunken Permits be appointed, with authority to issue a permit to get drunk to every citizen, each citizen to name the day he prefers, but not more than a thousand permits to be issued for any one day. Each permit shall give full leave and license to the permittee to get as drunk as he pleases on the day named in the permit, and on the production of said permit before any police officer he shall be compelled to take the permittee home. It seems to be a fundamental Massachusetts idea that everybody has a right to get drunk once a year. Why not name the day, and fine anybody who is unable to produce his permit, or has taken a day not named in it? The Judiciary Committee have not yet gone to the bottom of the subject.— N. Y. Sun.

One phase of Democracy was illustrated the other day, when Ignatius Donnelly, waving his hand toward the visitors' gallery, in the Minnesota Legislature, solemnly declared: "Mr. Speaker, there sit our superiors." Another was when the sergeant-at-arms went up and chased the superiors all out: they had cheered Mr.

Donnelly's sentiment with unparliamentary lustiness. — Philadelphia Ledger.

Lingoln, Neb., April 5. — The closing scenes of the Legislature were disgraceful beyond description. The session wound up in a drunken orgy, lasting until daylight. Case after case of wine was taken into the House, and large quantities of whiskey and other liquors were consumed. The last official act of the Legislature was to pass a resolution declaring that Nebraska is eager to go to war with Italy, and that the United States ought to prevent Italian immigration. — Press Despatch.

The Minnesota Senate having passed the bill preventing women from appearing on the stage dressed in tights, the theatre managers have sent to the House the following amendment: Be it further enacted, that no female person or persons shall be allowed to assemble in any theatre, public ball, banquet-room, dinner-party, or any gathering whatsoever, wearing what are known as low-neck dresses with short sleeves, exposing thereby their necks, shoulders, and busts. Any person or persons found guilty of so doing shall be subject to a fine of not less than \$500, or imprisonment for not less than one year.

The Minnesota Legislature may finally be induced to abolish women altogether. — Lewiston Journal.

There is a bill before the Minnesota Senate for the creation of a lunacy commission. It seems to be badly needed, and certain members of the Minnesota Legislature should have their bumps looked to at once. — N. Y. Sun.

The "idiotic bill," requiring newspapers to bespatter their papers with the names of all contributors to their columns was killed in the Senate vesterday. It is a remarkable thing that a measure of that sort should have secured a moment's serious consideration by any one capable of reading a newspaper. But its introduction is an apt illustration of the disposition on the part of many men intrusted with legislative powers to meddle with everything, and especially with the things they know least about. These people are consumed by an insane desire to regulate everything by law. Every passing caprice is embodied in a bill. They would stretch the legislative power into every detail of everybody's business but their own. And the denser their ignorance of the subject the more positive they are that they know all about it. It is just the matters they know the least about that they are most determined to regulate by statute. — St. Paul Pioneer Press.

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Vol. II. No. 48.

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Price, 5 Cents.

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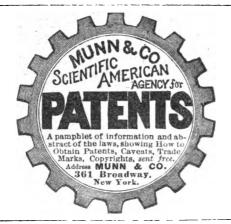
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POLITICS: EVENTS; COMMENTS; LITERA-TURE.

The conditions under which this paper is published render it impossible to give the weekly record of facts the character of news, especially in the case of the foreign items. The facts are, in the main, collected from daily papers. Their importance does not generally depend upon dates. Our record of them cannot have greater authority than the sources have, but is evidently more trustworthy than any single newspaper.

LEGISLATIVE.

Pennsylvania. - Among the bills passed by the Senate are: prohibiting mining and manufacturing corporations from carrying on company stores; regulating the standard weight of a bushel of potatoes; authorizing boroughs to manufacture electricity for commercial purposes for the use of the inhabitants; providing that wages of laborers and clerks shall be preferred and paid first from the proceeds of the sale of insolvent debtors' property; relieving workingmen from prosecutions for conspiracy; requiring the board of directors of corporations in the State to hold meetings and provide monthly statements of the company's affairs; requiring mutual insurance companies to report to the State Insurance Commissioner; preventing discrimination in appointments to public office on account of race or color; providing for ballot reform; and providing that wholesale liquor dealers cannot sell liquor to be drank on their premises.

Among the bills passed by the House are: requiring insurance companies not incorporated under State laws to pay to the firemen's relief associations an annual bonus on premiums of the insurance effected; abolishing the office of director of the poor in cities of the second class; empowering cities to regulate and suppress the production of smoke from bituminous coal; extending to the courts jurisdiction to grant divorces when either of the parties has been convicted of any infamous crime; authorizing cities of the first class to regulate the sale

sale thereof, as well as to charge a license fee upon all vehicles used in delivering coal; authorizing the assessment of a poor tax upon unnaturalized residents, and punishing employers for refusing to make a return of unnaturalized persons in their employ; providing for inspector of coal mines; requiring foreign insurance companies to take out a license before doing business in the State; making eight hours a day's labor in penal institutions; authorizing saiaried officers of private corporations to concurrently serve as directors therein; and providing for the examination of miners in the anthracite and bituminous coal mines, and preventing the employment of incompetent persons therein.

Among the bills defeated are: the inquisitorial tax bill; the bill forbidding contracts to repay a loan in gold; the bill to prevent the delivery of bread on Sunday; the bill to prevent the sale and manufacture of cigarettes, as well as that forbidding the use of cigarettes; the bill for a uniform and precise game law; and the bill making it illegal for a candidate to pay naturalization expenses or taxes for citizens.

The Legislature has adjourned.

Although the recent session of the Delaware Legislature was the largest on record, there is already talk of an extra session, to correct its many blunders. Serious omissions have been discovered in some important bills enacted, and one bill, which was supposed to have been duly passed, was left in an unfinished state.

One of the bills which passed the Legislature is known as the Tramp Labor Bill, and provides that vagrants and vagabonds who come tramping into the State may be arrested and put to work for sixty days, breaking stone for road-mending. They are to work eight hours a day, and if refactory, put in solitary confinement on bread and water.

The Rhode Island House passed a bill authorizing towns and cities to tax corporations for the franchises to use streets or to pass over, under, or through streets for railroad, telegraph, telephone, electric, or gas lighting purposes, the tax not to exceed 3 per cent of the gross earnings of the corporations. No franchises are to run more than twenty-five years.

losses exceeding three per cent of the investment may be charged in different years at not more than such three per cent. The cost cannot be greater than to allow the city or town a profit of eight per cent upon its net investment. In fixing such cost, to establish the price for commercial lighting, the gas and electricity used by the city or town must be charged to it at cost. A deposit sufficient to secure payment for gas or electricity for three months may be required in advance from any taker, and the supply may be shut off from any premises until arrearages are paid.

"When the establishment of a plant has been decided upon, and at the time of the first vote required any private parties are engaged in making gas or electricity for sale for lighting purposes, and shall elect to sell under the provisions of this act, it is provided that the city or town shall, before establishing their public plant, purchase such portion of said private plants as may be suitable, and used for such business as lies within the limits of such city and town. If a single corporation in such city or town owns or operates both a gas and electric plant, the purchase shall include both; but, otherwise, if the city or town has voted to establish only a gas, or only an electric plant, it shall respectively be obliged to purchase only the existing gas or electric plant, or plants, as the case may be. If the main works of such plants lie within the limits of the city or town that has voted to establish its own plant, the whole of such plants and property used in connection therewith lying within the limits shall be purchased at its fair market value for purposes of its use.

"No portion of the plant shall be estimated, however, at less than its fair market value for any other purpose. The earning capacity of the plant, based upon its actual earnings at the time of the final vote to establish a plant, is to form an element of value; also any locations or similar rights acquired from private persons plus the damages suffered by the severence of any portion of such plants lying outside of the limits, and minus the amount of any mortgage or any other encumbrance or lien to which the plant may be subject. There can be no emhancement in value on account of future earning capacity, or good will, or of exclusive privileges derived from rights in the public streets."

Illinois. — Among the bills passed by the Senate are: prohibiting the selling of liquor to minors and drunkards; requiring building and loan associations to render an annual account to the State auditor and hold their books at all times subject to inspection; prohibiting truck stores, and compelling the payment of wages in money; requiring mine operators to pay laborers for all the stuff taken from the mines before it has passed through the screen used to get rid of slack and smaller pieces; compelling the examination of mine bosses and foremen; making it compulsory that the question of license or no licence be submitted to the

people at each municipal election in places of less than 15,000; providing for a secret ballot; allowing mining and mercantile corporations to own railroad stock; allowing building and loan associations to fix the rate of premium and per cent on all loans; prohibiting child labor; allowing two constitutional amendments to be submitted at the same election; appropriating \$800,000 for the World's Fair (among the provisions of this bill are: the enforcement of the eight-hour day on the work of the Fair, the submission of labor disputes to arbitration, and the observance of the minimum wage rate in vogue among the Chicago labor organizations); prohibiting trusts and combinations to fix the price or limit the production of commodities; and providing for the government of the Illinois State reformatory. The inmates are to be boys under sixteen and young men from sixteen to twenty-one years of age. All sentences to the reformatory are to be general sentences of imprisonment, and the courts are forbidden to fix a limit for the duration thereof. The term of imprisonment may be terminated by the managers, but not previous to the expiration of the minimum term named by the criminal code for the offence of which the prisoner is convicted; neither can they retain him after the expiration of the maximum term. Within these limits the date of his discharge will depend upon his conduct and record. The managers are to adopt rules designed to secure the reformation of inmates and may provide in their rules for the parole of prisoners, but such paroled prisoners are to remain under the control of the board, to be taken back at any time. No prisoner is to be finally discharged until at least six months after parole, and not then unless he has given satisfactory evidence that he will remain at liberty without violating the law, and that his final release is not incompatible with the welfare of society. Prisoners above legal age when convicted, or who are apparently incorrigible, may be transferred to the penitentiary, where they must be held at hard labor for the full maximum term of sentence unless recalled by the managers of the reformatory.

The Senate defeated the bill requiring the teaching of reading, writing, and United States history in English in all private and parochial schools; the bill reducing the interest on certificates of tax sales from eight to six per cent; and the bill making eight hours a day's work in all except agricultural employments.

Among the bills passed by the House are: prohibiting trusts and combinations preventing competition; making Labor Day a legal holiday; making five per cent the legal rate of interest

and seven per cent the contract rate; preventing the docking of horses' tails; a mechanic's lien bill; providing for State inspection of building and loan associations; preventing the sale of liquor to minors and drunkards; preventing discrimination in mutual life-insurance companies; doing away with the screening process and giving to miners all the coal they dig; reducing the rate of interest from eight to six per cent in redemptions under foreclosures and the like; giving cities, towns, and villages power to fix water rates of corporations; a bili protecting females (the bill reduces the penalty for harboring unfortunate women, and provides that the presence of such a woman in any house shall be prima facie evidence that she was there with the consent of the proprietor); and a resolution favoring the elections of United States Senators by popular vote. The bill extending to women the right of suffrage upon matters of education and schools was defeated.

The Legislature has adjourned.

Florida. — Among the bills passed by the House are: requiring railroad companies to fence their roads and to erect suitable crossings; regulating the inspection and sale of beef; abolishing the bureau of immigration; and requiring conductors of trains having physicians en route on their trains to visit patients to stop at regular and flag stations.

Among the bills passed by the Senate are: requiring railroads to fence their roads; repealing the act establishing a railroad commission; repealing the act creating a bureau of immigration; requiring railoads to construct passenger depots on their lines; requiring railroads to redeem unused tickets, and prohibiting unauthorized persons from selling tickets; requiring employers to provide suitable seats for female employees and permit them to use the seats when not necessarily employed in their active duties; requiring railroads to provide facilities for express companies desiring to carry on business on such railroads; making atheists and agnostics competent witnesses in courts; allowing women to testify in civil cases in which their husbands are parties; and preventing the enticing from their employers of minors or other persons under contract.

The Legislature has adjourned.

Governor Pattison, of Pennsylvania, vetoed the bill for the formation and regulation of firemen's relief associations. One of his reasons was that the bill gave to the first corporation chartered a special and exclusive privilege contrary to the spirit of the constitution, inasmuch as it provided that only one association could exist in any city or township. Another bill vetoed is one appropriating \$33,000 for the publication and distribution of a book on the "Birds of Pennsylvania." The governor said he regarded such expenditures of public money as wholly without justification.

The last Kansas Legislature passed a law making it a misdemeanor to employ attendants in State institutions more than eight hours each day. Under this law employees in such institutions must be doubled; but the appropriations of the Legislature were based on the old manner of running. Unless a special session is called,—and the governor has so far refused to take any action,—all the insane asylums and reform schools in the State must close. The appropriations will be exhausted by the end of September, and no deficit is permitted under the laws of the State.

The Irish Land Bill passed the British House of Commons. An amendment was accepted by the government, providing that tenants evicted since May, 1879, may participate in the advantages of the loan for the purpose of purchasing their former holdings. An amendment to the Factory Bill prohibiting children under eleven years of age from working was adopted by a vote of 202 to 186, and the government, defeated by the Liberals, was obliged to accept the amendment.

The last South Carolina Legislature passed a law providing for the licensing, for \$200, of the sale of pistols and pistol cartridges. The manufacturers in New York and elsewhere are determined to oppose this law in the courts, on the ground that a license on goods sent from one State to another in original packages is unconstitutional.

JUDICIAL.

An Arizona judge has decided that all laws passed by Congress with regard to polygamy are just as operative in all the Territories as in Utah.

According to a decision of a United States District Court judge, pleasure yachts have an equal right of way in the waters of the United States with vessels engaged in business.

The United States Circuit Court at Kansas City has decided, in a suit on an accident policy, that a sunstroke is not an accident but a disease of the brain arising from natural causes.

The Virginia law requiring inspection (for which fees were charged) of flour manufactured outside the State when sold within the State has been declared contrary to the Federai Constitution by the United States Supreme Court.

According to a decision of the New York Court of Appeals, the refraining from the use of liquor and tobacco for a certain time at the request of another is sufficient consideration for a promise by the latter to pay a sum of money.

The Georgia Supreme Court decided that in a prohibition county a person who receives money from another with a request to procure whiskey, and who shortly afterward delivers the whiskey, may be treated as the seller, if no other person filling that character appears, and if it is not shown from whom the whiskey was obtained.

The Texas Supreme Court held that no action for conspiracy would lie by a butcher against several dealers in beef cattle because they had combined to refuse to sell him beeves; but where they also induced a certain dealer in slaughtered meat to refuse to sell him likewise, such interfence gave him cause of action.

A judge of the Boston Municipal Court has decided that a man has a right to stand on the street or walk up and down the sidewalk while waiting for a car. The decision was rendered in a case of a Cambridge man who was arrested on the charge of "sauntering and loitering" by Boston officers while he was waiting for his car.

The new Circuit Court of Appeals met on Tuesday, June 16, and went through the form of organization. No judges have been appointed to conduct the business of the new courts, but in each of the several districts some one of the judicial officers of the United States declared the new Court of Appeals to be open, and then adjourned the court.

The New York Court of Appeals has affirmed the conviction of Most, the leader of the German revolutionists, for unlawful assembly. The trial took place in 1887, and he was sentenced to the penitentiary for one year. An appeal to the Federai Supreme Court will be taken, on the ground that a constitutional privilege of free speech was violated in Most's arrest and conviction.

In 1889 the New York Legislature passed a bill providing that "no conviction shall be had upon a plea of guilty in either of the following cases: (a) Where the crime charged is punisha-

ble by death, or (b) where the crime charged is or may be punishable by imprisonment in State prison for the term of life." This law has not been declared unconstitutional, yet New York judges have violated it in a number of instances, and persons indicted for murder have been permitted to plead guilty to a lower grade of manslaughter. It is the opinion of some lawyers that there are convicts in New York prisons who are illegally held under the provisions of this law, and who might be discharged upon a a writ of habeas corpus.

An important decision has been rendered by the Ohio Supreme Court. Action was brought by the telegraph and telephone companies of Cincinnati against a street railroad company which made use of the single-trolley system, the telegraph and telephone companies claiming that their wires were deranged and rendered useless by the trolley wire. The finding of the Court upholds the theory that the street is primarily intended for the use of the general public for the purpose of travelling and transporting goods, and the fact of a motive power which facilitates this object being changed to something which might interfere with a subordinate use of the highway ought not to make any difference in that regard. The telephone and telegraph companies were accordingly nonsuited.

A judge of the Superior Court, New York, has rendered an important decision in a newpaper libel case, as follows:—

"A person bringing a slander or libel suit in effect puts his character on trial. Character is what the man is. Reputation is what people think he is. In determining whether character has been injured, the jury is entitled to know who the complainant is, where he belongs, and how much and what kind of character he has capable of injury, so that they may intelligently fix its pecuniary value and the extent of the injury. This is good common-sense as well as law. When a person wants an injury repaired it is always competent to ascertain the reasonable value. Juries always consider this, and it is useless for courts to shut their eyes to it.

"The plaintiff's proposition is that the defendant cannot show certain truths because it did not know them at the time it published the article complained of. The want of this knowledge may be unavailing to relieve from the charge of malice, but the defendant is entitled to a photograph of the truth, which is available either in justification or mitigation, so far as the question of damages is concerned,—no further."

The New York & New Haven Railroad directors, indicted for a violation of the statutes, in

having the company's cars heated by stoves, have been acquitted, eleven by order of the judge, and one by the jury. The judge decided that there was no case against any of the defendants except the president of the corporation, as the testimony showed that the road was operated by his consent and advice only. The other directors were not principals but servants and agents of the corporation, equally with any other man in the employ. A corporation was liable, the judge continued, for the acts of its servants, but the servants were not liable for the acts of the corporation. While the testimony showed that the manager, who was personally responsible to the president, had been notified by the authorities specifically to remove the car stoves, it was not shown that the other directors were responsible for the management of the road. The judge instructed the jury that they were not to consider the tunnel accident at all, since the company was not carrying passengers at that time, and was therefore permitted to use any sort of heater it chose, but simply the question as to the president's responsibility for the violation of the car stoves statute.

The New York Court of Appeals, in refusing a motion in a murder case which dates two years back, and which has been twice before the United States Supreme Court and three times before the New York Court of Appeals, on a record presenting not a single exception and disclosing no error on the part of the trial court, took occasion to rebuke the lawyers for their obstruction of justice in the following terms:—

"When all the forms of law have been observed and the defendant has had every opportunity to make his defence, and his conviction has been affirmed by the highest court of the State, the contest in the courts should end and the final judgment should be executed, unless the governor of the State, in the exercise of his clemency, should grant a reprieve or a pardon. The forms of law should not be used to subvert the criminal law of the State. Attorneys and counsellors admitted to practise in the courts of this State are under a duty to aid in the administration of justice; and they cannot, consistently with this duty, engage in vexatious proceedings merely for the purpose of undermining the final judgments of the Court and defeating the behests of the law. It ought to be a subject of inquiry, therefore, whether they thus become the allies of the criminal classes and the foes of organized society without exposing themselves to the disciplinary powers of the Supreme Court."

INDUSTRIAL.

Thirteen hundred Chicago architectural iron and metal work shopmen have struck for eight hours a day and thirty cents an hour.

Wives and daughters of Michigan farmers will hereafter be admitted into the Alliance as members without fees, and will enjoy the full rights and privileges of such membership.

The master workman of a Knights of Labor assembly was placed on trial at Rochester, N. Y., for extortion, in having demanded one thousand dollars of a company, in connection with a strike, and convicted by the jury.

One of the Government Indian schools is situated at Genoa, Neb., and some of the Indians attending it are working in the sugar-beet fields of the State. The workmen of Genoa protest against the employment of Indians, and have passed resolutions petitioning the Government to prohibit it.

The New York housesmiths' strike is ended, having lasted six weeks. The men have returned to work on the employers' terms. The strikers say that the struggle for eight hours has only been temporarily abandoned, and that they believe that under the present circumstances the manufacturers cannot grant their demands without serious loss.

Twenty-five sub-alliances in Kansas have repudiated the third-party action of the Cincinnati labor convention. In one case, a resolution was adopted declaring that, as the South was not represented in the convention, and as the third party threatens to injure the Republican party to the advantage of the Democrats, it is best to abandon the third party and return to past political affiliations.

The convention of the International Typograhical Union adopted a resolution favoring a nine-hour day in book and job offices, the same to go into effect Oct. 1, 1891. A tax was levied on the members for the support of those who may be obliged to strike, and a fifteen-dollar fine was imposed upon those who disobeyed the nine-hour rule. A resolution calling for a six-hour day in newspaper offices was indefinitely postponed.

The International Printing Pressmen's Union at its recent convention passed resolutions requiring the employment of four pressmen to entitle an employer to take one apprentice; demanding that Congress shall create by law the office of foreman of press-room in the Government printing-office; requiring employers to appoint no one but a pressman as foreman of a press-room; and creating an international labor bureau for its members, so as to bring the unemployed and employers together.

At Grand Rapids, Mich., during a street-car strike, a conflict between strikers and police officers occurred, in which several strikers were wounded, some fatally. Thirteen strikers were arrested. It is claimed by the police, that the strikers fired at them, but none of the police were injured.

The Kansas and Missouri farmers' organizations are about to form an inter-State industrial union, for the purpose of getting rid of middlemen. It is proposed to establish a union warehouse and market for the receiving and selling of the produce of the members. The agents of the union will keep in stock all the articles of consumption needed by the farmers, and sell them to members at a profit sufficient to pay running expenses. Each member of the county alliances is expected to take stock and patronize the enterprise.

The executive committee of the Kansas Farmers' Alliance is discussing a plan for a private sub-treasury. The plan is to establish in each county a bank and storehouse. The stock is to be taken by subscription. The farmers may deposit their grain, or other products, in the storehouse, and receive, in bank checks, eighty per cent of the value of the deposit minus the charge for insurance. The deposit can be kept until the owner is ready to sell. Meanwhile, his check for advances is to circulate as money. The amount of the produce deposited is limited to the amount of the bank stock subscribed.

The convention of the Order of Railway Telegraphers has decided not to amalgamate with the Telegraphers' Brotherhood. The railway telegraphers have a rule requiring a three-years' service as a road telegrapher before a person can be admitted to the Order. They were unwilling to waive this rule entirely, but were willing to modify it so as to admit those who had served only one year provided such persons had learned their profession at a road instrument. This would bar out a large number of operators who have never done railroad work. and the Brotherhood could not afford to sacrifice these. The convention decided to drop the insurance feature of the Order, but to retain its sick and death benefits feature, - the latter at the option of local branches.

The joint committee of the trades unions of Chicago have decided to address a letter to President Harrison asking that in all work done by the Federal Government in connection with the World's Fair the eight-hour day be recog-

nized, all disputes be settled by arbitration, and not less than the recognized minimum scale of wages for the various trades adopted in Chicago be paid. The committee has also issued a circular to the workingmen of America and Europe warning them not to come to Chicago in the expectation of getting plenty of work and higher wages in connection with the construction of the World's Fair buildings. It points out that the buildings are all to be constructed within eighteen months, and that wages are likely to be lower instead of higher, because of the surplus of labor already here.

Twelve hundred Chicago bakers struck for higher wages and better treatment, and, after three days' struggle, obtained all the concessions they demanded, as follows:—

- "All journeymen, summer and winter, shall work only six days per week, and no more than ten hours shall constitute a single day's work.
 - "No man shall be forced to unload flour.
- "Weekly earnings to be not less than thirteen dollars, summer and winter.
- "Men shall not be boarded and lodged at the bakery.
 - "Only union men to be employed.
- "Extra men to receive not less than three dollars for a single night's or day's work.
- "Whatever help is wanted, men shall be taken from the employment offices of Bakers' Unions.
- "The walking delegate, who may be elected by the unions, shall be authorized, after he identifies himself, to enter any shop at any time."

Owing to lack of means, the London tailors' strike has collapsed.

The Bordeaux (France) omnibus drivers are out on a strike. The men are violent, and the militia has to guard the companies' property. The citizens side with the strikers.

The Fries Coke Company of Scottdale, Pa., has discharged all those workmen who favored the enforcement of the law which requires representatives of the miners to check the weight of coal as it comes out of the mine.

The London omnibus drivers inaugurated a strike for an increase of wages and a reduction of hours. Their real grievance seems to have been the introduction by the companies of the "ticket" system, which operated as a check on peculation. Public sympathy was with the strikers, and the companies, after a week's struggle, were obliged to offier twelve hours' work per day, with a slight increase in wages. The offer was accepted, and the strike declared off.

A demonstration has been held in Hyde Park, London. by the laundry women, who number 80,000. They complain of long hours and unsanitary workshops. Thousands of them have joined the union. Three hundred have struck for eight hours and eighty-four cents per day. The strikers visited the laundries, smashed windows, and dragged out the women at work.

IN GENERAL.

Some of the Farmers' Alliance county commissioners in Kansas have issued an order that in the assessment of property for taxation horses in the various townships shall be made to average \$18 a head; muies, \$18; and cattle, \$4.50. In certain large towns horses and mules must be assessed at \$28 and cattle at \$8 a head.

The press is discussing measures in restriction of immigration. But most of the States between the Mississippi River and the Pacific Ocean are in favor of encouraging immigration. They have much unoccupied land and undeveloped resources, and would welcome industrious laborers and settlers.

The adoption of the new constitution in Brazil has led to no practical results, owing to the failure of the Constituent Congress to pass laws putting it into execution. The administration holds that the pre-existing body of laws was not annulled by the adoption of the new constitution, and that they must remain in force until they are specifically repealed.

Under the agreement between the United States and Great Britain for a close season in the sealing grounds of the Behring Sea, seal-killing is prohibited until May next (in excess of 7,500 to be taken on the islands "for the subsistence of the natives"), and offending parties may be seized and detained by the officers of either of the contracting powers, the offenders to be handed over to the authorities of the nation to which they belong for triai.

Several States have laws making employers liable for compensation for injuries sustained by their employees by reason of defects in the condition of the works or machinery, or by reason of the negligence of foremen and superintendents. The frequency of casualties coming under these laws has led to the organization of insurance to cover employer's liability. The insurance companies will relieve the employer from the trouble and expense of defending himself in the courts, and will promptly pay employers or their heirs for injuries.

It is announced from Washington that the Federal troops will this week begin to expel the white cattlemen who have intruded upon the Indian reserve known as the Cherokee Strip. There are over 6,000 of these intruders, and they have over 100,000 cattle on the grazing lands from which they are to be driven, and which they have no right to occupy. They were warned against going on the Strip, but gave no heed to the warning. They were ordered by the Interior Department to leave it last year, but they refused to obey the order. The semi-military force, or Indian police, of the Cherokee Nation, recently made efforts to expel them, but they stood, rifle in hand, ready for the fight. -N. Y. Sun.

Signs of an anti-Semitic movement are observable in Switzerland. Several cantons have decided not to allow the Jews to become naturalized citizens, and the governments of Berne and Argovie have been induced to prohibit Jewish butchers from killing oxen in the Jewish fashion. This prohibition, however, is declared illegal by the Federal Chambers.

The formation of a great Central European commercial alliance is reported. Germany, Austria, Hungary, Italy, and Switzerland are the parties named, and a conference is to be held at Berne, to prepare the draft of the treaty. No one of the contracting powers will be privileged to form a trade treaty with any other outside the league unless it first obtains the assent of the other parties.

A deputation recently waited upon Lord Salisbury, and urged him to convoke a conference of the self-governing British colonies to consider the question of partaking in the privileges and responsibilities of a united empire. Lord Salisbury expressed his sympathy with the project of organizing a united empire, similar to the United States, but said that he could not summon a conference until a definite scheme of imperial federation had been prepared.

A female artist lately painted a portrait of Moltke, and sent it to the International Art Exhibition at Berlin. The jury promptly rejected it; but Emperor William liked the picture, and as soon as the decision of the committee was announced, he bought it, and sent it back to the exhibition with a brief intimation that he wanted it hung in a place of honor in the principal gallery. There was some talk of the whole body of governing artists resigning en bloc, but his request was finally complied with.

TO-DAY, JULY 2, 1891.

A record of the facts and considerations which show that Individual Liberty is good for the people of the United States, and that, therefore, Legislative Regulation is injurious for them.

J. MORRISON-FULLER, WALTER C. Rose, Editors.

It is estimated that the postal subsidies voted by the last Congress will amount to about twelve million dollars yearly, and it is stated that they will be given to existing companies for service now being performed as well as to existing and new companies for new service. This means that the people of the United States are to be compelled to pay something like twelve million dollars a year more for carrying the mails than the service is worth, in order that certain individuals may find their business more profitable. It is to be noted that the people who pay most of the federal taxes are poor. These taxes are not levied upon property, but are paid by consumers of certain articles, most of them articles of necessity, and therefore fall much more heavily upon the poor than upon the rich. The owners of steamship lines, on the other hand, are not, as a rule, pecuniarily in a position to require much assistance or sympathy. This law is like many other laws in that it takes from the poor and gives to the rich, but it does this more manifestly than most. Experience shows that the common people will submit to a great deal of extortion, but they are likely to be rather violent when the limit of their endurance has been passed.

England is agitated at present Fanaticism over the question whether chilfor Educadren under twelve shall be permitted to earn anything for their own support in case their parents are unable to support them It is hardly likely that England's properly. future greatness depends upon raising by two years the age at which children may be employed in factories, as many advocates of that measure loudly assert, inasmuch as she has reached her present stage of development without such a law. Happily not all the children in the realm would be affected, but a sufficient number would be to make it important that the right solution of the question be reached. According to Mr. Henry Dunckley in the Contemporary Review, 39,000 children between the ages of ten and twelve are employed as half-timers in the three counties Lancashire, Yorkshire, and Cheshire. The wages they receive amount to about \$1,390,-

000 in the course of a year. It certainly makes a great difference to these children whether they obtain this money or not. Probably they do not obtain the full amount of what they earn, part of it going to the support of other members of their families, but there can be no doubt that they will obtain still less if their liberty of earning is taken away. Children who work in factories have little except the necessaries of life, so that the passage of the act in question indubitably means that they will have less food, less clothing, and a less comfortable place to live in. Is it so certain that six hours of work per day is worse for them than the extra amount of privation they will have to undergo?

It is expected that the increased attention these children will be enabled to devote to education will be more than an equivalent. The light-heartedness with which lawmakers legislate bread out of children's mouths and what they are pleased to call education into their minds is amazing. No state had undertaken to educate its citizens except in matters of religion until the present century, and now it is discovered that society will relapse into barbarism unless the state teaches almost everything except religion. No doubt knowledge is an extremely valuable possession, and that kind of knowledge which is imparted by public schools is desirable; but there exists already among the people an exaggerated notion of the value of this kind of knowledge, and there can be no doubt that it would be very generally acquired if the state left the matter entirely alone. In fact, it is purely on account of this popular notion that the state takes charge of education. But when the worship of this idol book learning has reached such a height that men are ready to force others' children to go hungry in order that they may obtain a little more of it, the time must soon arrive when here and there one will view this idol dispassionately and perceive that it is hollow. Fanaticism may flourish to a certain extent, but the commonsense of men will finally assert itself.

The craze for popular education is closely connected with the desire for popular government. Every adult male must have the right to vote, and in order that he may vote intelligently, he must at least be able to read and write. The second of these assumptions can hardly be disputed. When the discussion of public questions is carried on so largely in the periodical press as it is now, a man unable to read is unable to form an intelligent opinion upon public questions; his thinking powers may be adequate, but he cannot

obtain the necessary data. But a further assumption is very commonly made, which is the basis of much of the eagerness for compulsory education, viz., that a man able to read will be able to form an intelligent opinion upon public questions; and this assumption is not well founded. A man's political convictions are still chiefly a matter of feeling, and reason has little influence upon them, whether he can read or not. Which is under the greater illusion, the bar-room loafer who sells his vote to the party which bids highest for it, or the respectable citizen who reads his partisan newspaper, believing all its statements, and votes for this or that man because he is the regular nominee of his party. The extraordinary amount of misinformation upon public questions that exists in this country and in England, notwithstanding a very general popular education, does not show that school education is not a very good thing, but it does show that education is not a great magic cure-all for social evils.

State Bureaus of Statistics.

The latest biennial report of the Illinois Bureau of Labor Statistics, completed last November, has just

been published. The chief subjects investigated were the coal production of the State, the earnings and working-time of employees in the coal mines, and statistics of mortgage indebtedness. The year ending May 1, 1889, was the one chosen for examination in the second subject given. The miners are mostly paid by the piece, so that the time is not a serious question for them; the length of the working-day, however, is about ten hours. It was found that during the period taken 538,691 miners worked an average of 100.6 days each, and that the wages per day averaged \$2.23. But the mines were not running continually, so that the wages amounted only to \$1.14 for each man's daily subsistence. That is, one day's wages must maintain the miner and his family, if he has one, nearly two days. Some of the coal is mined by machinery, and the wages of employees range nearly as above - foremen, \$2.36; cutters, \$2.41; blasters, \$2.30; helpers, \$1.75. The work is no more steady than that paid for by the piece.

The number of mortgages in 1880 made in the State on lands was, according to the report, 24,-248 for \$30,512,566. In 1887 the figures were 25,234 mortgages for \$37,640,770. The number of forclosures on land mortgages was, in 1880, 840 for \$1,204,598; in 1887 there were 1,223 forclosures for \$1,892,555. The number of

mortgages made and of those forclosed in city lots in the two years is also given. The average price obtained for the land sold in 1887 was \$32.87 per acre. The whole number of acres assessed for taxation was 34,575,903, giving \$1,136,509,932 as the estimated aggregate value of all the land in the State, exclusive of city lots.

The chief object of the State Government in establishing and maintaining the Bureau is, probably, to collect facts which will be valuable as a guide to legislation. It is doubtful, however, whether one of the legislators will read through this report. Still this is not so much to be regretted, because there is little in it which could assist in deciding whether a proposed law would do good or harm. The above are fair samples of the most important facts collected by the Bureau in the last two years. They are interesting and, in a certain sense important; but no very valuable deductions can be drawn from them. That the average yearly earnings of a coal-miner amount to about \$400; that the total mortgage indebtedness on lands is a little less than 31 per cent of the aggregate land values, though about 61 per cent of the total number of acres are covered by mortgages; that of the land mortgaged the average amount of the mortgage per acre is a little over half the estimated average value of land per acre; that the number of real-estate mortgages and the number of foreclosures increased from 1880 to 1887, but not alarmingly,—these are facts which it is well enough to know for any State; but it is inconceivable that any accummulation of such facts should enable legislators, even after having mastered them, to make wise laws. These, however, are the kind of facts which State bureaus of statistics almost invariably collect. It follows, then, that as institutions for collecting information upon which to base governmental action. these bureaus are failures. The State Governments, therefore, have no sufficient justification for maintaining them. If the information they collect is worth the expense of collection to other men besides legislators, there is no danger but that it would be collected. Consider the labor and expense of deciphering the Egyptain hieroglyphics, or of excavating the site of buried cities; yet private enterprise has proved itself equal to doing these things, and the information obtained is not of so very great immediate value. The chief argument in favor of the latter plan is that only those who wish to use the information pay for collecting it; but when the State collects information the majority who have no use for it at

all have to pay for it. It is not too much to say that if the facts collected by State bureaus of statistics could not be sold for enough to pay for collection they should not be collected.

MUTUALISM v. COMPULSORY CO-OPERATION.

The Kansas Farmers' Alliance is to be con. gratulated on its proposal to establish their subtreasury scheme by private means. The plan is not as attractive as the original Government subtreasury scheme must appear to such intense paternalists and believers in State socialism as the Alliance members; but possibly they have come to the conclusion that it is better to secure immediate, though necessarily partial, relief than to wait for the total deliverance of the slow and treacherous Government, and run the risk of bitter disappointment. Such a conclusion would be wise so far as the farmers' interests are concerned, and would be encouraging to the rest of us; for the realization of the fact that the Government will not relieve them must in the natural course of things lead to the perception of the truth that the Government cannot save them by any positive act of interference in their behalf. Meanwhile it is interesting to study the comments of the dailies upon this private sub-treasury scheme. The New York Sun says: "If the scheme is feasible, . . . if it is successful, there will be no excuse for calling for Government help. If it is not, additional reason will exist against the establishment of Government agricultural sub-treasuries." But the Sun strangely overlooks the fact that the Government imposes a tax of ten per cent on such currency as the farmers contemplate issuing, and that such a tax is practically prohibitive. The farmers, too, seem not to have considered this legal obstacle to their private sub-treasury plan, but they are certain to make the unwelcome discovery in due time, and then they will be obliged, in consistency, to demand the cessation of Government meddling with currency and all financial relations. But the most ignorant and absurd objection to the scheme is advanced by the St. Louis Globe-Demo : ..., which delivers itself of the following: -

The fact is that this whole theory of communistic reform is an old and tried one, and in not a single instance has it ever succeeded. It came in with the Pilgrims at Plymouth. Their original articles of agreement provided for the holding and doing of everything in common. The individual was required to contribute the results of his labor to a general fund, and it was proposed thus to equalize

earnings and profits, and to bring about the same measure of comfort and happiness for all. It is very certain that the intention was a sincere one, but the outcome was a decided disappointment, The experiment lasted only three years, and was then abandoned without a dissenting voice. . . . The Alliance project is an analogous one, considering the changed condition of things at the present time. It implies the pooling of personal efforts, the bulking of personal products, in such a fashion as to discourage rather than to stimulate diligence and enterprise. This is contrary to the American philosophy of industry and progress, as well as to the American faculty of common-sense. Our unprecedented material progress in the past has been gained by other methods, - by self-interest, competition, and independent striving, - and there is no reason to believe that there is any safer and better way of arranging the matter.

It is plain that the Globe-Democrat does not know the difference between communism and co-operation, between mutual aid and the abolition of individual and private interests. The pooling of personal efforts does not discourage enterprise and diligence, inasmuch as it is selfinterest which, under the fullest liberty of competition, develops the tendency toward combination and co-operation. It is difficult to say whether the world owes more to competition or to co-operative action; and the interdiction of association and combination in all their forms would be as great an evil as the suppression of all forms of competition. Both should be free and untrammelled; and experience alone can teach men the merits and demerits of each of them. The Globe-Democrat pompous talk about the American philosophy of industry and the American faculty of common-sense shows it to lack common-sense as well as philosophy. Mutualism is as good for farmers as it is for workmen and for capitalists. Compulsory cooperation is bad for everybody; and this is the lesson which the farmers need to learn. But it is evident that they can learn nothing from the Globe-Democrat.

THOUGHTS ON THE STATE OF THE NATION.

DEFERENTIALLY INSCRIBED TO THE AUTHOR OF "LOOKING BACKWARD."

"Bring me another horse — bind up my wounds! Have mercy, Jesu — soft! I did but dream."

Once upon a time, there were three children, two boys and a girl (including twins), who were all four taken suddenly sick.

Naturally, their parents were very much alarmed, and sent at once for the doctor.

Having listened attentively to the parental explanations and suggestions, he looked very grave indeed, for he was a tall man, standing over six feet in his shoes, added to which a most apprehensive expression of countenance. At last he said:—

"Some degrees of fever are accompanied by heat. Now, inasmuch as all persons who have fevers, have them in some degree, therefore, all degrees of fever are accompanied by heat. If we can produce a profuse transpiration without setting up an excessive peripheral excitation of the cutaneous glands, all may yet be well, if not better; put the five cherubs to bed, three at the foot and three at the head, and give them seven cups of hot camomile tea before they go to sleep. In the morning we shall see."

No sooner had the father got the eight youngsters tucked in than the mother appeared in the threshold with the tray and the nine cups of tea. But such an outcry as went up from these ten throats was never heard before, or even more-Not one of the eleven would drink his tea.

Finally the father became exasperated, and seizing his cane he exclaimed:

"Now you will every one of you drink that tea, or I'll know the reason why."

"I had rather tell why," screamed the twelfth louder than would have been expected from her who was the youngest of the thirteen. And with that they jumped out of bed in their bare feet and nightgowns and rushed for the window which was on the ground floor (not counting the mausard roof nor the attic). The father followed brandishing his cane, and the mother was at his heels with the tray and the fourteen cups of camomile tea.

The chase continued up one street and down another. A policeman, awakened by the first child stumbling over him, came very near catching the fifteenth, who brought up the rear. When they turned the corner of Forty-Second Street and Fifth Avenue, they numbered at least thirty, so rapid had been their flight. All joined in the pursuit of the refractory urchins. At the Sixth Avenue Elevated they were sixty, and would have been more had they not stopped to dispute about their ages, all claiming to ride free as being under five: which the gateman would not admit, for he had counted them; and, besides, the last down train had gone by. Meanwhile the father's voice was heard, mounting the steps (or words to that effect) and, heedless of threats of prosecution, the children dashed across the track and down the opposite stage. Soon the streets were full of them, and there was no way of continuing the flight but to double on the course, and run down the opposite side, followed by the father with his cane, the mother with the tray and the seven hundred cups of tea, citizens who had taken up the alarm, the fire department with the chemical engine, and the policeman (others had been sent for but would not arrive till next day). While the little rascals scampered up one side of the street their pursuers were scurrying down the other, in the hope of overtaking the end of the column before daybreak (the next day being Labor Day, and consequently a holiday, the banks would be closed; and the Signal Service Bureau had predicted fair weather, but no one had remembered to bring an umbrella). If only some one had thought of crossing the street and intercepting the leaders! But in the heat of the chase this expedient was of course overlooked. Besides, the three foremost fugitives, four of whom had been sick longer than the rest, and were accordingly more fatigued by the violent exercise, had boarded the early horse-car; so nothing remained but to catch up with the hindmost. If the doctor could have seen them now he would have felt justified in his prescription, for perspiration streamed from every pore. But the exertion proved too great. The father was on the very point of seizing the last one of the desperate but determined rebels when they began to diminish in number, even more rapidly than they had increased. Those in the rear dropped off the first, being more exhausted from having to run faster to keep up with those who had the start of them. One by one they disappeared and eluded the paternal grasp. In a short time they were so tired that not more than a dozen were left, and they were on the right. What might have been the result no one can now foresee by looking back at the events of the night, for, just then the first streaks of dawn appeared on the horizon, or what amounts to the same thing, the news arrived that every legislature in the country had adjourned sine qua non.

The early horse-car drew up by the window on the ground floor (not counting the mansard roof nor the attic), the children tumbled out, took transfer checks, and hastened to bed, weary and footsore; the fire department was rung in; the citizens returned to their homes, and the policeman to his slumber; the milkman stopped by the side-door (for the house stood on the corner) and leisurely poured the water from his cans; the father placed his cane in the other corner, while the mother leaned over and gave the children each a deep draught of morning's milk.

INDUSTRY AND THE SENTIMENT OF LIBERTY.

"How ready these people are to be slaves," Tiberius used to exclaim on going out from the Roman Senate. It is not likely that the senators were utterly indifferent to the loss of dignity which they had suffered, though the Senate in Tiberius's time was vastly changed from that body which the ambassador of Pyrrhus had likened to an assemblage of kings, but they were willing for slight considerations to fawn and truckle to any one who held the reins of power.

The sentiment of personal liberty has probably never been quite extinct in any one. There are, to be sure, instances on record where slaves have refused liberty when it was freely offered to them; but they enjoyed having some of their actions free even while in slavery, and the more of such actions there were the more tolerable the slavery. It is plainly impossible for any restraint of liberty to be complete; the nearest approach to such a state is when the subject is bound hand and foot; but even then some actions are free, as breathing and contracting the muscles. From this state we pass through the liberty to move about in a confined area to what is known as personal slavery, in which a man is free to order a portion of his life as he pleases, but is obliged to perform certain tasks and to refrain from certain actions. What is known as political freedom may be described in precisely the same words,—the citizen has liberty to order a portion of his life as he pleases, provided that he does certain actions (pays taxes, for example) and refrains from certain other actions. The distinction between freedom and slavery, using the words in their common acceptation, is clear enough: the free man is tolerably certain as to what he must do and what not, while there is hardly any service which may not be demanded of the slave, hardly any action which may not be forbidden him.

So the distinction between a free and a

despotic government is perfectly plain, though it is not the one usually drawn. It does not consist in the fact that the people have a direct voice in the one and not in the other, or that one is a government of men and the other of laws. Since laws are both made and executed by men, and since they are fully as capricious as men are, the personal element is only thinly veiled by them. Their chief advantage over royal edicts from the standpoint of the subject is that it takes longer to make them, and so the government possesses greater definiteness, — its actions from day to day can be counted on with greater certainty. essential distinction is that under a free government the individual is guaranteed a sphere of activity within which he shall be perfectly free, within which the government will not molest him nor permit any other individual to molest him. This sphere is very limited, and it is only within the last two centuries that such a sphere has existed at all. Of course, since the activities of men are almost infinite, governments have never been able to interfere with them all, but until the formation of the Government of this country there was no activity anywhere with which there was any certainty that the Government would not interfere. Of course, also, no guaranty of liberty can be absolute. For instance, the Constitution of the United States guarantees freedom of contract and freedom of the press in the most absolute manner possible. Yet it is not inconceivable that those provisions should be repealed. Moreover, the last Congress enacted a law contrary to one of those provisions, and probably contrary to the other. I refer to the anti-lottery law. If the freedom of the press is not less since the passage of that law than it was before, then freedom must be defined in a very strange way. Moreover, supposing any newspaper had a long contract to advertise any lottery company, that contract was certainly interfered with.

The action of government is usually regarded as negative rather than positive, —

that is, as prohibiting actions rather than as commanding them, but wherever any public work is undertaken, as the construction of a building, or digging a canal, the action is positive. There is just now a movement in favor of cities and towns manufacturing their own gas and electric light. There is little doubt that, as American cities are now managed, it would cost them more to manufacture the gas they use than to buy it, even at the excessive rates most of them now pay. But, considering the proposition independently, it plainly means that all shall be compelled to contribute to the production of an article the benefits of which will not be distributed in anything like the proportion which each one has contributed. It certainly amounts to much the same thing whether a person is obliged to do something himself or to hire some one else to do it. In some towns it is common for men to "work out" their road tax, but in those where only money is required it is no less accurate to say that the people are compelled to keep the roads in repair.

In the two countries which had led in the advance towards personal liberty, - England and the United States, - the sphere of governmental interference has been extending for a generation or more, and, by consequence, the sphere of individual freedom has been contracting. This ought not. however, to make us doubt that the sentiment of liberty is in course of development. We say that the population of this country is increasing, but our confidence in the truth of this statement would not be much shaken if it could be shown that during the last hour the number of deaths had exceeded that of the births, and that therefore the population during that time had been diminishing.

That people having the power in their own hands should voluntarily surrender their liberties seems strange, and it would be unaccountable except for the fact that they do not perceive the tendency of their acts. Government has certainly become more popular, and that a government of

the people should tyrannize over the people seems to the thoughtless a contradiction of terms. It is only necessary, however, to consider what the terms mean. Popular government means little more at present than that the people shall choose men who shall make and enforce the laws; and this practically resolves itself into choosing which of two sets of men they prefer to intrust with this power. A popular election is never unanimous, and generally there are almost as many opposed to the successful candidates as in favor of them; that is, nearly half — and in some cases more than half - of the people do not wish to be ruled by those men. After the rulers are elected, they are open to other influences than the will of the people. But, as many savages are convinced that a dead body casts no shadow, so most men are convinced that a popular government cannot be tyrannical.

The extension of governmental activity noticeable late years is probably a symptom of the halt in the development of liberty. The causes of this halt are manifold, the chief one being, probably, the change in industrial development by which the greater establishments have crowded out the smaller ones. Evidently where there are few independent producers there is necessarily a much greater subordination than where there are many. The number of people who manage their business for themselves is comparatively small, and working under the superintendence of another does not conduce to personal independence. Men who while in the shop are subordinate to an employer are not likely to be his equals when outside. Men are, to be sure, free to leave whenever they can find another place where the pay or the conditions are more satisfactory; but how when they cannot find another place where they are paid and treated even as well? There is no necessity of comparing their condition to that of slaves, but it has this in common with slavery, that while they are at work their first thought must be to please another rather than themselves.

Moreover, the trades-unions and other associations into which workmen have entered for self-defence are not conducive to personal independence. Concerted action implies that men shall not act each as seems best to himself, but that each shall be ready to sacrifice his private judgment and act with the rest; and working men's associations seem frequently to be unnecessarily tyrannical.

While, under one aspect, the extension of governmental control is a symptom of the decline in the sentiment of personal liberty, under another aspect it may be regarded as a co-operating cause; the more there is, the more is called for. After the Government has managed an enterprise for some years, men come to believe that this enterprise could not otherwise he carried on. Ask the first man you meet in the street what would be the result if the Government should stop carrying mail, and his reply will be that no mail matter would be transmitted. This notwithstanding that it is possible to send a package by express almost anywhere, and, taking account of security, as cheaply as by mail.

The great bugbear of those who advocate governmental regulation of this or that thing, is anarchy. The production and distribution of the wheat crop in the United States may be regarded as anarchical; each man who owns land sows as much as he pleases, harvests it when he pleases, and sells it to whom he pleases. Any one reasoning after the style so familiar of late would say that there is no assurance that enough wheat will be raised next year to support the population, that the Government ought to calculate the amount necessary, and see that it is obtained. It must be admitted that under the present plan wheat is not distributed exactly according to descrts: but how much better are the offices in the gift of the Government distributed?

The reason assigned why the Government should undertake any enterprise usually is, either that it will not be done at

all or not done so well by private companies. The reply to this is, that, in modern progressive nations, whenever there is a real demand for any enterprise such as to make it profitable, private capital will readily be forthcoming to establish it, that until there is such a demand such an enterprise evidently ought not to be established, and that when such an enterprise is established by private concerns it is carried on much more efficiently, and that the product costs the community much less than when the enterprise is established by the Govern-The question is to be decided by a general comparison of industry as carried on by Government, with industry as carried on under private management. The evidence must be studied in detail; it cannot be condensed into a very narrow compass. The observation of every man ought to afford him a basis for a provisional decision.

The sphere of activity within which men may be trusted to be perfectly free cannot be unlimited if men are to live together in society, but the freedom of each must be limited by the like freedom of others. Men as they are at present have certain anti-social feelings, which they are not in all cases able to control each for himself. If a man covets his neighbor's goods, he cannot be left free to seize upon them; if there is no other agency to restrain him, then the neighbor himself will resist or seek vengeance, aided by his friends. In such a state of society, the goods would probably remain in the possession of the strongest; but the world has decided that physical prowess is not a good criterion by which to distribute property. This is the state of society which is usually called to mind by the word anarchy, and it is not an agreeable state to contemplate. The amount of evil that would be done may be exaggerated, - men may be much better than they are supposed to be, — but it is very likely that the dread of the cell and the halter is a potent factor in repressing the propensity many have for robbing and murdering; just as many are restrained

from walking on the grass in public parks by the knowledge that if they do so they will be arrested.

It is very likely that public agencies are better than private agencies for repressing the aggressions of individuals upon one another. The alternatives would be, not to repress such aggressions, which all will at once pronounce intolerable; or several competing private agencies, in which case they could hardly avoid coming into collision and producing confusion; or a single agency, which would be practically as coercive as the present Government. True, governments perform this duty almost as badly as they do other things; they furnish, so to speak, justice of poor quality, at a high price, and they will probably continue to do so until men are so improved that no injustice will be done. But it can hardly be questioned that in their attempts to do justice even now they do more good than harm. In their other attempts, as to keep their subjects from injuring themselves, either positively, by acts directly hurtful, or negatively, by failing to make the most of their opportunities - in these attempts, to which they give most of their attention, they probably do more harm than good. That a new post-office should be built at Grabville for half a million, or that Marsh River should be dredged, seemed a weighty matter to the last Congress, worthy of any amount of bickering and finesse; but that the Supreme Court was several years behind the docket, was a matter which could be put off from time to time, and at last amended with no care whatever. Is it likely that the people will ever perceive that even the most complete national control of all industry would not be a nobler object for the Government than to see that nothing which is not just should be done in the State?

POLITICS IN THE MAGAZINES.

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW (July).—
The opening paper, My Views of Philanthrophy,
is by the famous Hebrew philanthropist, the
Baron de Hirsch. His idea of philanthropy,

expressed in general terms, is "to make human beings who are capable of work out of individuals who otherwise must become paupers, and in this way to create useful members of society." What he declares has become the object of his life is to afford a portion of his companions in faith the opportunities of an independent existence, free from religious intolerance. The statement so often made that Jews show no inclination to agriculture or to manual labor is denied, as modern examples as well as history effectually show. The case of those Jews who were exiled from Russia to the Argentine a few years ago is cited in proof of this. They have, he asserts, under the most trying circumstances, become thrifty farmers, and have shown so much skill in building their houses that every one in the vicinity employs them as carpenters.

The Farmers' Discontent, by L. L. Polk, president of the Farmers' Alliance, is mainly in reply to a paper by Geo. E. Waring in the June Review. As to the work of the Alliance, Mr. Polk thinks much has already been done in that a large proportion of its members have been led to study and learn more of political economy and the machinery of government. A purer administration of public affairs is predicted for the future, which is bound to result in less classlegislation,—"the evil against which the efforts of the Alliance are chiefly directed."

The Farmer on Top, by Erastus Wiman, tells us how much more rapidly is the increase in the world's population than is that of cultivated area, and how surprisingly near we have approached the exhaustion of uncultivated arable soils. The growing demand for food products, with the ever-decreasing supply is bound to bring great prosperity to the farmer, who has long and patiently worked and waited.

"It was no wonder," says Mr. Wiman, "that unrest prevailed, and that a striking out for relief in legislation, or some other form of remedy by organization was tried. . . . Having attained prosperity by the operation of natural laws, he will abandon the absurd theories under which, in the days of depression, some of his representatives sought relief by laws made by legislation; and it will not be surprising if he reaches the conclusion that the least interference with trade, the least taxation and the least legislation will be the popular movement, setting in as a reactionary sentiment from that which has hitherto prevailed."

The above is in striking contrast with Mr. Polk's statement in the preceding paper, that the people "are awaking to the realization that, in a society which has reached the stage and dimensions of ours. legislation is the basis of national prosperity."

Mr. Clarkson's rather doubtful logic which he used in the May Review when writing of "The Politician and the Pharisee" is answered in a vigorous manner by the Hon. Dorman B. Eaton, who was formerly president of the Civil-Service Commission. A New Variety of Mugwump is the title of his article, and Mr. Clarkson and his like are the ones designated.

The Inheritance of Property, by Richard G. Ely, argues for many reforms in our laws of inheritance. He would provide more liberally for children. Property not willed away, nor falling to some heir recognized by law should go to the State. All inheritance above a certain amount should be taxed, said taxation to be graduated, the more distant relatives and those inheriting the largest amount being made to pay the highest tax. Mr. Ely also volunteers considerable advice as to the best uses to be made by the State of the funds so acquired,—uses which to his mind will equalize the conditions of mankind, discourage idleness, and encourage industry.

POPULAR SCIENCE MONTHLY (July). - A Coming Solution of the Currency Question, according to Charles S. Ashley, is this: That contracts of all kinds will specify the kind of currency with which the terms of the agreement shall be satisfled, there being of course no controversy about the proposition that men should pay precisely what they contract to pay. The writer estimates that there are already railroad mortgages amounting to a billion dollars that contain a "gold clause," that is, are payable in gold coin of the United States of America of the present standard weight and fineness. He also states that the highest courts of the land have declared that such contracts must be performed literally, and he further says: -

"The assertion of the above-cited provision in railroad mortgages will lead to similar contracts in other instances, particularly in the case of long-time, low-rate real-estate mortgages to insurance companies. . . If this kinds of obligation should become common and of recognized validity, it is obvious that the political pressure, now so great, would be entirely neutralized, because few would have anything to gain from a debasement or enhancement of the value of the coined dollar."

Conceiving money only as a convenient commodity of exchange, regardless of any artificial standard imposed by Congress, nothing would prevent practically free coinage of both metals, and with such free coinage Mr. Ashley considers that the "varying needs of the country for currency would be more perfectly met than in any other way."

BLACKWOOD'S MAGAZINE (June). — A Trouble Before America, as seen by Warneford Moffatt,

is the fact that while this country has made wonderful advancement, and has, to a great extent, influenced the whole world, it is not fulfilling all expectations. While seeking the good of the whole people, it has, by its high-tariff restrictions, imbued them with an individual selfishness which has led to a headlong race for wealth.

"If, therefore," says the writer, "American democracy is not to belie the songs of the poets of the first years of the century, who welcomed its birth as the downfall of tyranny, it must restudy the history of its early foundation. Its future must be devoted to emancipating the mind of the public from the pursuit of dividends, by giving a check to those monopolies of trade that are building up a greater despotism than the mercantile system, the origin of the American rebellion. If it is not to turn in upon itself like animal intelligence, with the fulfilment of the original object of its existence, but is to be creative and progressive, it will be necessary to destroy individual selfishness by widening the area of competition, - in opening all ports to the business of the nations, and freely accepting their goods."

NINETEENTH CENTURY. — Mr. Carnegie tries to persuade the British public that the McKinley Bill is, on the whole, a free-trade measure, and that on that account it is likely to affect injuriously English industry. Protectionists writing for the American public have pointed out the immense damage the protective features of this bill will inflict upon England; if it cuts both ways, as its defenders anticipate, it will turn out to be a marvel of legislation.

Political economists are invited to ponder over the section which provides for rebate duties when imported material has been manufactured into articles for export. Probably, however, the class of people who will contemplate that section with the most satisfaction will be American manufacturers. It is too much to expect that those engaged in the production of the raw material will rejoice over the fact that "American manufactures hereafter may be constructed of foreign material whenever it is cheaper than the American; while it may occur to American consumers that if our manufacturers can can compete with foreigners in foreign markets, provided they are granted free raw material, they might do the same in the home market. It seems doubtful whether political economists will be greatly moved by a fresh exhibition of imbecility on the part of the American Congress.

Owing to the continued illness of the editor, To-DAY will appear fortnightly instead of weekly, until further notice.

AMERICANA.

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 28, 1891.- At the last regular meeting of the Women's National Industrial League, that organization discussed and passed a number of resolutions bearing upon what it calls a system of brokerage in vogue in the different departments. It was asserted at this meeting that Senators, Members of Congress, and department officials have been and are in the habit of having their servants appointed to office when these officials go away for the summer: It is also charged that in the War, State, and Navy departments the relatives of the servants of high officials are also provided with places at the Government's expense, and that those who are instrumental in getting them there share in the benefits accruing to these people.

As an instance, one case was related where a coachman's wife was appointed to a \$50 place, and \$25 was deducted by reason of this from his salary. Another case referred to was that of a Senator who had four of his servants appointed to office during the time when the Senate was not in session, and he was, therefore, not in the city. It was charged against another distinguished Senator that he had a woman appointed to a humble position, and that she, in turn, does the entire family washing of the Senator without compensation.

It is claimed that this practice is carried on to such an extent that even the women who are assisted to the most menial duty have to pay tribute by doing work for which they receive no recompensation, and that this system of colonizing five or six members of one family under assumed names is carried on to an alarming extent.

The league threatens that, unless the practice is stopped, it will publish the names of the offenders. — Associated Press Despatch.

The financial situation in Philadelphia is about this wise at the present writing: The city treasury has been robbed of about half a million dollars belonging to the city, and of about a million belonging to the State. One bank president is in jail, and another is a fugitive from justice; the city treasurer is in prison, two bank cashiers are under bonds to answer criminal charges, and two national banks are found to have hypothecated false issues of the stocks for loans. It should be understood,

however, that the investigation is still in progress. — Boston Herald.

The Antwerp (Belglum) Gazette says: In Chicago, the principal city of the dominion of Illinois, where the World's Fair is to be held, and which has distanced the city of New York as a commercial and social centre, there exists a strange and painful custom. When parents wish to get rid of their children superfluous they send them to a public auction, to be sold to the highest bidder. It seems strange that in a city where so much civilization and prosperity are there should be a custom so barbarous. It is to be hoped that Gen. Hempstead Washburne, who has just been appointed governor general of the dominion by the directory, will annul the rights of parents to be so inhuman with their offspring.

"Do you understand the province of a juror?" asked the counsel for the prosecution in the New York & New Haven case of one of the candidates for the jury.

The candidate did n't know what "province" meant.

"Do you understand the function of a juror?" asked the counsel.

The juror didn't know what "function" meant, either.

"Do you understand the office of a juror?" continued the counsel.

Office, yes. The juror was a Tammany statesman. He passed. — Boston Herald.

On Thursday last two men accused of keeping twelve boys locked up in a filthy room, and feeding them with filthy food, were arrested and taken to a police station.

On Thursday last the twelve boys accused of having been locked up in a filthy room by the two men, and fed with filthy food, were arrested and taken to a police station.

On Thursday last the two men, having given bail, were set free, to sleep in clean beds at home and eat clean food, to the gratification of their minds and bellies.

On Thursday last the twelve boys, unable to give bail as witnesses, were, by the city authorities, locked up in a filthy room, and fed with filthy food.

On Friday last many a good man hereabout devoutly thanked his God that his lot had been cast in an age of Christian civilization and in a land of law and justice. — Son Francisco Examiner.

Something new Shoes



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* For the Ladies

We have added a Ladies' Dep't for Summer Goods and we have the assurance of the best dealers that it is the finest line ever shown. We can furnish the "Korrect **Shape''** in Oxford (the style above) or in Blucher cut with Piccadilly toe in seventeen different colors in Ooze from pure white to black, or in Russet Calf. Also made in white or Colored Canvas and trimmed with all kinds and colors of leather. All these different styles are made either high or low cut, and all are made with a rubber sole (insuring against dampness) which is first cemented and then sewed to the shoe. Our 17 samples of Ooze will be sent on application to any one naming this publication.

and worthy of attention as it combines in one shoe all the advantages of three styles as heretofore made. Fo: Yachting we secure suction without perforating the sole; for Tennis, Baseball, Mountain climbing, or wherever surety of Foothold is desired, we secure greater clinging surface than possible with a rubber pointed sole. This cut shows how it is done, and where our



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FRENCH CALP, KANGAROO, Cordovan, Patent Leather, Mexican Burro, English Grain (genuine importations) are made in black goods; Canvas, White or Colored (trimmed in any style) Russet Leather and Royal Calf, comprise our light goods for Summer:—and all these are made on our "Korrect Shape" lasts, the result of 30 years' experience in supplying the best trade of this country.

On our Leather Goods, which are made in every style from the low cut Oxford or Fulldress Evening Shoe, to our Russet or English Grain bellows



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tongue Hunting Boot, this "TRADE MARK" is stamped on the ball and heel.

Wherever you are, ask your dealer to show you the Burt & Packard "Korrect Shape Shoes." If he doesn't carry them in stock, accept no substitute, but write us.

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